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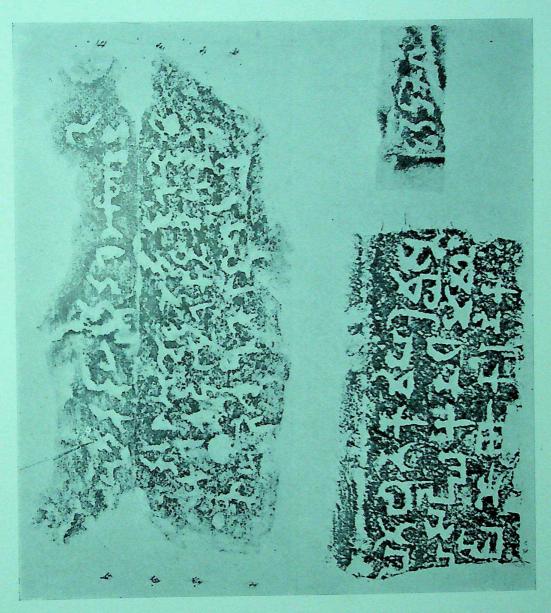


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THE HONORARY SECRETARY

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THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF THE PROVINCE OF AGRA.

By Douglas Dewar. .

WHEN Commissioners of Revenue and Transit were appointed by Regulation I of 1829, they both owed from the Board of Revenue the duty of deciding the penalty in cases of breach of the Customs Law.

In 1832, a covenanted civilian—Mr. G. H. Smith, Deputy Collector of Government Customs at Meerut—made strong representations regarding the "utter rottenness" of the then existing system of Government Customs, which violated the two most important principles of taxation, in that it pressed very heavily on the people and yielded but little revenue to Government.

The matter was taken up by the Commissioner of the Meerut Division who, in the course of a letter dated 6th July, 1832, addressed to the Commissioner of the Agra Division, speaks of "the annoyances of interruption, exaction and insolence so generally practised by inferior Custom House Officers far removed from the control and superintendence of the European functionary." "Indeed," he continues, "I have long been of opinion that an entire change of system in the collection of our Inland Transit Duties is much called for, for so long as our Custom House chokies remain under the charge of persons so very inadequately paid and of such a class as the Karinda (agents) are of, they can never answer the purposes of their establishment, but, on the contrary, operate much to the prejudice of commerce."

On December 15th, 1832, the Collector of Government Customs at Meerut writes in the same strain: "The

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oppressions which persons unconnected with trade suffer surpass belief: not an individual can pass a chokey without being subjected to every kind of annoyance which the ingenuity of these authorised plunderers can devise to enable them to extort money. Travellers are detained for hours, even days; the privacy of their females is intruded upon or threatened, and this merely with the view of compelling them to satisfy the rapacity of these harpers—could Government in any way relieve the country from this evil, there is no doubt that they would be conferring the greatest possible boon on the native population."

Meanwhile Government had appointed Mr. (subsequently Sir) Charles Trevelyan to enquire into and report upon the system of Inland Customs and Town duties. He sent in a report in 1833. This has been printed.

His investigation showed that the gross customs revenue of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1831–32 amounted to Rs. 47,41,526, of which only Rs. 6,81,126 was realised from the inland customs houses, i.e., the Calcutta Inland Custom House and the Custom Houses at Dacca, Hoogly, Moorshidabad, Patna, Ghazipur, Benares, Cawnpore, Farrukhabad and Bareilly.

As the up-keep of these Inland Custom Houses amounted annually to Rs. 4,06,956, their net produce amounted to only Rs. 2,74,140 and the cost of collection of this was 60% on the gross and 150% on the net produce. It was thus evident that the inland custom houses were of little value as a source of revenue, and, at the same time, a considerable tax on trade.

In other words, the chief customs revenue was derived from imports and not from internal or transit duties.

Hence Trevelyan advocated the abolition of all the inland custom houses and the substitution for them of a line of custom houses on the frontier. His plan was thus

In the case of the Farrukhabad Custom House the avarage annual income amounted to Rs. 34,706 and the charges of its up keep totalled Rs. 31,216 leaving a sum of Rs. 3,490 or about 10% as the net revenue.

to change the nature of the customs system by substituting import duties for the transit duties.

Trevelyan further pointed out that the duty on salt provided the bulk of the customs revenue in the Province of Agra and that the receipts on many articles were quite insignificant. He advocated the levying of duty on a limited number of commodities only.

The Calcutta Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in the course of their observations on Trevelyan's report, stated that as revenue officers they could not advise a change, but as "individuals deeply interested in the prosperity of the country and fully persuaded that, however the evils of the transit duty system might be exaggerated, it pressed deplorably upon the principal sources of national wealth," they were of opinion that the loss involved in its abolition "ought to be incurred were it ten times as great."

The Government of Lord William Bentinck accordingly decided to abolish the inland transit duties and to substitute for them a system of import and export duties to be collected on the North-West Frontier. They did not, however, agree to a single line of *chaukis*, deeming it expedient to maintain a second line.

Meanwhile a double line of customs ports had been established on the frontier of the Delhi territory and on the Jumna; and Smith had abolished inland *chaukis* in the Meerut jurisdiction and introduced the double line system. This completed the double line system from the Himalayas to the junction of the Jumna and Chambal Rivers.

Regulation XVI of 1829, raised the duty on salt. This led to extensive smuggling in the Meerut, Agra and Muttra Districts where the salt works were not properly controlled. The result was a very large falling off in the amount of salt that paid duty.

Act I of 1833, retransferred to the Board of Revenue at Allahabad the superintendence of the Customs Department in the North-West Provinces, so that the scheme

INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE.

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introduced by Lord William Bentinck was initiated under the directions of this Board. One line of *chauki* was formed along the frontier and a second line along the Jumna River. Both lines were placed in charge of a single European Patrol. The inland *chaukis* under the control of the Customs Houses at Bareilly and Farrukhabad were closed four months before the Jumna line of *chaukis* was properly established, and as a result of this mistake, the collections at the Delhi, Rewari, Panipat and Meerut Customs Houses decreased by two lakhs of rupees!

The new system rendered useless the Custom Houses at Meerut, Bareilly, Cawnpore and Farrukhabad. They were accordingly abolished in 1835. As we have already seen, they realised comparatively little revenue, even under the old system. In order to make the frontier line efficient the position from the Hills to Muttra was placed under the charge of Mr. G. H. Smith in 1834. His headquarters were fixed at Delhi and he had Deputies at Hodal and Saharanpur.

In the same year Mr. Blunt was appointed Collector of Government Customs at Agra to take charge of the patrol and preventive establishment of the position of the line south of Muttra. Both these officers corresponded directly with the Board of Revenue.

Act XVI of 1836, legalized the Frontier line of *chaukis*, which had been established two years previously, and reduced the number of dutiable articles to six—salt, shawls, cotton pieces, sugar, tobacco and iron. This list was, however, subsequently added to, and, in 1837, all the goods liable to duty by Regulation IX of 1810, were again made dutiable, as an experimental measure. This is rather surprising seeing that the gross collections of the Delhi, Rewari (Hodal), Panipat, Meerut (Saharanpur) and Bareilly Custom Houses for the year 1834–1835 amounted to Rs. 15,57,772, as opposed to an average of Rs. 7,55,060, for the ten years previous to the introduction of the new system, a few years experience showed that by far the

greater part of the customs revenue was derived from salt.

The average annual receipts of the customs houses under the Commissioner at Delhi amounted to Rs. 17,67,634 of which those on salt amounted to Rs. 12,10,246, while in the Agra customs area the average annual receipts from salt amounted to Rs. 6,85,707, out of a total of Rs. 10,23,354.

These figures also show that the receipts of Agra were considerably less than those in the Delhi jurisdiction. The Collector of Government Customs in charge of the Agra line attributed this to the fact that the whole of his native establishment at the *chaukis* were corrupt and in league with the smugglers and that the more efficient European supervision maintained on the Delhi line had driven the smugglers to the Agra section of the line.

Mr. Smith the Collector of Government customs at Delhi pointed out repeatedly that if the duty on salt were raised to Rs. 2 per maund, if smuggling were made a penal act, and an efficient detective establishment maintained, the duties might be taken off all the other articles without any diminution in the revenue. Lord Ellenborough, the previous general, took the same view and in 1843, a regulation (Act 14 of 1843), was passed exempting from taxation every article excepting salt, sugar and cotton. The two last commodities were retained on the list as a precautionary measure.

The Act imposed a duty of Rs. 2 per maund on salt imported across the North-West Frontier line, and a further duty of Re. 1 per maund on salt transmitted to districts east of Allahabad. It prohibited the manufacture of salt throughout the Company's territory and made smuggling an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment.

The Act abolished the double line of *chaukis* and concentrated the whole customs establishment along a single

The duties on cotton were 8 annas a maund cleaned, and 4 annas uncleaned; on sugar 8 annas a maund refined, and 3 annas unrefined.

frontier cordon patrolled by European officers. The line was divided into beats of about ten miles each. Goods could be passed only at the open *chaukis*: between these closed or preventive *chaukis* were established, and thus a complete cordon was preserved, with at least one *chauki* per mile.

Act XIV of 1843, did not itself fix the position of the custom houses; it left their location and the method of collecting duties to the discretion of the local government.

The Government of Agra published in the *Gazette*, dated October 31st, 1843, a long notification, containing detailed rules regarding the new customs regulations. Of these rules the following are the more important:—

Customs Lines and Jurisdiction.

Rule I. The lines hereinafter specified shall be established for levying the duties authorized by the Act.

RULE II. The North West Frontier line shall commence in the Himalaya range of mountains on the Jumna, and following the course of that river to the point where it flows into the Dooab Canal, proceed in a direct line to the Mowie Ghaut on the Jumna, and thence to Paneeput, Dehli, Agra and Allahabad, and along the Allahabad and Mirzapoor Frontier till it joins the Soane river where it will terminate.

RULE III. The Hurreeanah line shall branch off from the North-West Frontier line at Bullubgurh, and skirting the northern boundary of the Jhujjur territory shall pass south east of Hansee, west of Hissar, and then to the north of the town of Sirsa, and beyond that point till it reaches the extreme limits of the British territory at or near to the Sutlege river.

RULE IV. The special salt duty line below the fortress of Allahabad shall proceed on the one side south till it meets the Allahabad and Mirzapoor Frontier line, and on the other north in a direct line to the Oude Frontier, and thence along the eastern boundary of that State till it reaches the Nepal Frontier, where it will terminate.

RULE V. Customs jurisdiction shall be restricted to a space of five miles on either side of each line, so as to form a total breadth of ten miles; and where, by reason of the near approach of Foreign territory, a space of five miles cannot be had on the one side of a line, the deficiency shall be made good by a corresponding extension of space on the other side within the British territories.

RULE IV. Provided however that the rule shall not be held to apply to that part of the special salt duty line running north and south of Allahabad in a manner to authorize any Customs interference whatever, west of that part of the line.

RULE VII. Provided however that the said Customs limits of jurisdiction shall not include the Jumna river, so as in any way to interrupt the free navigation thereof: all Customs interference with the river borne trade being hereby prohibited, further than may be required at places of debarkation within Customs limits, or otherwise at, or near Allahabad, for the protection of the special duty on salt.

Custom Chokees open and closed.

RULE VIII. Custom Chokees shall be established at the most frequented places, intersecting the Customs lines, wheresoever required, for the passing of Salt, Cotton, or Sugar, as shall have paid the prescribed duty; and at other less frequented places of the same line or lines, as well as on the lines or ports of lines which are wholly preventive, closed Chokees shall be established to prevent the passing of contraband goods, and dutiable articles although accompanied by rowanahs.

Custom Houses, Payment of Duties, Granting Rowannahs.

RULE X. Custom Houses for entering the Imports and Exports, and for receiving the duties authorized by the Act shall be established at Sirsa, Hansee, Dehlee, Saharunpore, Horul, Agra, Calpee, Rajapoor, Allahabad, and Mirzapoor and the business thereof shall be ordinarily transacted at Sirsa by the Superintendent of that territory, and at the other stations by such officers as from time to time may be appointed thereto.

RULE XI. The Sirsa, Hansee, Dehlee, Saharunpoor, Horul and Agra jurisdictions shall form the 1st or Dehlee Division of Customs; and the Calpee, Rajapoor, Allahabad, and Mirzapoor jurisdictions shall form the 2nd or Mirzapoor division. Each Division to be controlled by a Covenanted Officer, to be denominated Superintendent of Customs of the 1st and 2nd Division; and also a Collector of Customs being a Covenanted Officer shall be stationed at Agra, such Collector being subordinate to the Superintendent of the 1st Division.

RULE XII. The executive Officers in charge of the Custom houses to be denominated Deputy Collectors of Customs, excepting at Rajapoor in Bundelcund, where the duty will be performed by an Assistant Collector, subordinate to the authority of the Collector of Customs at Calpee.

RULE XIII. The Custom houses shall be open for the transaction

of business every day, Sunday and Holidays excepted, from 10 A.M. till 4 P.M.

RULE XIV. Duties payable on Cotton, Salt and Sugar, shall be received only at one or other of the established Custom houses, and no Officer but the Collector or Assistant Collector of Customs shall be competent to grant rowannahs, unless, for special reasons, expressly authorized by an order of the Superintendent of the Division.

. RULE XVIII. Rowannahs shall be written in the English language and character and in the Oordoo language and Persian and Nagree character, and shall contain the following particulars:—

The number of the Rowannah.

The date of the Rowannah.

The applicant's name.

The name and other particulars of the goods as required to be stated in the application.

RULE XIX. Rowannahs shall be signed and sealed by the Collector, Assistant Collector, or other authorized Customs Officer granting the Rowannahs, and by the Treasurer and Mooshriff, and the latter shall be held responsible for the due delivery of the same to the applicants.

RULE XX. Rowannahs shall be current for thirty whole days from the date of issue, and be of no effect whatever from and after the expiration of that period, excepting in the manner hereinafter provided for.

Passing goods, Endorsement of Rowannahs, and Penalties for breach of Rule.

RULE XXIV. A despatch of cotton, salt, or sugar, brought within the limits of a line of Customs, unaccompanied by Rowannahs, shall under any circumstances be liable to double duties, but if brought therein clandestinely, or between sunset and sunrise, shall be liable to confiscation.

RULE XXV. A despatch of cotton, salt, or sugar, though covered by Rowannahs shall be liable to double duties, unless, on crossing the line, such despatch and Rowannahs are submitted for examination and endorsement, by the Customs authorities.

RULE XXVI. A despatch of cotton, salt, or sugar, brought to a closed or preventive Chokee shall be liable to confiscation, although covered by Rowannah.

Appeals.

RULE LIX. Persons dissatisfied with an order of a Collector of Customs, are at liberty to prefer an appeal to the Superintendent of Customs for the Division, on stamp paper, value eight annas.

RULE LX. In cases of fine and penalty awarded or sanctioned by the Superintendent of Customs in cases relating to the seizure and detention of goods, and in these cases only, with the single exception in Section XIII, an appeal shall lie to the Commissioner of the Division.

RULE I.XI. Petitions of appeal presented to the Commissioner of the Division, or to the Sudder Board of Revenue, shall be written on stamp paper, value one rupee.

Manufacture of Salt prohibited.

RULE LXII. Alimentary salt shall not be made at any place within the territories subject to the authority of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, excepting with the express sanction of the Government previously obtained.

RULE LXIII. All persons owning, occupying, or managing landed property of every description, all native Officers of Government, and generally all constituted village officers, are hereby strictly enjoined to assist in suppressing the illicit manufacture of salt.

Penalty for Offences committed contrary to the Act.

RULE LXIV. All persons concerned in, or aiding and abetting, the smuggling of dutiable articles, or doing any thing to prevent the lawful seizure of goods, or the lawful arrest of persons offending against the Act, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be subject to a fine and imprisonment, according to the circumstances of the case, as provided for by the Act.

Saltpetre.

RULE LXX. Persons desirous of manufacturing saltpetre are enjoined, previous to the manufacturing thereof, to give information to the local Tuhseeldar, and the district Collectors of Revenue and Customs, of the number of the works, and of the places, at and by

which the saltpetre is to be manufactured.

RULE LXXI. Persons who set up and commence working a saltpetre manufactory, without giving previous information, as above
required, shall on conviction before the Collector of Revenue of the
district be liable, subject to confirmation by the Revenue Commissioner
of the Division, to a fine, not exceeding 500 ruppees for each offence,
commutable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months
without labor.

RULE LXXIV. Persons removing or attempting to remove, or concealing alimentary salt made in the manufacturing of saltpetre, or practising any deception to prevent the levy of the duty thereon, shall on conviction before a Magistrate be liable to fine and imprisonment as provided for by the Act.

Customs Officer's duty of penalty for abuse of Power.

RULE LXXV. It shall and may be lawful for any Customs officer to seize and apprehend any person or persons acting in contravention of the Act or of these rules; and generally to perform all other public duties which may be required of them.

RULE LXXVI. Persons apprehended by a Customs officer, for offences alleged to be done contrary to these rules, shall be taken without loss of time to the nearest Darogah of police, who shall receive charge of the prisoner, and grant a written acknowledgment, specifying the name of the prisoner, the offence with which he is charged, and the date of apprehension and delivery.

Distribution of Rewards.

RULE LXXIX. The whole proceeds of sale of confiscated cotton or sugar, with the cattle, shall, after deducting the prescribed duty payable to Government, be divided amongst the informers and captors.

RULE LXXXII. The distribution of rewards shall be made in the following proportions, payable one month after the case has been finally disposed of:—

One half to the informers.

One half to the captors and officers of the beat; in such proportions, as the Superintendent of Customs may in each case determine.

Superintendents of Customs.

RULE XCI. It shall be the duty of the Superintendents of Customs to control the Collectors and Deputy Collectors of Customs in the performance of their duty under these rules, to see that the duty required of them is faithfully performed, and to bring to the notice of superior authority such instances of neglect or misconduct as may occur.

RULE XCII. It shall be the duty of the Superintendents of Customs to visit the several custom houses and lines of chokees within their respective divisions, to inspect the registers, and to see that the authorized establishments are employed in a manner best suited to the efficiency of the public service.

RULE XCIV. It shall be the duty of the Superintendents of Customs to prosecute all charges brought under these rules before the Magistrates, Sessions Judges, Collectors, and Commissioners of Revenue.

RULE XCV. It shall be duty of the Superintendents of Customs to hear all appeals from the orders of the Collectors or Deputy Collectors of Customs, and to sanction or disallow the appointment of all

officers, European or Native, nominated by the Collectors or Deputy Collectors of Customs.

RULE XCVII. It shall be the duty of the Superintendents of Customs to furnish yearly reports of the Customs' receipts of each customs jurisdiction and of the Customs' administration of each jurisdiction within their respective divisions; and generally to perform such duties, as may be required of them in their capacity of Superintendent.

These rules, however, were found to be defective, and a new set of rules was published in the Agra Government *Gazette Extraordinary* dated 15th February, 1844. These rules were framed by Government and took the form of a Resolution.

Customs Lines and Jurisdiction.

RULE I. The lines hereinafter specified shall be established for levying the Duties authorized by Act XIV, 1843.

RULE II. The North-West Frontier line shall commence in the Himalaya range of Mountains on the Jumnah, and shall run in the direction of that river till it reaches the boundary between the Banda and Allahabad districts, whence it shall run in the direction of the Southern Frontier of the Allahabad and Mirzapoor districts, till it meets the River Soane and there it shall terminate.

RULE III. Custom House Jurisdiction shall extend on the left bank of the Jumnah from its entering British Territory in the Himalayas, to within two miles of the Chief Police Station of Shamlee, for a distance of five miles from the bank of the river, and on the right bank of the Jumnah, from the point where it enters British Territory in the Himalaya range, to the boundary of the Banda and Allahabad Districts for a distance of 15 miles from the bank or over all British Territory within that space; and along the Frontier of the Allahabad and Mirzapoor districts for the distance of 15 miles North and East of the Frontier, save and except that the cities and marts of Dehlie, Bindrabun, Muttra and Agra, shall be excluded from Customs Jurisdiction, the space so excluded being a circle of two miles from the Cotwallee or Chief Police Station of each Town. Provided that where these tracts are so excluded, the breadth of the line be extended in a correspondent measure to the Westward and Southward, so that in no place the breadth be less than 15 miles, or include all British Territory within that space.

RULE IV. The Hurrianah line shall branch off from the North-western Frontier line at Bullubgurh, and skirting the Northern boundary of the Jhujjur Territory shall pass by Hansee, Hissar and Sirsa,

and beyond that point till it reaches the extreme limits of the British Territory at, or near, the Sutlej River; and along this line Customs Jurisdiction shall extend for a breadth of ten miles, or over all British Territory within that space. All Dutiable Articles crossing the Hurrianah line shall pay the full duty, save and except that Salt, intended for consumption to the West of the North-west Frontier shall only be liable to half duty on crossing this line. All imported articles which have paid full duty on crossing the Hurrianah line shall not be liable to any further duty on crossing the North-west Frontier line, and exported articles which have paid full duty on crossing the North-west Frontier, line shall not be liable to any further duty on crossing the Hurrianah line.

RULE V. Articles brought from the Southward and Westward within Customs Jurisdiction upon either of the above lines shall be held to be imported, save and except in the case of Sugar, the produce of a British province, as provided hereafter in Rule XXXVII. Articles brought from the Northward and Eastward within Customs Jurisdiction upon any of the above lines shall be held to be exported.

RULE VI. A line, for the levy of a duty on Salt only, shall proceed from the fortress of Allahabad, due South to the Rewah frontier, and due North to the Oude frontier, and thence along the Western and Eastern boundaries of the Oude state, till it reaches the Nepal frontier, on either side, and there it will terminate. Customs Jurisdiction shall extend East of the line running due South and North from Allahabad for a breadth of ten miles, and where the line skirts the Oude frontier for a distance of ten miles from that frontier.

RULE VII. All Salt passing out of the Oude Territory across this line, shall be held to be imported, and shall be liable to the duty of Two Rupees per maund, and all Salt passing to the Eastward of Allahabad shall be held liable to the further duty of One Rupee per maund, imposed by Section 2, Act XIV, 1843.

RULE VIII. The said Customs Jurisdiction shall not include the Ganges or Jumnah River, so as in any way to interrupt the free navigation thereof, all Customs interference with the River borne trade being hereby prohibited, further than may be required at or near Allahabad for the protection of the special further duty on Salt.

Customs Chokees open and closed.

RULE IX. Custom House Chokees may be established at any points within Customs Jurisdiction for the regulation of the lawful traffic, and for the suppression of contraband traffic. The chokees shall be either open or closed, and shall be disposed in single conti-

nuous lines, at such intervals, as may be necessary. The open chokees shall be established on the chief roads intersecting each line for the passing of such Dutiable Articles as shall have paid the prescribed duty. The closed chokees shall be entirely of a preventive nature and shall be established to prevent the importation of Sugar from Foreign Territories, and the passing of Dutiable Articles, although accompanied by Rowannahs.

RULE X. A list of the open chokiees for passing Dutiable Articles, within each Custom House Jurisdiction, shall be prepared and printed in the English, Persian, Nagree and Mahajunnee languages, and kept in a convenient place, for public reference, in each open chokee, and at the Tuhseeldarrees and Thannahs adjacent thereto, and in the Office of the Collector, and Collector of Customs of the District.

Custom Houses and Custom House Officers.

RULE XI. Custom Houses for entering the exports and imports, and for receiving the duties authorized by the Act, shall be established at Sirsa, Hansee, Dehlee, Kurnaul, Horul, Agra, Calpee, Rajapoor, Allahabad and Mirzapoor. The first six, forming the 1st or Dehlee Division of Customs, and the last four, the 2nd or Mirzapoor Division of Customs.

Rule XII. The Superior Officers of the Department charged with the collection of Duties, granting of Rowannahs, and superintending the Preventive Establishment, shall be denominated Collectors, Deputy Collectors, and Assistant Collectors. The Deputy Collectors and Assistant Collectors shall be subordinate to the Collectors, but shall be competent to perform all acts which may legally be performed by the Collector. There shall be one Collector, in each Division, vested with the general superintendence and also competent to take charge of any Custom House; and there shall be in charge of each Custom House, a Collector or Deputy Collector, or Assistant Collector.

Rule XIII. The Subordinate Officers who will constitute the Preventive Department shall be called Patrols, Assistant Patrols, Darogahs, Jemadars, and Chuprassees and shall be stationed at such places along the line as may from time to time, be found convenient. At all open chokees there shall be stationed a Darogah or Jemadar, and a Mohurrir or Weighman.

Mode of collecting the Duty on Dutiable Articles when brought across the Line.

RULE XIV. No Dutiable Articles shall be brought across the line, unless covered by Rowannahs, in duplicate, of the Form [A] Annexed to these Rules.

INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE.

RULE XV. Persons desirous to obtain such Rowannahs for the 14 passing of Dutiable Articles shall give in a written application at the nearest Custom House. The application shall specify:-

The Name and Description of the Goods.

The description and quantity of carriage.

Total weight of goods.

Rate of Duty per Maund and total amount of Duty.

The name of the applicant.

By what route or chokee proceeding.

RULE XVII. Rowannahs shall be current for three months, from the date of issue.

RULE XVIII. Rowannahs, granted at any Custom House, shall cover Dutiable Articles in all Customs Jurisdiction, save and except, that Rowannahs certifying payment of the import duty on Salt shall not exempt Salt passing Eastward of Allahabad, from payment of the further duty.

RULE XIX. When Dutiable Articles covered by a duplicate Rowannah, are brought to an open chokee the Rowannahs shall be delivered to the Officer at the chokee, who, after comparing it with the goods, and ascertaining that it covers them, shall permit the goods to pass, at the same time dividing the two copies of the Rowannah through the bordered words in the middle, himself retaining the right hand or duplicate, and delivering the Original to the owner of the goods. The goods shall on no account be detained at the chokee more than twenty-four hours unless for breach of Customs Rules.

RULE XX. The single Original Rowannah, of the Form A, shall be of no avail to cover Dutiable Articles, before they reach a line of chokees and when brought to an open chokee, save and except in the case of Dutiable Articles, intended to be brought across the Frontier line North of Dehlee, after having passed the Hurrianah line, or the reverse. In this case the single Original Rowannah shall be considered as proof of payment of duty on the line first crossed. Special Rowannahs must be taken out from the Allahabad Custom House, after payment of the further duty, to cover Salt passing to the Eastward of that city.

RULF XXII. If the possessor of a Rowannah be desirous to divide the despatch of goods covered by the Rowannah, he shall, on application to the nearest Custom House, obtain as many partition of Uttrafee Rowannahs, of the Form B, as he may require, provided that a fee of two annas be paid on each partition Rowannah so taken.

RULE XXIII. Persons wishing to export Cotton, or to bring it within half a mile of the line of chokee, from the Northward and Eastward, shall make application to the Collector of Customs, and shall obtain from him a Maafee Rowannah, that is, a free pass, in the Form C, annexed to these Rules: no fee shall be demanded for the preparation of such Rowannah, and it shall under no circumstances be current for more than one month from the date of issue.

RULE XXIV. Persons wishing to bring Salt within the Customs Jurisdiction from the Northward and Eastward, shall obtain a Maaffe Rowannah of similar form, on payment of a fee of two annas for each Rowannah, which Rowannah shall be current for a period of 15 days from its issue, but shall not cover goods found at a greater distance than five miles from the Northern or Eastern limit of the jurisdiction.

Illegal Acts involving Penalties.

RULE XXXII. The bringing or keeping of Salt within Customs Jurisdiction, uncovered by a Rowannah, shall subject the Offenders to all the penalties prescribed by the Act.

RULE XXXIII. The bringing of Saccharine produce, Sugar or Cleaned Cotton uncovered by a Rowannah, within half a mile of the line of chokees established under Rule IX, shall subject the Offenders to all the penalties prescribed by this Act.

RULE XXXIV. The attempt to bring Dutiable Articles, even when accompanied by a Rowannah, across the line of chokees, except by an open chokee, shall subject the Offenders to all the penalties prescribed by the Act.

RULE XXXV. Uncleaned Cotton may be brought free of duty and unaccompanied by a Rowannah to any mart South or West of the line of chokees, or on the line of chokees, but the attempt to bring the Cotton past the line, whether in a cleaned, or uncleaned state, unless it be covered by a Rowannah, shall subject the Offenders to all the penalties prescribed by this Act.

RULE XXXVI. Provided that persons having in their possession, uncovered by a Rowannah, Salt not exceeding one seer, or Sugar, or Saccharine produce not exceeding 5 seers, and intended for private consumption, shall not be held liable to the penalties prescribed in the Act, and are hereby exempted therefrom. Salt not exceeding five seers uncovered by a Rowannah, found in the possession of a person, shall be liable to confiscation, but the possessor shall not be liable to the penalties prescribed by Section VII, Act XIV of 1843.

RULE XXXVII. Provided also that Sugar, the produce of British Territory, covered by a certificate of origin, prescribed by Section III, Act XXXII of 1836, if brought across the line from British Territory, lying on the South and the West of the line shall not be held prohibited.

RULE XXXVIII. Dutiable Articles brought to an open chokee

shall be held to be covered by a Rowannah in duplicate or single as may be requisite, under Rule XX, if they agree with the description in the Rowannah, in all essential particulars, and if there be no greater excess of weight than five per cent of the whole despatch, and if the Rowannah shall be current, and shall not have been previously used for passing other goods.

RULE XXXIX. If the excess in weight be more than five per cent above what is entered in the Rowannah, but not more than 15 per cent of the whole despatch, or if the discrepancy between the goods and the Rowannah be evidently the result of accident or ignorance, and there be no ground for suspecting fraud, a greater penalty than double duties on the whole despatch shall not be awarded by the Commissioner.

RULE XL. Whenever persons shall have become liable to the penalties under the declaration in these Rules, evidently from inadvertence or ignorance, and without any attempt at concealment or fraud, a greater penalty than double duties on the whole despatch shall not be awarded by the Commissioner.

2nd. In order to give effect to the provisions of Act XIV 1843, and the above rules, the Lieutenant Governor is pleased to make the

following appointments :-

Mr. G. H. Smith, to be Collector of Customs in the 1st or Dehlee Division of Customs, and to have jurisdiction for the suppression of the Manufacture of Salt in the Dehlee, Meerut, Rohilcund, and Agra Revenue Divisions.

Mr. G. Todd, to be Collector of Customs in the 2nd or Mirzapoor Division of Customs, with jurisdiction for the suppression of the Manufacture of Salt in the Allahabad and Benares Revenue Divisions. During the absence of Mr. G. H. Smith, Mr. G. Todd will officiate in the room of Mr. Smith, and Mr. M. C. Ommanney in the room of Mr.

Major F. Mackeson, C.B. to exercise the powers of a Deputy Collector at Sirsa.

Mr. H. A. Carne, to be Deputy Collector at Kurnaul.

Mr. J. Cowley, to be Deputy Collector at Dehlee.

Mr. C. J. Davis, to be Deputy Collector at Hansee.

Mr. G. P. Lumley, to be Deputy Collector at Horul.

Mr. M. C. Hickie, to be Deputy Collector at Agra.

Mr. G. A. Wright, to be Deputy Collector at Calpee.

Mr. A. D. Strong, to be Deputy Collector at Rajapoor.

Mr. Geo. Breton, to be Deputy Collector at Allahabad.

Mr. C. W. Bradford, to be Deputy Collector at Mirzapoor.

3rd. The Collectors of Land Revenue, adjoining the Oude Terri-

tory and their Establishments, have been invested with the powers of Custom House Officers, to enable them to check the illicit importation of Salt from Oude.

4th. The appointments of Collector of Customs at Agra and at Allahabad are abolished.

The following changes in the Customs Rules, were published in the Agra Government *Gazette*, dated November 10th, 1846.

The Lieutenant Governor is pleased to publish for general information the following modification of the rules passed on February 10th. 1844, for giving effect to the provisions of Act XIV, 1843.

Rule II.—The North Western Frontier line shall commence in the Himalayah range of mountains West of the Sutlej, where the British Territory, adjoins the Territory, of Maharajah Goolab Singh of Jummoo. Hence it shall run in the direction of the River Beas, till the junction of that River with the Sutlej. It shall follow the direction of the Sutlej till it reaches the Buhawulpoor Frontier, and shall thence pass by Sirsa, Hissar and Hansie till it reaches the Jumna below Bullubghurh. It shall run in the direction of the River Jumna till it reaches the boundary between the Banda and Allahabad districts, whence it shall follow the Southern Frontier of the Allahabad and Mirzapore districts, till it meets the River Soane, and there it shall terminate.

Rule III.—Custom house jurisdiction shall extend for a breadth of 15 miles or over all British Territory within that space from the commencement of the line to the point where it reaches the River Jumna. Thence the Customs house jurisdiction shall extend for a distance of 15 miles from the right bank of the Jumna, or over all British Territory within that space, so far as the boundary between the Allahabad and Banda districts, and along the Frontier of the Allahabad and Mirzapore districts, for the distance of 15 miles North and East of the Frontier, save and except that the cities and marts of Bindrabun, Muttra and Agra, shall be excluded from Customs jurisdiction, the space so excluded being a circle of two miles from the Cotwallee or Chief Police Station of each town. Provided that where these tracts are so excluded, the breadth of the line be extended in a correspondent measure to the Westward and Southward, so that in no place the breadth be less than 15 miles, or include all British Territory within that space.

Rule IV .- Is cancelled.

In persuance of this arrangement, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to invest Mr. G. H. Smith with the Superintendence of the

whole of the North Western Frontier line from the junction of the Rivers Jumna and Chumbul, to the West and North with the same powers that he exercised before as Collector in the Delhie Division and with the title of Commissioner.

Some further modifications in the customs rules were announced in the Agra Government *Gazette*, dated July 27th, 1852. These modifications followed on the retirement of Mr. G. Todd, the Commissioner of Customs of the Mirzapur Division:—

The following alterations are made in the Rules published on 10th February, 1844 for giving effect to the provisions of Act XIV, 1843.

RULE XI. Custom Houses for entering the exports and imports, and for receiving the duties authorized by the Act, shall be established at Sirsa, Hansee, Dehli, Kurnaul, Hodul, Agra, Calpee, Rajpoor, Allahabad and Mirzapoor.

RULE XII. The Superior Officers of the department charged with the collection of duties, granting of Rowannahs, and superintending the Preventive Establishment, shall be denominated Collectors and Deputy Collectors. The Deputy Collectors shall be subordinate to the Collectors, but shall be competent to perform all Acts, which may legally be performed by the Collector. There shall be one Commissioner, vested with the general superintendence over the whole Establishment, and there shall be in charge of each Custom House, a Collector or Deputy Collector.

Mr. G. H. Smith is appointed Commissioner of Customs in the North Western Provinces.

The Officers in charge of Customs Houses, who have been hitherto designated Deputy Collectors, will in future be called Collectors of Customs.

The Collector of Customs at Mirzapoor, will, as a temporary arrangement, discharge the current duties of the late Mirzapoor Division of Customs, under the directions of the Commissioner.

In conclusion we have to notice some of the effects of Act XIV of 1843 on the Customs Revenues notwithstanding the heavy increase in duty imposed by Act XIV of 1843 the quantity of salt which passed the custom houses increased, from an average of 19,39,822 maunds per annum in the period 1834–5–1842–43 to 21,25,033 maunds per annum in the nine years subsequent to 1843–44; thus the revenue collected was more

than doubled. This increase is largely to be accounted for by the fact that the Act made smuggling punishable by imprisonment.

To quote from a letter, dated Agra the 12th June, 1844, from Mr. J. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province to the Governor-General-in Council.

"The usual mode of smuggling is by head-loads. Bands of smugglers collect together on the frontier just beyond customs jurisdiction each carrying a load of about 30 seers or 60 lbs. The best efforts of the preventive establishment can only receive a few of the band; the rest pass on in the darkness of the night across the line, and the profit on the loads which escape amply compensates for the loss on those which are seized. When smuggling was not a penal offence and the only punishment was confiscation of the load, it was evidently impossible to stop the system. However numerous and vigilant the customs officers, the smugglers had only to outnumber them, and they were sure to succeed. The case is now altered. Fine or imprisonment follows apprehension, and of course there is greater reluctance to incurr the risk."

Nor was this all, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Smith, the system of check on the preventive establishment became a fine art.

Writing in 1854, Mr. M. C. Hickie, Collector of

Customs, Delhi, says:-

"From the lowest subordinate upwards to the Collector, each grade is subjected to a series of checks by which no neglect of duty or other irregularity can be committed without being brought to light. A high road runs along the chokies, and when on duty at night the Chuprassies are posted a quarter of a mile from each other and required to walk up and down that space. Every Jemadar has the supervision of one mile of road over which he patrols to see that the men are vigilant, to superintend

the relief of the watches, and in the morning to examine the plains and fields on either side for the purpose of discovering any trace that may exist of the uninterrupted passage of smugglers during the night. A daily report of the result of these examinations is sent verbally to the Patrol or Assistant Patrol. The Jemadars are in turn checked by the orderly establishment, who take up positions, under the line, as it is commonly styled to catch all that may happen to slip through. In the morning they proceed to the line and make an examination similar to that which the Jemadars are supposed to have previously made, the result being in the same way reported to the patrol. Then, to prevent either the Jemadars or the orderlies from concealing any instances of neglect or probable collusion they may have detected, or from being remiss themselves, the Patrols and Assistant Patrols make unexpected excursions along their respective beats at all hours of the night and morning. The activity of these officers again is maintained under influence of the necessity of recording and reporting daily to the Collectors of Customs the work they have performed, which is done by means of the diary; and a further stimulus to exertion in all grades on the line is supplied by the formation of permanent patrolling parties North and East of the line. These parties are composed of drafts from the chokie establishment, of which, however, they are entirely independent, and with whom they are prohibited from holding intercourse unless when duty renders it unavoidable. Their instructions require them to patrol in different directions North and East of, but 2 or 3 miles distant from the line, and, when they make a seizure, to follow up the track of the smugglers to the point of the line at which they crossed, reporting the circumstance to the Patrol or Assistant Patrol, who receives charge of the captured salt and with whom rests the further prosecution of the investigation.

In the performance of their preventive duties the

establishment are aided in many beats by a thick thorny hedge composed of Bya bushes, and raised sufficiently high to prevent its being surmounted without being broken through and so creating an alarm which speedily brings the men on duty in the vicinity to the spot. On some parts of the line the Patrols have commenced sowing a live hedge, and others have it in contemplation to adopt the same plan, so that in the course of a few years we may calculate upon having an impenetrable and permanent barrier to head-load smuggling across a large portion of the North-West Frontier line.

Until a late period it was exceedingly difficult to prove against any particular chuprassie the neglect by which a gang of smugglers might have escaped. There was the trail but, the night being divided into several watches each man would deny that the passages had been effected in his, so that the only alternative was to punish the innocent with the guilty or to allow the delinquent to go unpunished.

The difficulty has been removed by a very simple method, on all parts of the line where the soil is loose and sandy. It is this: before setting the first night watch, a large branch of a tree, or a light framework of bamboos and grass, is required to be dragged along the quarter of a mile beat of each chuprassie. On the relief taking place the drag is repeated, and two broad lines a few feet apart are thus marked on the sand. If the smugglers have passed in the first watch, the first line only will be intersected by their footsteps; if in the second, both will bear the footprints; and in either case the man chargeable with neglect stands convicted. Should there be a greater number of watches than two the same process has only to be gone through at each relief to secure the same results.

It is extraordinary with what accuracy long practice enables the native subordinates to determine the number of head-load smugglers that have crossed the line in a body at any one time, by an examination of their track, which to an inexperienced eye would seem a confused heap of footsteps, defying conjecture as to whether they represented the feet of 5 men or 50, but from which the chokie people learn without difficulty the actual strength of the gang. A very fair presumption can be formed also, from the appearance of the footsteps, as to whether there has been collusion, or negligence merely, on the part of the establishment in failing to seize the despatch. In the former case the impression of the foot at the heel is deep, betraying the heaviness of the load carried, and if the steps are those of shod feet, the probabality of connivance is still stronger, for it is well known that smugglers never come heavily laden or with their feet burthened with shoes, unless they have previously bought over the establishment and secured an uninterrupted passage. On the other hand when the footsteps are shallow and those of naked feet, the case is seldom one in which anything but negligence can be imputed to the men on duty, the smugglers having come with light loads and barefooted to be prepared for a run in the event of being intercepted On these occasions they adopt the precaution of halting and laying down their bags a short distance from the line. while one of the gang creeps forward to see if the road is clear. To meet and prevent this manoeuvre, which would give them considerable advantage, short excursions are made to the south and the west of the line by the Jemadar and a Chuprassie at the relief of every watch, and now and then between the watches.

The checks on the line establishment, then it will be seen, are complete, and collusion is consequently a rare thing. From the testimony to be found in Mr. Trevelyan's work on the old Custom's system it appears that as much as from 40 to 60 rupees were readily paid for a Customs' peon's badge in Bengal, and it was matter of notoriety that in Calcutta private servants—Khansamas and Kitmutgars—receiving from 8 to 25 rupees a month were continually applying for badges in the department,

for which they would not only give up private employ, but pay a bonus besides. As for the Upper Provinces, Mr. W. Fraser, the Commissioner of Delhi, declared that in 1832 that to his "knowledge the situation of Ghat peon in the Meerut Division used formerly to sell for 300 rupees!" At present our Customs' peons are paid by Government better than ever they were before, the salary being 5 rupees a month, yet the resignations amongst them have averaged 271 a year, for the three years ending 1852–53, proving, if further proof were required, that there is no longer any illicit emolument to be derived from the berth.

With respect to the open posts which give passage to the legal trade the great check consists in having the register of trade written up and closed with the seal and signature of the examining Officer every evening, and in the punctual transmission to the Sudder office, of a copy of each day's registry. The cancelled Rowannahs for the same date are sent in at the same time, and marked off in the Register of issue kept up at the Collector's Office, as having been brought into use, a process by which we prevent attempts at employing forged Rowannahs. The issue of Rowannahs by the Collectors of Customs is checked by an account prepared in the Office of the Commissioner of Customs in which the duty value of the trade shown by the Patrol returns to have been imported and exported during the year, is compared with the amount of duty credited to Government in the Books of the Collectors. In short, no fraud can possibly be committed either in the Collector's Offices, or at the Patrol's posts without a combination so wide spreading that its very extensiveness would alone ensure its ultimate exposure."

The result of the change of system and the perfection of the new system was that the customs receipts increased

The following Table, taken from Mr. Hickie's "Review of the old and new customs systems," shows the gross collections in all the Customs Houses of the North-Western Province, west of Agra from 1824 to 1854:—

INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE.

24

Total

Average

2,20,22,141

22,02,214

Total

Average

by more than twenty per cent while the charges of collection were reduced by nearly two-thirds. Nor was this all. Under the old system more than three hundred articles were taxed, and every person and description of conveyance had to be searched, while under the new system, only three articles of trade were liable to examination. and that in a belt of fifteen miles broad in the case of salt and one mile broad in the case of cotton and sugar.

1st Ten Years.		2nd Te	en Years.	3rd Ten Years.		
Under the Inland system the duty on salt vary- ing from 8 annas to 1 rupee 8 annas a maund, and the num- ber of articles on the Tariff being upwards of 300.		Under the Frontier system, the duty on salt being at the uniform rate of Re. 1 per maund, excepting rock salt, which still paid 1-8 and the number of dutiable articles having raised from 6 to 16 during the first four years and to upwards of 300 during the last six years.		Under the Frontier system, the duty on all salt without exception being Rs. 2 per maund and 3 articles only being on the Tariff.		
Years. Income in Rupees.		Years. Income in Rupees.		Years. Income in Rupees.		
1824-25	20,50,740	1834-35	27,75,136	1844-45	47,69,337	
1825-26	20,76,352	1835-36	26,99,042	1845-46	40,75,959	
1827-26	20,79,044	1836-37	26,01,214	1846-47	52,74,130	
1828-27	23,77,912	1837-38	21,96,212	1847-48	52,67,413	
1829-28	24,81,627	1838-39	31,62,305	1848-49	47.45,705	
1830-29	20,76,753	1839-40	30,48,211	1849-50	59,15,189	
1831-30	25,24,819	1840-41	28,71,837	1850-51	45,49,688	
1832-31	20,86,563	1841-42	30,02,657	1851-52	50,49,512	
1833-32	25,39,853	1842-43	27,62,286	1852-53	52,23,260	
1834-33	17,28,478	1843-44	36,55,994	1853-54	50,00,000	

2,87,74,894

28,77,489

50,0,70,202

50,07,020

Total

Average

DIARY OF A JOURNEY FROM CALCUTTA TO MUSSOORIE IN 1854.

By A LADY MISSIONARY.

THREE or four years before the Mutiny, the Church Missionary Society being desirous of starting a school for Anglo-Indian children in Mussoorie which then, as now, was a fashionable summer resort, engaged a staff of lady teachers from England, one of whom, Miss Ayton, kept a diary of her journey from Southampton to Mussoorie, for the benefit of her parents in England. She describes the voyage, the passengers and their amusements, the stoppages at Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria and Suez (including the overland journey), Aden, Galle, Madras and Calcutta, and the journey by dak-gharry from Calcutta to Benares, and thence to Allahabad, Saharanpur and Mussoorie. Extracts from the diary describing the portion of the journey from the entry into Benares onwards may not be without interest to members of the U.P. Historical Society.

(DIARY.)

Monday.—Arrived at II a.m. at the house of Padre Leupolt, about 3 miles beyond Benares. When we opened our eyes in the morning, we found ourselves in the centre of the sacred river, across which we were being tagged. Great was our indignation to find that Mrs. B. had taken Mirza' to her carriage and gone on a mile ahead, leaving us without money to pay the poor men, who were obliged to go unpaid, and without knowing where to go ourselves. I was particularly annoyed at these poor men going without backsheesh, because they had toiled so hard. I

Mrs. Bignel, in charge of the party.

² Miss Ayton's servant.

awoke once in the night when the carriages stuck fast in the deep sand which stretches for miles before approaching the river. The poor creatures with their united strength were trying to lift the vehicles one at a time, shouting, panting and chanting to cheer one another as they always do in difficulty. They seem to think that nothing can be done without noise; and the harder the work, the more noise required. I think it was \frac{1}{4} of an hour before we moved from one spot; and this occurred many times. Well, this morning we found ourselves in a pretty mess. The bearers did not know where to take us, nor we what to tell them. Luckily Bessie thought she remembered accidentally hearing the name of Leupolt, which we wrote on a slip of paper spelling it "Liput," and saying that some English ladies on the way to Mussoorie, unable to speak the language were anxious to find this gentleman's house. This we gave to a bearer to take to a bungalow near by, from which some directions were given; and the upshot was, that after being taken to nearly all the padre Sahibs in Benares and its vicinity, we arrived at last at the right house; walked in, and found Mrs. B. seated on the sofa as unconcerned as possible. I longed to scold her had I not been too worn out to speak!

Mr. Leupolt, a German, appeared to be in some consternation at our arrival, not expecting us so soon; his wife from home, and the house all in confusion. After an hour, in which we waited alone in the drawing-room, Mr. L. came back to announce breakfast; and with it appeared a Mr. Cuthbert, another missionary, who was returning to Calcutta from the North, where, he says, we are eagerly expected. 'After this two ladies came in, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Tucks (German also); the respective wives of two more missionaries who live in the same compound. Mr. Leupolt then informed me that he was obliged to leave us to go and fetch his wife, and that he would return with her to-morrow evening: that he had left orders with his servants to furnish us with everything we required and

hoped they would be attentive. The two ladies then showed us into two rooms which had been hastily got ready. One appeared to be the hall through which we entered on arriving, now suddenly converted into a bed room: there were bathrooms adjoining, in which they left us to enjoy the unspeakable luxury of soap and water, under the care of a very nice looking ayah, who they say is a Christian. One of the two, before leaving, invited us to dinner at 6 o'clock. Neither of us could tell which it was; however at the appointed hour, Ayah silently led the way to Mrs. Smith's house which proved to be right. Mrs. Tucks was also there, and we sat down to a very elegant little dinner, which it did our eyes good to behold after the 6 days' penance we had been performing. Mrs. Smith appeared a nice kind sensible woman, and a thorough house keeper. She has a nice little girl six years old, fretting for the loss of a sister recently sent to England. It is painful to look at her little pale worn face. All the children that I have seen in India look precisely the same, and there is an unnatural precocity about them, an old fashioned manner that I cannot bear to see. This child is to follow her sister next year. She ought to have gone now but the mother could not part with both at once.

Hindoo College, and some gentlemen who had promised to meet us there and take us over it disappointed us—an immense failure of attention in Indian gentlemen; but they are missionaries, and overwhelmed with duties—so we could only stroll about the grounds, and admire the beautiful architecture of the building in the Gothic style. It was built by the English Government for the secular education of the Brahmins. We returned home to a most refreshing tea and blazing fire; there was a look of almost English comfort round the room, or more approaching to it that anything I have yet seen in India. But I was

¹ Probably Queen's College.

shivering with an aguish chill that nothing could warm, and ill with cramp and spasms, the effect of the cold dak gharry journey through the jungles. Mrs. Smith gave me a comforting cordial, sent me home, and nursed me up with extreme kindness.

Tuesday.—Our rest was more disturbed last night than even it had been in the gharry owing to the rats, for whose nightly revels in the roof we were all unprepared. The noise resembled that of men more than rats, and to our excited nerves they appeared to be running round and across the room. The one short nap I had was a fearful nightmare of robbers breaking into a house in which Mary (our own Mary) was shut up alone. It was positively fearful! Mrs. Bignell rushed into our rooms in a state bordering upon distraction. At 6 we were awakened by little Miss Smith, who came to tell us that Mama had postponed the drive before breakfast which had been proposed, because she felt sure we were not well enough, and that she would expect us to breakfast at 10. An Ayah followed her with a very full tray of delicious coffee, milk, and cakes, after partaking of which we felt strong enough to get up.

After breakfast the carriages were ordered and we were taken to see the Christian native college. Poor Mrs. Tucks, in whose carriage Bessie and I rode, was in great distress about a sad scene she had just been called to witness in their orphan school, a poor little girl almost burnt to death, her clothes having caught fire.

I was deeply interested in the native Christian College. Without having witnessed it, I could never have believed what a high degree of cultivation these poor minds are capable of. Many are far advanced in the higher branches of science and literature. Mr. Cobb, a missionary clergyman, told me that there were among them some who upon examination might shame some of our Oxford and Cambridge men. We were present at a Bible class, and found the boys' knowledge of Scripture and Sacred Geo-

graphy to be quite surprising, as well as their knowledge of English, which showed itself in several excellently composed letters written by themselves to Mr. Cobb, giving an account of their holidays. I asked Mr. C. whether any of these young men were Christians. He said very few, if any. The punishment of being outcaste was too great. But many who could not themselves face the odium, were not unwilling for their sons to be brought up as Christians.

At 5 p.m. we went out driving again, and were taken again to see the Government College. Mr. Cobb being now one of the party, we were shown over the interior. It is extremely handsome, in the Cathedral style. Mr. C. said he looked forward to the time, though he might not himself live to see it, when it should be consecrated as such. He described the opening last year, at which he was present; he said he never witnessed so imposing a scene in his life. On returning home we found that Mr. and Mrs. Leupolt had arrived, though they did not appear, which I thought rather stiff for Indian manners. It was 7 o'clock, the hour at which we were to assemble for dinner at Mrs. Tucks. As soon as we were dressed, we went to the drawing room, and there found our host and hostess waiting for us. Mrs. L. is an extremely plain but clever-looking woman, short and thick with a little girl, her very picture. We walked over to Mrs. Tucks', and found four gentlemen had been invited to meet us; our two friends Mr. Cuthbert and Mr. Cobb, a Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Hubbard. The latter came out from England a week after us, and had only just arrived among the missionaries, as I discovered from his talking to me about the great banana tree he had seen in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta! My greater experience enabled me to correct the mistake, for which he thanked me, blushing dreadfully!

Poor little Mrs. Tucks seemed to have given herself a world of trouble to get up a grand dinner for this large party, but though good and plentiful it was cold and comfortless, very different from Mrs. Smith's menage. The innumerable kitmutgars did nothing but rush about and tumble over each other and make mistakes; and sometimes all ran out of the room together, leaving us to wonder what had happened to the curry or the pudding. There was no fire to welcome us when we returned to the drawing-room, until Mrs. Smith suggested the advisability of having one, which was immediately ordered; and a huge block of wood soon blazed greatly to our comfort, for my shivering fit was coming on. Till 10 o'clock we amused ourselves with tea and talking, and putting out the fiery particles which flew frightfully about the room fenders not being fashionable in the plains, and the wood placed on the floor without even days to hold it! I was wondering when we were to be dismissed, when Mr. Cuthbert proposed that we should have a little singing. Hynn books were distributed, and we sang, or at least they did (for I was too cross) hymn after hymn, until I began to wonder whether we were to go through the whole book! At last they ceased, and I flattered myself we were going now; but no, not yet! Mr. Cuthbert opened the Bible. and read, I believe, the very longest chapter in the whole Gospel; after which he began again at the beginning, and made a commentary upon every line, all the way through to the end. I said to myself, 'This is shameful!' I was so uncomfortable that I did not know what to do. I had a horrible back-ache and I was perched upright on a stupid couch without any earthly thing to lean against, and moreover I could hardly keep my tired eyes open. The three children were sleeping in the laps of their three mamas, and everyone looked the picture of patient suffering. A very long prayer followed the commentary after which we were mercifully allowed to take our leave.

Wednesday.—We had to be up and ready by 7 to be taken to see the city by Mr. Cuthbert and Mr. Foster. We drove to the town and then went upon the river in a boat. It was extremely beautiful—the broad blue river

glittering in the sunshine, and the innumerable mosques, minarets and temples skirting both its banks; the people. old and young most of whom were pilgrims from afar, in their various picturesque costumes, bathing themselves with religious zeal in the sacred waters. Some poured it out as an offering to the sun, and kissed the sand on which it fell. Others drank it to cure disease, and all filled their brass pots and carried the fluid away. This water is taken by pilgrims to Calcutta and to all parts of India, and sold at a high price. We landed here and there to examine some of the temples on the banks, returning again to the boat. There was one minaret more celebrated than any being the highest in the city, which Mr. C. was anxious to make us ascend, in order to see the view from the top. All went but me, which was a great disappointment, for I had heard so much of the far-famed view, but the steps. of which there were, I think, 300, were a foot and a half high, so you may imagine the fatigue of mounting! I could not even attempt it, but sat down and waited till they returned. They said they were well repaid, for the view was magnificent. I hope to see it on my way home to England. From this we went to the chief Hindoo temple in the centre of the city; it contains a black stone which is the object of Hindoo worship throughout India and to which pilgrimages are made from remotest parts. It is surmounted by a golden cupola. It was thronged with worshippers within and without, performing their idolatrous ceremonies. After gazing at the different portions, and getting our feet very wet with the Ganges water with which the whole place is flooded, we penetrated the sacred interior, and were allowed to approach within a short distance of the stone—a smooth, round, black thing about the size of a man's head, in the centre of a white stone basin which was full of water. The pilgrims crowded round it, pouring over it their offerings of oil and Ganges water. Some did not approach, but threw themselves down and kissed the floor. It was

a painful sight, but I am glad I saw it. One thing struck me very much—the extraordinary resemblance of the ceremonies and ritual to Roman Catholicism. were altars to different gods all round the temple, Priests chanting prayers and bowing, and people with rosaries in their hands counting the beads and mumbling. Garlands of white flowers were laid on the altars, some of which they offered us, but Mr. C. objected to our taking them, as the people would consider it an honour to their god. more striking were the lights-lamps instead of tapers ranged in rows about the altars. We walked through many of the streets, as they called them, narrow dark alleys about 2 yards across, so dark that we did not even require umbrellas. We saw many faquirs who torture themselves in various ways, standing for years with one arm extended until it withered, etc.; and others who had their hands clenched until the nails forced themselves through the back. We began to be extremely hungry and tired, for we had only had a cup of tea and a square inch of bread before starting: but Mr. C. would not hear of our returning before seeing the schools. On the way we were attracted by the very imposing appearance of a native Baboo's house, and walked in without ceremony. A man in grand robes came forward bowing profoundly, and shook hands with Mr. Cuthbert. He informed us that he was the Doctor, and fetched another great man, who could speak a little English, and told us that the Baboo was engaged, and could not receive us in person, but would feel honoured by our walking through his house. He led us through a long drawing-room, handsomely furnished in imitation of the English style. The collection of necklaces on the table afforded us great amusement; still more the pictures on the walls all English apparently, cut out of old books of fashion. There were the Queen and Prince Albert and various other beauties, framed and glazed, and hung up with long cords in perfect style. Our attention was particularly directed by the great man to these pictures; also to some which were made to move and turn about on the same principle as Mama's old fiddler. The Doctor received our profession of admiration with great pleasure, and followed us through the streets for half an hour afterwards without speaking. We did not know whether this was intended for a complement or otherwise!

[The diary goes on to give an account of the bazaars of Benares, the Brahminy bulls, the Mission schools, etc., etc., differing little from what can be seen at the present day.]

Thursday.—Reached the bungalow of Mr. Spry, the Padre Sahib of Allahabad at 10 a.m. An ayah with a beautiful little girl met us at the door with a note from Mrs. Spry, saying that she was bathing her infant, and hoped we would find all we wanted in the tents in the garden. Having duly made our toilette, we came in to breakfast, and found our hosts who were most kind, and we passed a pleasant day. This is the prettiest residence I have seen in India, everything elegant within and without, with an abundance of lovely. English flowers. The field daisies in a little glass on the drawing-room table were pointed out as precious curiosities; but we had not been long enough in India to appreciate them thoroughly. Mrs. S. is a nice woman, but it is melancholy to see them both systematically killing this sweet child of whom they are dotingly fond, being the only girl saved out of five or six, and she, such a fragile little creature, it seemed impossible that she could grow up. At dinner they dosed it with wine, sherry and port alternately, until it became positively tipsy! Mrs. S. said it was subject to nervous attacks and they were often obliged to get up in the night and give it sherry and water!

We resumed our journey at 5 p.m.

Sunday; Meerut.—This has been a long and tedious stage. From Benares the gharries have been drawn by horses, which, though quicker, is far less agreeable owing

to the shaking and noise, which to nerves rendered irritable by want of rest, is no small annoyance, and the fatigue made my back so much worse that I could not turn round at night without screaming with pain; and cramped up as we were it was most uncomfortable. Our letter of introduction was to Mrs. Watson, a widow with a great number of grown-up sons living with her. She seemed rather alarmed at the number of our party. While we were at tiffin her daughter called, a very young girl, lately married to an artillery officer, Major Osley, in the same station. Mrs. O. invited B. and I to return with her to her house, in so pressing a manner, that we gladly agreed, for I did not much admire Mrs. Watson. The Osleys seemed very nice merry people: they live in a very pretty bungalow about 3 miles from Mrs. Watson. Very glad to go there!

Monday.—Up early, greatly refreshed by sound sleep in a soft warm bed which almost cured my back. We walked with Mrs. Osley through the botanical gardens adjoining their house, and in passing through the compound were much amused to see the native system of churning by means of a strap and two sticks—an immense deal of fuss to save strength. Spent the morning in receiving visitors, and turning over Mrs. O.'s wardrobe. There is to be a grand military ball on Wednesday, to which she is most anxious to take us, and to lend us dresses, as we, of course, are very unprovided. She is quite sure they can be let down and made to fit beautifully. But I think the only thing will be for us to curl our hair all round, and put on trousers! In the evening we went to dine at Mrs. Watson's. I rode Mrs. Osley's magnificent white Arab "Snowdrop," and, wonderful to relate, I felt not the least fear, and never enjoyed a canter more. We were much amused at the flirtation going on between Mr. Tom Watson and Mary Bignell, who seems to create a sensation wherever we go, making sad havoc among the hearts of young gentlemen, who are delighted

with her precocious cleverness, and her little pedantic way of speaking, as Mrs. Osley calls it. They say that a girl of her age is never seen in India, and seem to look on her as a rare specimen! It is to be hoped she will not lose her simplicity, but I fear there is some danger. The two have been riding and driving together the whole day and a grand riding party is arranged for tomorrow for us all, to meet at Mrs. Osley's at 7. The ball has been given up, as neither of us feel fit for it.

Tuesday.—We have had a splendid ride this morning, notwithstanding two alarming accidents. Tom, Mary and I were a little behind the rest, when a carriage full of natives came up behind us. As we were taking up the whole road, I went behind, but Tom would not alter his course, nor allow Mary. The native carriage went in the centre of the road; there was certainly room for it to pass, instead of which they drove up against Mary, almost shoving her off the pony, which reared up and kicked and jumped upon a mound of dirt, and literally spun round. You may imagine my terror all the time expecting to see her thrown, but providentially she kept her seat. In the midst of the scene, Tom quickly leaped from his horse, threw the reins over a tree, ran after the carriage, climbed upon the box, seized the coachman by the collar, and dragged him down; pulled the whip out of his hands and thrashed him well! Mary and I screamed to him with all our might to desist, but in vain, till he conceived that he had done his duty. What between my fright for Mary and for the man, I did not know what to do! My impression was that it was not the man's fault, but his and Mary's for not getting out of the way. Tom, however, assured me, as soon as he could speak, that nobody even thought of getting out of the way for a native, and the rascal knew that, and did it on purpose to unseat a lady, whom nothing can make them look on with respect. He said he should very likely get a summons from the fellow, but he did not care as he had given him a lesson. Tom is

an Ensign in a Queen's Regiment. The other adventure was 'Snowdrop,' the Arab, running away with Miss Birch but was luckily stopped by a syce of Mrs. Osley's, the rider sustaining nothing worse than a fright.

We arranged to start for Saharanpur on Wednesday at 4 p.m. We should be glad to remain longer, as our kind hosts are very pressing, but Mrs. B. is auxious to get to the end, and so indeed are we. Mrs. Osley is the most amusing little thing I ever saw—a sort of child wife; the most innocent, simple, bewitching little creature that can be imagined. She adores her husband, who is almost old enough to be her father, and says such things to him, that Bessie is obliged to go out of the room to laugh, especially when he tries to look grave, and says, "My dear, I am afraid you are getting foolish." Spent the day in packing this endless packing! I bought a ring of Indian gold very cheap. Dined at 3, and waited in anxiety until 6 for the palanquins, when at length, two miserable things arrived. There were no 'bandies' (men to carry the luggage), and we had to wait another hour while Major O. sent to hire some. During the interval he taught us several phrases which we might require on the way, which we wrote down, but I fear we shall never be able to pronounce them; and at length we parted with mutual wishes to meet again. Major O. says he shall send his wife to the hills as she is too delicate for a hot season in the plains, but he cannot get leave himself.

[The Diary is interrupted here, and continued after the arrival of the party at the school at Mussoorie.]

A Girls' School in the Himalayas.

Eagle's Nest, May 1st, 1854.—It was a strange dreary abode before which our Jompons were set down at last. A long array of servants drawn up in the verandah, bowing their faces to the ground, was the only hint of anything in the way of civilisation. The situation in front was anything but prepossessing; a large square compound,

immediately beyond which towered a mountain, blocking out the sight of everything else. But the southern verandah on which the drawing room doors opened looked more cheering. This commands a fine view of the plains, bordered by the Sewalik range, which we had crossed the day before, and whose low sharp outline gives the appearance of a rocky coast to the dim, undefined, and apparently boundless expanse beyond, which we have agreed to call the sea; water being, we are told, the only thing wanting in Himalayan scenery!

castes of Gangaries, also observe this custom. The older sub-division of Gangarie-Brahmans was Gangaries pure and Nana-gotries. But this classification is now obsolete. The inferior classes of Gangaries are rapidly moving upwards and mixing with higher ones and all the attempts of the higher castes to oust them are proving ineffectual. In the same way, the lower classes of Rajputs are graduallay rising upwards and mixing with higher ones. Still the first class Rajputs, namely, the Thokdar families, generally marry in their own castes.

Generally, the Rajputs of the three classes, as stated above, intermarry and inter-dine in their own sub-castes. But if some one of an inferior caste becomes influential he manages to marry into a higher family. As regards functional distinctions among the various castes and subcastes, the higher castes of Brahmans are generally priests. In the time of the native Rajas the higher castes of Rajputs held high ranks in the army, their castes being called after the offices they held: for instance, Gusain means master; Rawat means a hero; Negi means a warrior; Bhandari means à treasurer.

The sub-castes of Doms follow different occupations. Ode are carpenters and masons; Lohars are blacksmiths; Aujis are drummers; Badis and Hurkias are professional Among the Doms the Kolis are the highest dancers. caste. Food cooked by them can be eaten by all the other sub-castes. But one peculiarity among the Doms is that each sub-caste inter-dine and intermarry among themselves. They will not even take water or bread touched by any one belonging to another sub-caste lower than themselves. But one thing common in all the castes and subcastes is that they are all agriculturists. To a close observer of the Garhwal society one thing becomes quite clear, the process of gradual social evolution, if I may so call it. I was greatly interested to find an instance of a Lama of trans-Himalayan family settling down in a village in Garhwal and gradually being transformed into veri-

A NOTE ON THE CASTES AND SUB-CASTES OF GARHWAL.

BY TARA DUTT GAIROLA.

THERE are three principal castes in Garhwal,—Brahmans, Rajputs, and Doms, and innumerable sub-The Brahmans are again subdivided under three main heads, -Sarolas, Gangaries and Khas-Brahmans. The Rajputs are subdivided into two classes,-Rajputs and Khasias. Some writers including Capt. Browne subdivide Rajputs into three classes, --first class Rajputs, second class Rajputs, and Khasias or third class Rajputs. Doms are subdivided into several castes,-Koli, Ode, Lohar, Auji, Badi, Hurkia, Tamota and a few others. Sarola Brahmans are further subdivided into about 29 castes. Gangarie-Brahmans into at least III sub-castes; while Khas-Brahmans include 4 or 5 castes. Rajputs of the first class, according to Capt. Browne's classification, as mentioned above, contain 34 castes; Rajputs of the second class 102; and those of the third class or Khasias 163 castes.

Now testing this confusing mass of sub-castes by the principle of Endogamy we find the following broad distinguishing features in them. The Sarolas intermarry and interdine among their own sub-castes. As regards Gangarie-Brahmans, an attempt is at present being made to separate the four castes of Dobhals, Unyals, Dangwals and Bughanas from the rest of the Gangaries, on the score of the former's supposed superiority. These four castes now take girls in marriage from other castes of Gangaries, but the girl after marriage does not inter-dine with her parents' family. The Joshis and Deopryagi Pandas, sub-

CASTES AND SUB-CASTES.

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above. It is to be regretted that modern science has still to realize the importance of the first two of the said principles. It is a well-known fact that caste system is of later origin and did not exist during the Vedic period, when society was not so complex. But at the same time there is no doubt that the Hindu castes, notably the last three, have absorbed a good deal of foreign element from time to time. Non-Aryans have been admitted into the castes slowly and imperceptibly and persons from lower castes have risen into higher ones, in spite of the gates of each caste being jealously guarded against outside intrusion. Illustrations of the above facts can be easily found in the Garhwal District, as I have incidently mentioned before.

As regards the origin of sub-castes, my experience is confined to Garhwal alone in this matter. Therefore the following remarks apply to Garhwal only. But I believe that the general fabric of the Hindu society is the same throughout India and, therefore, the facts discovered in one district might throw light in elucidating the general social questions involved under this head of enquiry. I have enumerated above all the sub-castes to be found in Garhwal. It now remains to consider the known facts connected with the origin of these sub-castes. Generally speaking, I may say at the outset that most of the subcastes of Brahmans and Rajputs in Garhwal have been called after the villages in which they settled after migrating from some other village in the district itself or from the plains. This important fact will be considered more fully in discussing each sub-caste.

3. Let us first take the Brahmans. As stated above their main sub-divisions are into Sarolas and Gangaries. Khas-Brahamans being a mere accretion on them. Now Sarolas had formerly only twelve families, which were called after the twelve villages around the Chandpurgarh, where the ancestors of the present Rajas of Tehri originally lived. In those days the whole district was split up into many small principalities or Thakurains, as they were

table Rajputs; they call themselves Lama Negis and intermarry with second class Rajputs. Similarly the families which were at one time known as Khas-Brahamans are gradually changing their caste-names and assuming names which denote high class Brahmans. I believe this refining process is going on all over the world and is not a matter of regret, and is quite in-keeping with social laws. But I cannot omit to mention one fact which is of some economic importance and requires serious thought. Khasia Negis or Pabilas of Rath and the bordering Patties, who never put on sacred thread before, have begun to assume the sacred thread and have adopted the mode of life of the three regenerate castes. But unfortunately they have also given up their ancestral occupation of hemp growing and manufacturing, considering it as derogatory. Some of them also now refuse to work for higher castes, specially in carrying Dolas and Palkis in marriage processions. This tendency on the part of Khas-Rajputs is causing a great agitation in the society.

The origin of castes and sub-castes.—This has been a most perplexing question among ethnological enquirers. There are two schools of thinkers. One holds that the origin of castes is to be explained by their racial differences; while the other school ascribes the difference in castes to their functional differences merely. But if we bear in mind the fact that every race performs the four functions which divide the Hindus into four castes,-clerical, military, trade and service, we feel no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the Hindu idea of caste is wholly based on the economic principle of the division of labour. It has directly nothing to do with difference in race. Recognising the full importance of the three principles of heredity, association and education, the old Hindu lawgivers considered it most conducive to the progress of society to divide the whole nation into four functional units, to enable each unit or caste to come to the fullest extent under the influence of the three principles stated

Rawal or high priest of that famous temple. Bhutts who are Dakhini Brahmans have been made Sarolas, being priests of some important temples. The Sarolas are supposed to lead a strict life of purity. They are not supposed to drink or eat onions. If any Sarola takes his elder brother's widow as a wife, the offspring no longer remains Sarola. Endogamy is strictly observed among them. The offspring of exogamous marriage also does not remain Sarola. Unfortunately the result of this strict observance of the rules of Endogamy have been disastrous in their case; as the number of Sarolas is fast decreasing and there is danger of that race becoming extinct in the near future. The total number of Sarola proprietors at the last revenue settlement of 1894 was 1,567.

The Gangaries, literally those living lower down in the Gangar or the Gangetic Valley, form the bulk of the Garhwal Brahmans. Originally they were subdivided into two main classes, the Gangaries pure and the Nanagotries or Mixed Brahmans. It is now difficult to say who belong to the former and who to the latter Category. Among the purer Gangaries such as Uniyals, Bughanas, Dangwals and others marriages are generally exogamous. But the girl imported into the family is forbidden to take rice cooked by members of her parental family. The custom of taking a deceased elder brother's widow as wife is looked down upon, although in course of time the offspring of such connection gets mixed with members of pure birth. The origin of Gangaries is lost in obscurity and one can only conjecture about it.

There is no doubt that just as Sarolas were the priests and ministers of the Chandpoor Raja, some of the Gangaries held similar positions in the courts of other chieftains who ruled in Garhwal. For instance, the Dumaga-Brahmans (Purohits, Kimothies and Maikoties of Nagpore) were the Sarolas of the Nagpur Raja, the ancestors of the present, Thokdar family of the Barthwal Rajputs of patti Nagpur. But when all those chieftains were subdued one

called, the Chandpur Raja being one of them. If the theory that the Chandpur Raja originally came from the plains and settled in Chandpoorgarh be true—though I have my own theory about it, which being irrelevant to the present enquiry, I leave out of consideration here, -then he must have brought with him his own family priests, cooks and astrologers. Those Brahmans who came with the Raja settled in the villages in the neighbourhood of Chandpurgarh and gradually began to be called after the names of the villages in which they settled. For instance, the Brahmans who settled in village Nauti were called Nautiyals, the gurus of the Raja of Tehri, and so on. Being connected with the Raja they naturally considered themselves of greater importance than the other Brahmans who lived lower down in the Gangetic Valley or Gangar. Their marriages and dining were confined within their twelve houses or thans. Gradually the Chandpoor Rajas subdued the other chieftains and extended their dominion over the whole of Garhwal and Dehra Doon. They then came down and settled at Srinagar which is a mere central place in the district. They brought with them their own Brahmans from Chandpur. With the growth of their Raja, the importance of these Brahmans also increased. They began to monopolise important state offices and being the Gurus of the Raja were held in respect by all his subjects. Hence they began to be looked upon as a distinct sub-caste of Brahmans. These twelve families gradually migrated to other villages and some of them lost their original family surnames and began to be called after the villages of their new domicile. For instance, Hatwals after the village Hat near Chamoli and so on. Some families were subsequently made Sarolas by the Raja on account of their being priests of important temples or political or social importance. For instance, the Dimrie Pandas of Badrinath were made Sarolas on the ground that they cook food as Bhog for the deity at Badrinath, which is eaten by all the Hindus all over India, as also by the Brahmans. The total number of *Khas*-Brahmans proprietors at the last Settlement was 3,685 and inferior *Gangaries* 397.

4. I now come to the sub-castes of Rajputs, that imported section of the Garhwali community who form its backbone, as it were. I have given above the various classifications of the Rajputs and their sub-castes. I may also mention here another classification given by Mr. E. K. Panw who was a Deputy Commissioner and Settlement Officer in Garhwal, and is considered a great authority on Garhwal customs. He divides Rajputs into Chhattris or high caste Rajputs and Khasiyas or low caste Rajputs. His Chhattris correspond to the first class Rajputs of Captain Browne's classification mentioned above. I will now very briefly discuss the origin of these Chhattris or high class Rajputs, so far as can be gathered from previous writers and the known facts about them. I have stated above that formerly the whole district was split up into several petty kingdoms under their own feudal chiefs or Thakurs. He and his clan occupied some glen or valley, now called a patti. Several pattis of Garhwal are still called after the sub-castes of Chhatria chiefs: Kapolsyun after Kapola Bists; Kandarsyun after Kandari Gosains, and so on. These petty chiefs were Chhatries or high class Rajputs whose descendants are the present Thokdar families and some other sub-castes of Rajputs. Some families of Rajputs migrated from the plains during the rule of the native Rajas and entered military service. In lieu of pay villages were assigned to them and military titles were also conferred on them, which they and their descendants have borne since. For instance, Gusain, a sub-caste of Garhwal Rajputs, means a master; Rawat a family title borne by four or five Rajputs sub-castes, means a hero; Negi, meaning a master, has been adopted by several Rajput families. Captain Browne has taken great pains in tracing the history of the several high caste Rajput Sub-castes of Garhwal, in his excellent table of the Garhwal

after the other by the Chandpur Raja, they as well as their priests began to recede into the background. Some of the pure Gangaries came from the plains during the period when the Tehri Raja's ancestors lived at Srinagar. Bughanas, Unyals and a few other families claim to be among such immigrants. The Bughanas were famous astrologers and Pandits in the court of the Srinagar Rajas and Unyals or Ojhas, as they call themselves, were priests of the Raja Rajeshwari Devi, the family goddess of the Srinagar Rajas at Dewalgarh near Srinagar. Both these families were held in great respect during the Srinagar period of the Garhwal Rajas. The above statement would show that the pretensions of the several sub-castes to social positions are mainly due to political causes. There does not appear to be any thing intrinsic in a sub-caste to single it out from the rest. As regards certain customs which have become stereotyped in certain groups of subcaste, I ascribe them entirely to physical causes. In those early days of difficult communication certain families who remained in one neighbourhood intermarried and inter-dined in their own circle. Originally they may have come from the plains, may be from different parts of the country. But gradually they became cut off from their Biradari in the plains and created a new Biradari for themselves in their new home of adoption. And when all memories of their origin were lost in oblivion their connection with the plains ceased altogether and they became separate Pahari-Brahman sub-castes. The total number of superior Gangarie-Brahmans proprietors at Mr. Panw's Settlement of 1894 was 5,267.

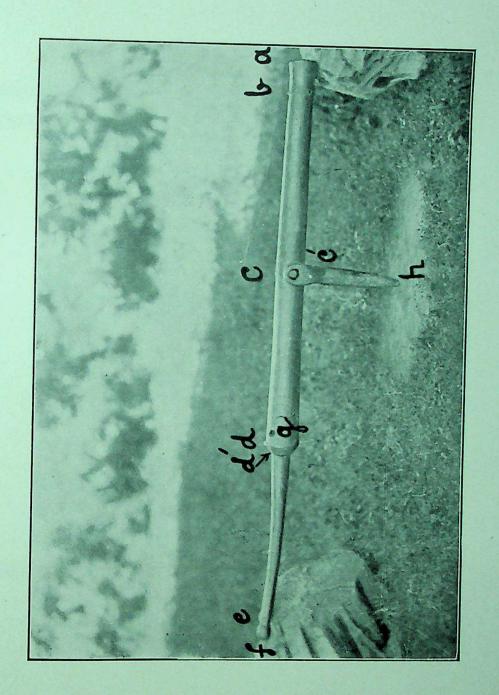
I now come to the last group of Brahmans known as *Khas*-Brahmans. They are the new cases of accession now in progress. Only within living memory these subcastes were *Khasias* or Rajputs to all intents and purposes. They have also reformed their mode of life and are now veritable Brahmans. Some of them have even gone to the extreme of not eating rice cooked by high caste

whereas the Khasias, as every one knows, are more or less uncouth in appearance and dirty in habits. I venture to give a theory of my own with regard to the origin of these Khasias. My view is that the word Khasia is a corrupt form of Kshatriya. Ksh is easily changed into Kh; as from Lakshaman, Lakhan, Kshem, Khem, and so on. Sri can also, by process of repitition and transformation, be changed to Si. Thus from Kshatriya we easily get Khasiya. It is also a well-known fact that some words originally meaning good gradually begin to connote quite the reverse. This is due to degradation in the subject itself. We have several instances of this in the English language also. Now, formerly, a Kshatriya in common parlance was called a Khasia. It connoted all those warlike qualities which characterize a true Kshatriya. In the ancient folk-lore of Garhwal we hear of several warriors and heroes being nicknamed Khasia. In fact Khasia meant a warrior in ancient folklore. But gradually as the race of Khasias degenerated and lost all their manly virtues, that word began to assume a bad meaning and now connotes all that is filthy and cowardly. The word Pahari which has also shared the same fate, meant all that was noble, virtuous and honest. But now, I regret to say, that word is contemptuously used by the people of sub-mountainous tracts. The above observation will show that Khasias are Kshatrias degraded on account of their having been out of touch with Aryan influence and living in remote, out of the way recesses of the Himalayas.

One who associates with them, and studies their social life can have no hesitation in saying that all their religious rites and ceremonies are imbued with the true spirit of *Hindwism*. Go to the great hoary moss-covered *Saiva* Temple at *Bimsar* in patti Chauthan of the Ghandial Temple in *Choprakot* on some festive occasion and hear the chantings and choruses of the group of men and women, deeply inspired by religious feelings, in their barbaric but heart-piercing tunes, and you can feel the great

castes. According to him most of these families of Rajputs are immigrants from the plains. But so far as the present writer is aware there is no written authority in support of this fact. But as I will show later on, when dealing with Khasias, I do not think we can draw any sharp line of distinction, so far as the origin is concerned, between the various sub-castes of Rajputs. Political importance has mainly been the determining factor in the social gradation of the Rajput sub-castes just as in the case of Brahman sub-castes, as stated above. I refrain from a lengthy discussion of this question for want of space and time.

5. I have already mentioned the social incidents of the various Rajput sub-castes. It now remains for me to briefly consider the second and by no means unimportant subdivision of the Rajputs the Khasias. I have read with great interest the masterly discussion of question in Mr. Alkinson's Himalayan districts, Vol. 11, pp. 274 onwards. The conclusion to be drawn from that discussion, so far as I can see, is that Khasas and Pahalavas, whom I make bold to identify with the Pabilas of Chandpur and Rath Pattis, are degraded Aryans, who having no access to the Vedas or the Brahmans became out of touch with the Brahamanical influence. I can find no better authority than this in support of my own theory, that Khasas or Khasias including Pabilas are Rajputs. I may also mention some other theories in this connection. Some writers think that Khasias are a non-Aryan, Indo-scythian race, who invaded India and gradually receded into the frontier regions and became known as Khasias, but this seems to be a mere guess, others, including Mr. Alkinson, identify Khasias with the Yakshas mentioned in the Puranas. But those Yakshas, Kinnaras and Gandharvas of the Puranas were demi-gods, higher than men. They could not be the half civilized and apparently non-Hindu race of the Khasias, who wear no sacred thread and observe few Brahmanical injunctions. Moreover, the Yakshas of the Purans were a very fair race, fairer than the Aryans even;

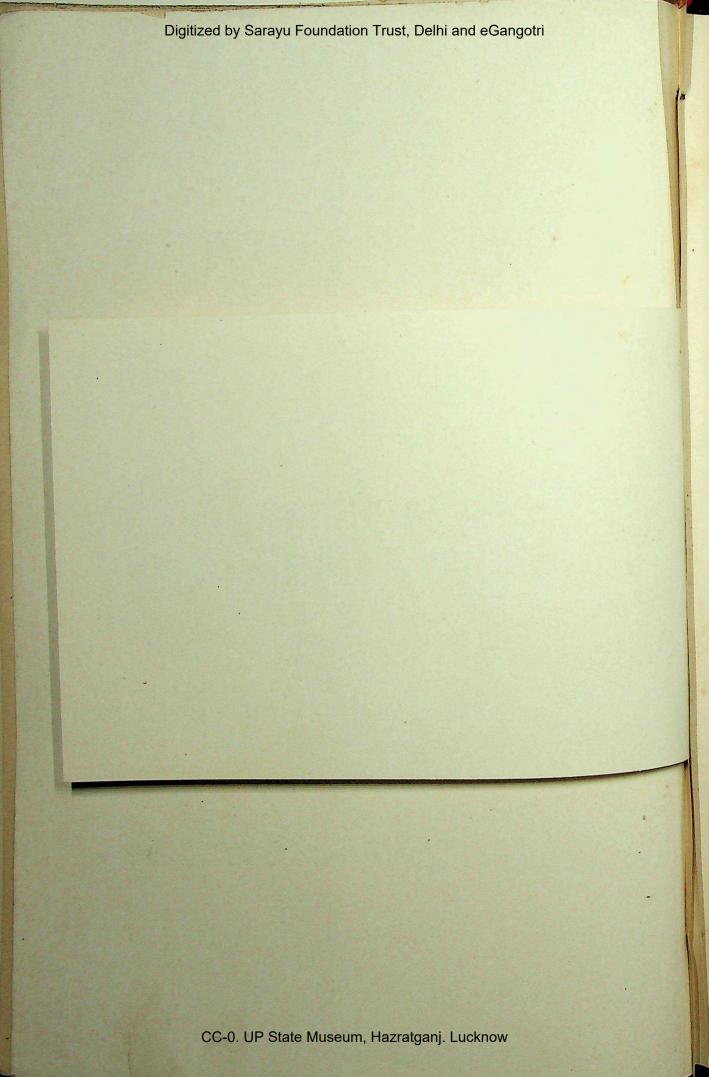


CASTES AND SUB-CASTES.

living force of the Hindu religion among them. Great famines, devasting-wars and pestilences have swept over the district in the past, which would be sufficient to kill all religious life in any race or country. But the pure candle of the religion fervour in these true *Kshatrias*, the simple unsophisticated *Khasias*, has burned through these countless ages with the same brilliancy and pathos as before. This is why I call them true Kshatrias.

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याणी रबाणीबीपमङमाव विभवनामानमानमानमानमान यान यान यान सम्बन्धियः श्रीयाम (मूर्के



A SHORT HISTORY OF SYED MASUD GHÁZI AND HIS DESCENDENTS.

CYED Masud Gházi, son of Syed Jalaluddin, a descendent of the fourth Imám of the Shia sect, Imám Zainulabedin (may the peace of God be on him) is the twentysecond in regard to pedigree of that Imám-Syed Hasan Homâis alias Shāh Nasir, being the fourth in regard to the said pedigree, on account of the tyranny and oppressions of the later members of the Abbasi dynasty left Medina for Tirmiz (in Persia) and took that place to be his abode.1 Sved Ahmad Tokhtá who is reputed to bear a close resemblance to the features of our prophet (may the peace of God be on him) being the eighth in regard to the said pedigree left Tirmiz for Lahore in the year 270 A.H. But he had left behind him in Tirmiz one of his sons, Mohammad Tokhtá by name. He had four great-grandsons. One of them Mohammad Kasim, married to the daughter of Sultán Abdul Malik, son of Sultán Mansur Sámáni became the Kazi of Bokhará. His brother, Syed Sulaiman became the governor of Balkh. He was killed in a war on behalf of his master and Mohammad Kásim was treacherously killed when the said Sámáni kingdom was overthrown. The third brother, Syed Ahmad Zaid with his three sons, Syed Husain, Syed Hamid and Syed Zaid came to Sirhind (Sewáná) in the year 393 A.H. Syed Masud Gházi was the seventh in regard to pedigree to the said Ahmad Zaid. He was a very religious man and devoted his time to the study of literature and art.

l Vide 'Bahrul-ansáb' (Arabic) and 'Rauzatush Shohada' (Persian).

² Lahore was then a place of a little dimension and an ordinary one.

³ Tokhtá means one who has discharged faithfully all his religious and social obligations.

He was a man of great talents, and energy, and applied his powers to the rescue of the weak. His loyalty and integrity helped him to gain access to Feroz Sháh Toghlak who realising his merits highly valued him and offered him positions of trust and responsibility. This is an account of his parentage and early career. The events which led to his coming to this place are as follows:—

One Rájá Mandhátá Chakwá, a descendent of Rai Pithaurá, the late king of Delhi, used to live in Ghauspur in the District of Gházipur. He had no issue and on this account always remained sorrowful. At last, when he grew old and became hopeless of any issue he adopted his nephew and made him the head of his army. This young man, the nephew of the Rájá, besides being cruel and unrelenting was a debauchee. He led a very loose and unprincipled life. Once it so happened that an aged woman of noble blood with her daughter who had not reached her maturity was going her way. Unfortunately for them they were detained by this young man who was hunting there. He was charmed with the beauty of her daughter and cherished the evil desire of prostituting her when she may come of age-Men like him do not seek for any justification when the object of their desire is at hand. She was beautiful and that was enough excuse for her detention. He at once ordered for her capture which was duly executed. The misery of the aged woman at this circumstance can be well imagined than described. Her mental agitation can be well realised by those who have deeply studied the psychology of noble men thrown into circumstances like these. She knew her attempts to rescue her will be futile, still she tried with her bewailings to soften the tyrant's heart. But she did not know that the capture of her daughter was on the principle of 'Might is Right' which demands no justification. The tyrant turned a deaf ear to all her entreaties. poor woman, then being hopeless, thought of other meas-With this view in mind she came to Feroz Sháh Toghlak and appealed to him to help her in the matter

which involved her honour. The voice of the weak is always unheard in courts. Her case was deferred, and she was always kept on the bright hopes of to-morrow. But her repeated petitions, at last, moved the king and drew his attention. He asked his men to help the woman in her cause. The first man who answered the call of the king and took up this righteous cause was Syed Masud Gházi, the founder of the city of Gházipur. This is a point worthy of note. He did not come here for any aggressive policy, but he did so for the sake of this noble cause. However, he, with his faithful and tried adherents, set out and reaching this place gave battle to the young Rájá. The mere fact of being in the right inspires courage and bravery and this is the reason why right wins even against the force of numbers. Syed Masud and his followers met the forces of the Rájá bravely, put them to flight and completed the victory by killing the Rájá. Syed Masud then despatched the news of this victory to the king. The king became highly pleased with the news, and granted him the title of 'Malikussadat' along with the possession of this place. He settled here and founded the present city of Ghazipur.

His descendents are up to this day in Para, Nonhará, Baghoi Buzrug, Deokathia and Gangauli.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH.

Sheikh Abdullah Khan, son of Sheikh Mohammad Kásim Siddikie, of Dharwará (near Kasimabád) was of a noble descent. In his youth he went to Sháhjahanabád in pursuit of knowledge and remained there for several years. His literary achievements paved for him the way to gain access to the well-to-do of that place. His genius brought him into prominence and secured for him some conspicuous position. In the year 1124 A.H. with Sarbaland Khán he got the place of Naibsubedarship and remained at that place for eighteen years. During his term of office he got several palaces and buildings erected in Azimabád (Patná).

In 1141 A.H. Nawab Fakhruddaulah, brother to Nawab Raushanuddaulah, in the reign of Mohammad Sháh was appointed as Subedar of Behar and came to Azimabád. There arose then some misunderstanding between him and Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh Abdullah resigned and came to Ghazipur. In the same year Nawáb Burhanulmulk Saádat Khán of Naishapur was appointed Subedar of Oudh by Mohammad Sháh. Sheikh Abdullah was then appointed by Burhanulmulk as the Nazim of Gorakhpur, Bahraich, and Khairabád and continued to be in the same position when after the death of Burhanulmulk the Subedari was transferred to his son-in-law Nawab Abul Mansur Safdar Jang. In 1153 A.H. Nawáb Safdar Jang appointed him Nazim of Ghazipur. Here, during his term of office he built Chehalsutun (a palace of forty pillars), Imámbárá, and planted a garden which remain up to this day and bear witness to his grandeur and his contributions to the district. He died in 1157 A.H.

His son Nawab Fazal Ali Khán in the lifetime of his father left Ghazipur for Lucknow and secured the favour of Nawáb Safdar Jang. At the same time Nawáb Safdar Jang went to Shahjahanabád to pay his homage to the king and took Nawáb Fazal Ali Khán with him. When at Delhi, Nawáb Fazal Ali Khán got the sad news of the death of his father. After a time he received the title of Mumtázulmulk Fazal Ali Khan Bahadur Saif Jang and the Nazimship of Gházipur from Nawáb Safdar Jang. He died in 1188 A.H. and was buried near the tomb of his father.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE OLD MOSQUE IN BAGHOI BUZRUG.

The Old Mosque at Baghoi Buzrug whose shattered walls and dilapidated conditions still bear witness to its former grandeur and splendour was built in the time of Sháh Jahán—some three hundred years ago as can be known by the inscriptions. Syed Chánd, son of Syed Ahmad, son of Syed Moazzam, is popular among the common

SYED MASUD GHAZI.

folk as the founder of this historical mosque. But history gives credit to Syed Saidoo, cousin to the said Syed Chánd as the founder of the mosque. Anyhow, the mosque itself represents to us a specimen of the fine architecture of that time even in its present neglected condition. Its massive walls and minarets are very imposing. The extensive plain in front of the mosque is a fit place for recreation. In short, its surroundings and its architecture inspires the observer with a feeling of reverence and piety and call his attention to the Almighty to whom it is consecrated. date of its foundation is 1043 A.H.

History does not give the exact account of Syed Saidoo. But, however, the history tells us that Syed Abu Saîd, the father of Syed Saidoo was granted the position of Mansabdár from the king Shah Jahán.

> SYED ALI AZHAR. Dt. Ghazipur.

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NOTE ON A GUN FOUND IN GHAZIPORE.

BY RAM GOPAL.

THE big gun illustrated herewith was found by some boatmen about twenty years ago in the sands of the Ganges opposite Lord Cornwallis's tomb in Ghazipore. It was deposited in the stock room of the Collectorate and lay there uncared for till 1902 when Mr. E. A. Molony, I.C.S., then Collector of Ghazipore, noticed it and removed it to the premises of his bungalow, where it has been lying since.

The gun measures 5 ft. in length; the barrel from a to d 39½", from d to d' 1½", and the bore, i.e. the diameter of the mouth of the gun is 1½". Three inches from the mouth is a knotted band at b with 14 small knots, and at c, 18½" from this, is a band without any knots, where a straight piece of iron c h is fixed, 10" in length. This piece was probably meant to go into a socket and to serve as a pivot to turn the gun right and left. The tail, which is 18" from d' to c in a straight line and 184" along the curve with a knob f at the end, could help in turning the gun round.

Eighteen inches from the band c is a small groove at d which is in a straight line with a small hole at a, into which a nail could be fixed to serve as "didman" (sight). One inch from the end of the barrel is a hole at g (not in the same line with the groove at d and the pin-hole at a) which was used for firing the gun.

The circumference at a is $9\frac{1}{2}$ ", at b 8", at c $9\frac{1}{2}$ ", at d III $\frac{1}{4}$ " and at d' 6".

The age of the gun is 198 years as is apparent from the inscription in it which is in two lines between c and d and a fac-simile of the inscription is given.

A GUN FOUND IN GHAZIPORE.

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Transliterated into Hindi it reads:-

श्री श्री हरगौरीपददन्दारविन्दावधान समन्दानन्द मधुनरोदार गुण सुन्दर-मन्दिर-श्री श्री मत् सूर्य्यनारायण देव भिवसिंहेन निर्मितं भाने १६४३ हाजार्कि वागड़िया रघु स्रोक्षार गड़ा २ गज़ and the translation is:—

"Made under the orders of Suryanarayandevagir Sinha who was a fine temple of all the good attributes of the bee, full of excessive joy for his attention to the lotus feet of Siva and his consort Gauri. Cast by Raghu Ojha, a commander of one thousand, a resident of Bagri in the S'ake year of 1643. Two yards."

"One yard" at the end of the inscription probably gives the length of the barrel.

Commentary.

Bagri is the name of the Gangetic Delta, but it is at present confined to the district to the east and north of Murshidabad.

Hazarki is the commander of one thousand in the Moghal army, often called Hazari or Hazra.

Sakha 1643 is equivalent to 1721 A.D., at the time of Murshid Kuli Khan (Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad).

There are cannons cast by Bengali blacksmiths with Bengali inscriptions, in the same character as the present, in the Armoury of the Nawab of Murshidabad and also at the Krishnagar Rajbati (Palace).

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED PICTURE OF THE EMPEROR FARUKHSIYAR.

By R. Burn.

THE picture is in the possession of a Dutch gentleman, Mr. J. H. W. Reddingius, secretary of the Municipal Board at Bussum near Amsterdam. The owner sent it to me for identification and for particulars regarding the Persian inscription on the back. He took the picture too to be Persian.

The picture shows six figures and, as all of them (except the one standing a little in the background who is merely a servant) are labelled, there can be no doubt with regard to their identity. The main personage in the centre—the only one who is seated—represents the Pādshāh Farukhsīyar. The two grandees standing nearest his throne are the famous Sayyid brothers, 'Abdullah Khān and Hussain 'Alī Khān, the "King-makers," the greyish colour of his beard indicating that 'Abdullah is the elder one.

The third courtier with the white whiskers standing behind 'Abdullah Khan is labelled Chhabelī Rām and the corresponding white-bearded gentleman Sipahdār Khān.

The Emperor wears a very rich garment of gold brocade and a very elaborate turban, both copiously decorated with pearls and jewels. (It is said that Farukhsiyar was particularly fond of such finery.) His exalted position is, as usual, indicated by the gilt halo which encircles the Emperor's head. In his right hand he holds an object which I cannot identify. His left hand rests on the cushion. He is seated on a hexagonal gold seat, a footstool being placed in front, under a canopy supported on

PICTURE OF EMPEROR FARUKHSIYAR.

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four gilt poles. The canopy which is red and gold shows the effigy of the sun between two birds of Paradise.

The four gentlemen standing on both sides are dressed in white court-dress with gold-embroidered belts and richly decorated swords and daggers. The attendant holding a peacock-fan (mor-chhal) wears a green robe.

Although the picture, especially in the treatment of the faces, does not exhibit the excellence and refinement of the 17th century, it is still a very noteable specimen of Indo-Moghul art of the later period. During the 18th century the Moghul school of painting shows a very rapid decline as an immediate result of the collapse of political power.

The Persian letter on the back of the picture is addressed by Farukhsiyār to Rājā Chabīla Rām (one of the four courtiers portrayed), who is thereby appointed to the Subadārship of Akbarābād (Agra).

Sir Thomas Arnold, K.C.I.E., Professor at the School of Oriental Studies, London, has deciphered the letter and translated it into English. It was not an easy task. "The Persian," he wrote me, "is bad, and the script is the wildest Shikasta possible."

Text.

الله اكبر

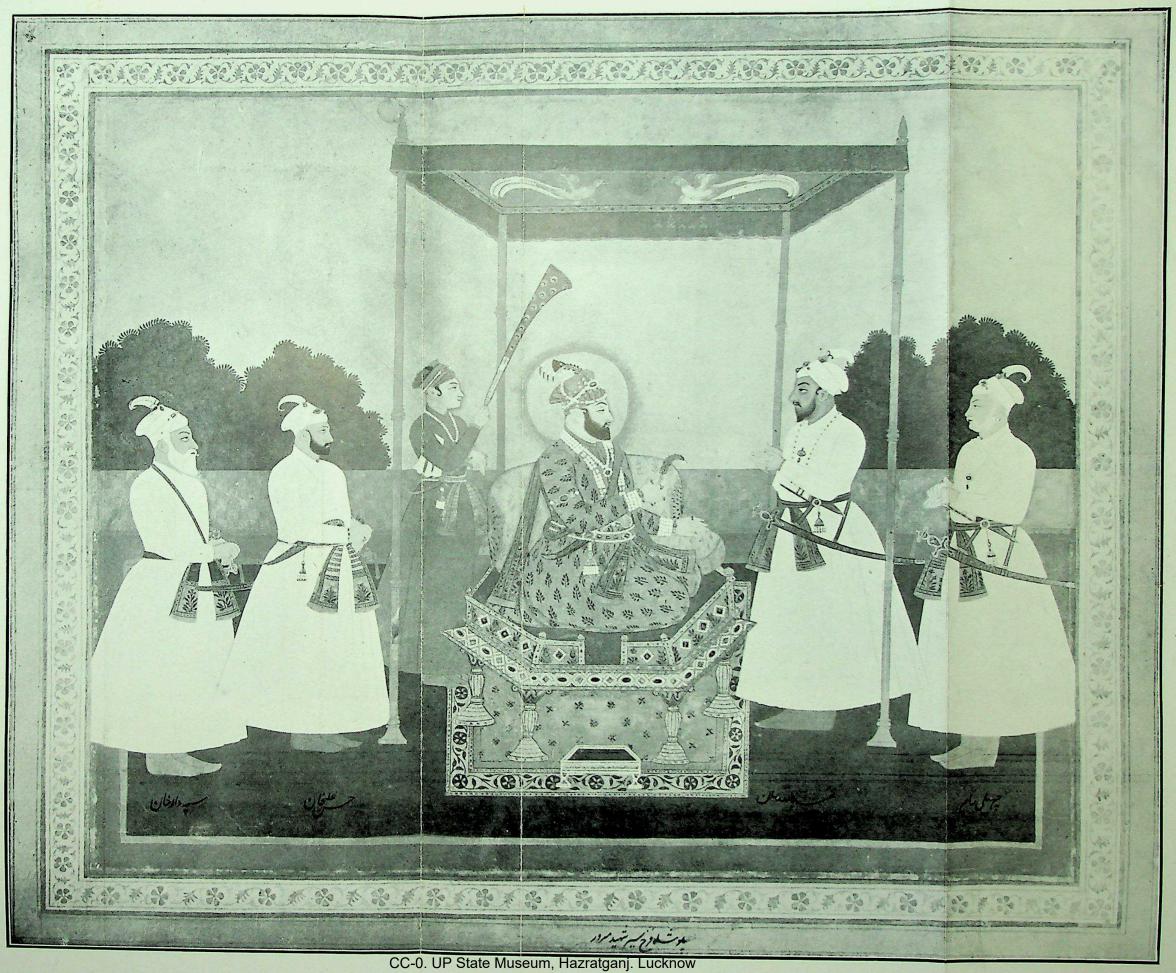
لایق العنایت و المرحمت شایسة صراحم بیکران فدوی خاص المخاص راجه چهیله رام بهادر والا شان امیدوار تفضل و عنایت بوجه بداند درینولا نزدیک آمدن آنفدوی راسنج عقیدت مصلحت عین مناسب و صلاح دولت ما در اینست که مثل آن دولتخواه قریب رکاب ظفر انتساب همیشه باشد لهذا صوبداری مستقر المخلافت اکبر آباد بنام آنفدوی صادق مقرر فرمودیم باید که بمجرد ورود فرمان والاشان راجه اگردهر بهادر را با جمعیت نیابت در صوبه آله آباد گذاشته خود را بتعجیل تمام باین روی دریای جمن رسانیده عرضداشت بدرگاه فلک بارگاه مرسول دارد بنجویکه بتجدید احکام گیتی انتظام عرضدار خواهد یانت بعمل خواهد آورد و از راه فضل و کرم خلعت خاص

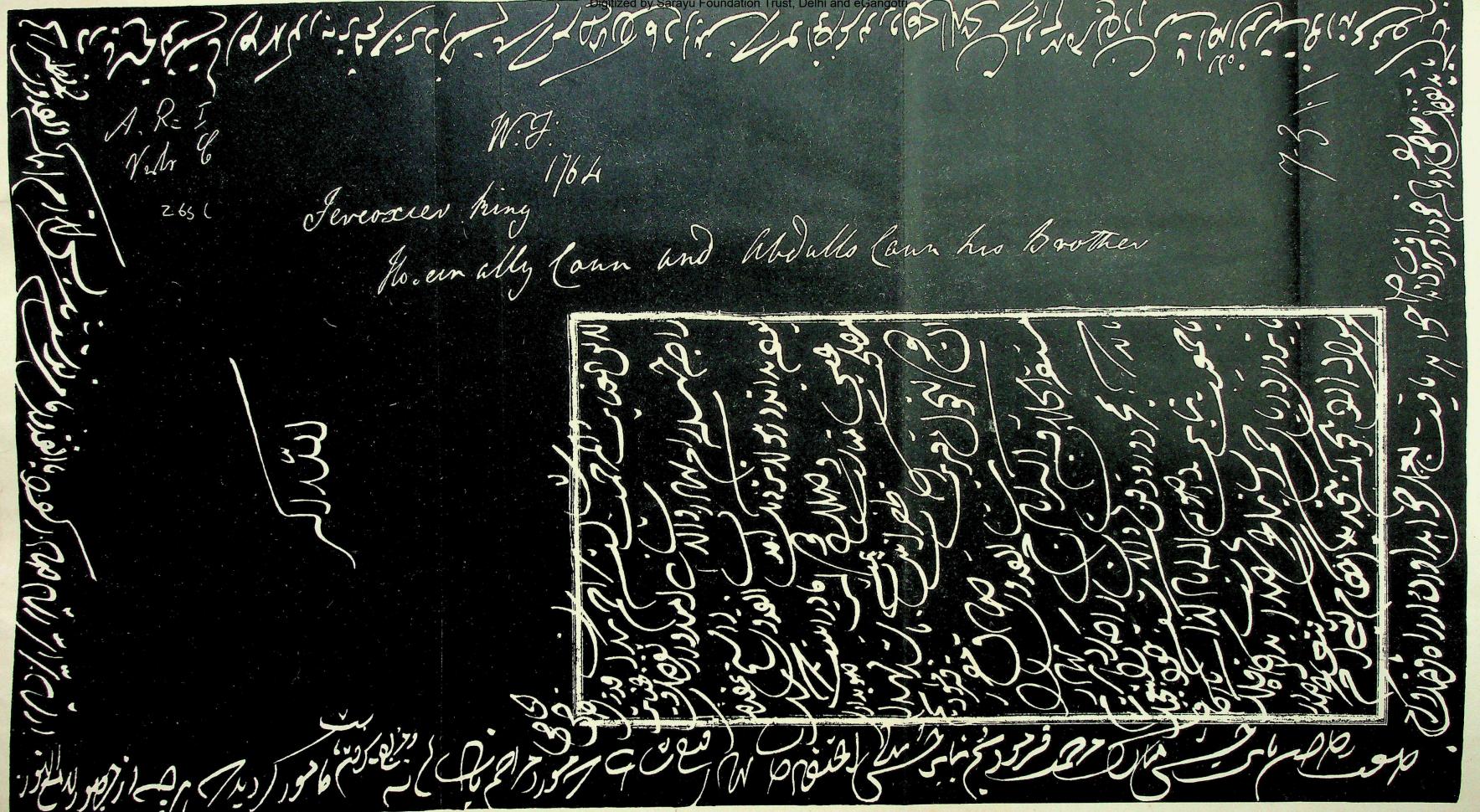
58 PICTURE OF EMPEROR FARUKHSIYAR.

بابت جش مبارک مرحمت فرمودیم و بنابر حسن بندگی اعتقاد خان بهاد رفیع شان که مورد مراحم پادشاهانه و مزاج گرفتهٔ ماست مامور گردید که هرچه از حضور لامع النور ارشاد سراسر رشاد صادر گردد بآنفدوی خاص نوشته شد پس لازم اینکه آنفدوی بی نظیر هم در پاسخ نوشته های خان مذکور به ترقیم می پرداخته شد که مرضی مبارک ما در اینست که سوای خان مربور و امین الدین خان که او هم بندهٔ مزاج دان است با احدی راه نوشت خواند پی نموده باشد باید تفضل خاص را در بارهٔ خود روز افزون داند *

Translation.

"Be it hereby known to the most noble and exalted Rājā Chabīla Rām Bahādur (our devoted servant, who is deserving of our kindness and clemency, is worthy of boundless favours, and expects our benevolence and kindness), that at the present time it is truly expedient and fitting that our devoted servant, of firmly-rooted faith, should draw near; and the welfare of our realm demands that a well-wisher of the Empire as he is should alway be near our victorious stirrup. For this reason we confer upon our true and devoted servant the Subadārship of Akbarābād [i.e. Agra], the abode of the Caliphate. As soon as our sublime firman reaches him, he must leave Rājā Girdhar Bahādur behind in the Suba of Āllahābād with all the subordinate staff, and himself come with all haste to this side of the River Jamna, and submit his petition to our most exalted court; with the intent that he will receive and carry into effect our renewed world-disposing commands; and by way of mercy and benevolence we graciously confer upon him a special robe of honour on the occasion of our auspicious festival; and by reason of the good services rendered by the eminent I'tiqad Khan Bahādur, who is the recipient of our imperial favours and enjoys our confidence, we charge him to write to our most devoted servant whatever instructions may proceed from our divinely-guided and refulgent presence. Hence it is incumbent upon our incomparable and devoted servant





PICTURE OF EMPEROR FARUKHSIYAR.

also to attend to the answering of the despatches from the afore-said Khān. For it is our august desire that correspondence carried by the royal body-guard shall be conducted by some one else as well as by the above-mentioned Khān and Amīn-ud-Dīn Khān, who is also one of our confidential servants. Let him recognise that our special favour towards him is ever increasing."

Sir Thomas Arnold notes that there is a biograpy of Chabīla Rām in Vol. II, pp. 328-9; of I'tiqād Khān in Vol. I, p. 339; of Amīn-ud-Din Khān, in Vol. I, p. 357—of the (Bibl. Indica), and that the account of Chabīla Rām has been translated by H. Beveridge, "Mansiru-l-Umara," Vol. I, p. 429 (fasc. V) (Bibl. Indica, Calcutta, 1914).

Besides the Persian firmān the picture bears two short additional inscriptions, one in English: "Ferroxier king, Hosein Ally Caun and Abdullo Caun his Brother" and the other in German: 'Faruchsizâr, Togul [sic] kaiser und die' Königs-macher." The picture must therefore have been in the hands of an English and a German owner before it came to Holland.

Finally, I may note that the Delhi Museum of Archaeology contains a picture representing the Emperor Farukhsiyar shooting buck (see Catalogue, No. H 20).

THE DECLINE OF KHILJI IMPERIALISM AND THE RISE OF GHAZI TUGHLAK.

By Ishwari Prasad, M.A.

ALAUDDIN'S death was a signal for civil war and the scrambles of rival parties for power. Malik Kafur, his trusted general, summoned the Kafur's regency. principal nobles and courtiers, and produced before them a spurious will of the late Sultan, by which Prince Omarkhan, his youngest son, was nominated heir to the throne, and the other Princes were totally disinherited. As the heir designate was only a stripling of six years, Kafur himself undertook the regency, and began to administer the affairs of State. The first thing he did was to extirpate the survivors of Alauddin. The villainous Malik Sumbul was commissioned to put out the eyes of Khizr Khan at Gwalior, and was promoted to high rank. A similar fate awaited Prince Shadi Khan, whose eyes were "cut out from the sockets with a razor like slices of melon," and the Queen-mother was forced into retirement, and was despoiled of all her property. Mubarak Khan, the third son, was placed in custody but the regent was prevented from carrying into effect his nefarious design to blind him. All the nobles and officials who were likely to thwart the regent's will were put out of the way, and to cap all these acts of folly he married the mother of Prince Omar, and treated her with great indignity. His appointment to high places of his own lackeys and panders, and the plots and intrigues he wove to destroy the supporters of the old regime alienated from him the sympathies of the nobles who became anxious for their own safety. The slaves

of Alauddin, who had the charge of the Hazar Situn' (the thousand-pillared place), with the help of Malik Musheer, the commander of the foot-guards killed Kafur together with his confederates, a month and five days2 after the death of his master. Mubarak Khan was brought out of prison, and was appointed regent in Kafur's place. He carried on the affairs of government for several months, but the love of power soon destroyed all fraternal feeling, and he began to think of grasping the reins of sovereignty for himself. After a short period of two months he set aside his brother who was sent to the fort of Gwalior, and deprived of his eye-sight.3 No qualms of conscience seem to have troubled Mubarak and his associates with whom such atrocious deeds were a common occurrence, and he formally ascended the throne on the 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. (April 14, 1316 A.D.)

The new king soon became sick of the arrogant

¹ This was a palace built by Alauddin near Siri about the year 1303 A.D. According to the usage of the time, the heads of thousands of Moghals were buried in the foundation and built into the walls of the new palace.

General Cunningham has fixed the locality of this palace inside the western half of the fort of Shahpur, which he identifies with Siri. Mr. Beglar has recognised its ruins "a short way outside the south walls of it." Taimur confounds it with the Hazar Situn built subsequently by Muhammad Tughlak. The Tarikhi-Firoz Shahi states that the plunder which Kafur brought from the Deccan was displayed in this palace. (Carr Stephen, "Archaeology of Delhi," pp. 86-87.)

Barni says 35 days. Elliott III p.

² Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles of Pathan Kings" says the event took place after 37 days. Thomas, "Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi," p.

³ Shadi Khan, Abu Bakr Khan, and Khizrkhan, all, were murdered. According to Ibn Batuta Khizrkhan's mother was spared and the Moor saw her at Mecca in 728 A.H. (1327 A.D.) "Voyages D'Ibn Batuta," Arabic Text and French translation, Vol. III, p. 194.

^{*} The first coin of Kutubuddin is dated 716 A.H. Marsden, "Catalogue of of Coins," p, The date of accession given by Barni is 717 A.H. "Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi," Biblioth. Ind. p. 381. Elliot III, p. 211. This error has been followed by Ferishta, Nizamuddin, and Badoni and by all later writers. Amir Khusru in his Ashika gives 716 A.H (1316 A.D.) as the year of Mubarak's accession, and this is supported by numismatic evidence. Amir Khusru, "Ashika," Elliot III, p. 555. The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi fixes the date to 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. The correct date is 716 A.H. "Thomas, Chronicles of Pathan Kings," p. 178. Coin No. 147, Mr. E. C. Baley's collection; also No. 148. Thomas, "Chronicles of Pathan Kings," p. 182.

claims of the paiks or fort-guards, and to get rid of them, he sent them to distant places where they were treacherously assassinated. He showered gifts and titles upon the nobility in order to win their support. The title of Zafar Khan was conferred upon Malik Dinar, the keeper of elephants, of Sherkhan, upon Muhammad Moulai, his maternal uncle, and of Sadrjahan, the chief ecclesiastical judge, upon Maulana Ziauddin. Malik Qara Beg was appointed member of the council of State, and similar honours were bestowed upon other chiefs and nobles. But the latter were disgusted by the partial treatment which the king meted out to one Hasan, a young Parwari, an outcast from Gujrat, who had been brought up as a slave by Malik Shadi, an officer of Sultan Alauddin. He was admitted to the royal council; was elevated to the dignity of vizier, and the king signalised his folly by placing at his command all the forces of Malik Kafur. Rewarded beyond his deserts by an imprudent and incapable master, the erstwhile slave began to form ambitious projects, and his attempts to emulate Kafur and to obtain ascendancy over the king led to catas-

¹ Parwari (the text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi Biblioth. Ind. has Barbar) is "an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gate-keepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people-प्रवारी, भेड़, महार, the first is a courteous or conciliating term; the second is a term of reviling; the third is a mere appellative without implication." Molesworth, "Mahratti-English Dictionary. The Parwaris are Hindu outcastes, literally the term means "dwellers without walls." The Parwaris should not by rights be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors. They are called Atisudras or inferior sudras, and Antyaja or last born. Any person minutely acquainted with the manners and customs (or customs and absence of manners) of the Parwaris can only consider their exclusion from the town limits as a necessary measure of sanitary police and the abhorrence of personal contact with them as the natural feeling of any man who holds his corporeal frame (as the Hindus do) to be the image of God." Indian Antiquary 1874, p. 130. Briggs in a footnote says, "The Parwari is a Hindu outcast who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town." Briggs' "Ferishta," I, p. 387.

James Bird is utterly wrong in saying that Hasan was a Rajput of the Parmar tribe. He confounds the Parwari with the Parmar clan of the Rajputs. James Bird, History of Gujrat, p. 167, translated from the Mirat-i-Ahmadi.

trophes which finally not only shattered but degraded the power of the Muhamadans.

Nothing stirs men's consciences like misfortune, and Kutubuddin who had, in his earlier days, passed through

Mubarak, a man of promise.

great troubles and sufferings, resorted to humaner methods to cement his title to the throne and adopted a

title to the throne, and adopted a mild policy towards his subjects. There was a reaction from the iron despotism of Alauddin. All the political prisoners were released from prisons, and the exiles were allowed to return, numbering about seventeen or eighteen thousand. The army was granted six months' pay as a reward for their loyalty, and the allowances and pensions of the amirs and maliks were also increased. The villages which had been incorporated in the royal demesnes during the reign of Alauddin were restored to their rightful owners, and the exorbitant tributes demanded from the people were abolished. Extortion and the employment of the severest penalties in the collection of revenue were forbidden. Learning was patronised and generous gifts were made to the learned. The king was easily accessible; he issued an order that all petitions should be laid before him. The numerous tolls and taxes, which had clogged the progress of industry and commerce, were abolished, and once more the old prosperity and ease returned. Gold and silver, which had been concealed in subterreanean caverns owing to the greed of Alauddin, made their appearance again, and men felt relieved and contented. The contemporary historian 'records that men were no longer in doubt and fear of hearing the words, "Do this, but do'nt do that; say this, but do'nt say that; hide this but do'nt hide that; eat this, but do'nt eat that; sell such as this, but do'nt sell things like that; act like this, but do'nt act like that." But the change of policy proved fatal. The moral laxity of the Sultan, accom-

Barni, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi; Biblioth. Ind. p. 383. Elliot III, p. 212.

panied by the cessation of the old rules and regulations, seriously diminished the awe in which the royal authority was held. The rules of Alauddin were no longer enforced; only the interdict on wine was retained, while all other edicts of the late regime were openly flouted. Liquor shops were reopened in the city, and men began freely to indulge in the pursuit of pleasure. The tarifflaws ceased to be enforced, and the prices of the necessaries of life rose out of all proportion. The shopkeepers fixed their own prices, and business men, freed from the iron grip of Alauddin, welcomed the new age of lax discipline and waning authority. The wages of labourers rose by 25 p.c. and the pay of domestic servants rose from ten and twelve tankas to seventy, eighty, and even one hundred. The officers of the state practised extortion and embezzlement. Abuses became rife in the revenue department, and there was a considerable fall in the income of the State. The Hindus resumed their former status, and the bigoted historiographer who cannot bear their prosperity writes of them: 'They who had plucked the green ears of corn because they could not get bread, who had not a decent garment, and who had been so harassed by corporal punishments that they had not even time to scratch their heads, now put on fine apparel, rode on horse back, and discharged their arrows.'1

Secure on his throne, the new king freely indulged in the pursuit of pleasure. Licentiousness of the grossest kind prevailed at the court, and drunkenness, debauchery and foul music became the order of the day. The example of the court was followed by the people, and the austerities of the last reign were clean forgotten. The administration was, no doubt, corrupt, but there was no rebellion or disturbance of a serious nature. The only rebellions of the reign were of Alapkhan, the governor of Gujrat, in the very first year of the reign, and

¹ Barni, "Text of T.F.," Biblioth. Ind. p. 385. Elliot III, p. 213.

of Harpal Deo, Raja of Deogir, in the year 718 A.H. (1318 A.D.) Alapkhan had caused the death of Kamaluddin Garg and had shaken off the allegiance to the throne of Delhi. Ainul-mulk who was a general of ability and prudence was deputed along with other officials to chastise the rebel and to put down the revolt. The intrepid commandant subdued the entire country of Nehrwala and Gujrat, and brought to book the refractory nobles. The rebels once more made a determined rally but they were overpowered by the imperial forces. Malik Dinar, whose daughter the king had espoused, was entrusted with the charge of Gujrat, and the title of Zafarkhan was bestowed upon him. He was an old and experienced general who had received his training in the school of Alauddin. When he reached Gujrat he managed the situation with such tact and firmness that the whole country was recovered, and the people ceased to think of Alapkhan. All disorder was effectively put down with the help of the veteran nobles who accompanied Zafarkhan, and the Rais and village chiefs, not much perturbed by the change of masters, tendered their fealty to the new governor. The Parwari Hasan, whom the king had raised to undeserved eminence, was sent to Ma'bar with a large army to restore order in the country. Raised to the dignity of the first man in the State, the parvenu began to plan the murder of his master, and conferred night and day with his followers to devise means by which to usurp the throne.

The rebellion of Harpal Deo, son of Ram Deo, at Deogir was more serious and the Sultan was for once energetic. With characteristic fatuity he placed the affairs of Delhi in the charge of a certain slave Shahin,²

Barni says he was slain by Alapkhan. Elliot III, p. 214. Nizamuddin in his "Tabkat-i-Akbari" says that he had been sent there to suppress the revolt but he was killed by the rebels. Text of "T. Akbari." Biblioth. Ind. p. 194.

² This slave whose name was originally Barialda belonged to the time of Alauddin. He had acquired great influence and power. Text, T.F. of Barni p. 389.

on whom he conferred the title of Wafa-i-Mūlk, and proceeded in person towards the disaffected province at the head of a large army. Harpal Deo and his allies were unable to offer any resistance and the imperialists gained an easy victory. All Rais and chiefs except Raghu, the deputy and minister of the late Ram Deo, who had about ten thousand horse under his command, submitted. fled to hills in open defiance, but he was overtaken by Khusru's men, and was wounded in a scuffle. Almost without fighting, the fort was recovered, and the archrebel who had fled from the field of battle was captured, and ordered to be flayed alive. The whole country of Maharashtra was subdued, and the presence of the Sultan served to restore his authority in the disaffected area. A chain of posts was established as far as Dwar-Samudra to keep communication with the capital of the empire, and a mosque was built at Deogir, which stands to this day. Malik Yāk Lakhi, an old officer who had served for many years in the intelligence department was appointed governor, and he earnestly applied himself to the task of re-settling the entire province.

Khusru's expedition² to Telang whither he had been sent "to demand Jizya from the Hindus" was a brilliant success. The whole country was ravaged and the mud fort of Warrangal was besieged. The Hindus, whose martial spirit was stimulated by bards who extolled their chivalry and courage, numbered more than ten thousand horse and a considerable foot. Both sides drew them-

Nuh Sipihr of Amir Khusru, Elliot III, pp. 557-58. No other writer of the time gives an account of Raghu's discomfiture at the hands of the imperialists. The event happened during the first expedition into the Deccan, for Amir Khusru says distinctly that 'a year after his accession the king marched to Deogir at the head of a large army.' The Maharashtra was subdued and the king returned to the capital. The second expedition was undertaken later to chastise the refractory Harpal Deo.

² Barni and others mention Khusru's expedition to Mabar. Amir Khusru alore mentions this expedition to Telingana and his account is too detailed to be inaccurate. As he was a contemporary writer I have no reason to doubt his testimony. The Nuh Spihr of Amir Khusru, Elliot III., pp. 558-561.

selves in battle array, and in the engagement that followed, the Hindus were beaten off with heavy losses, in spite of their superiority in numbers, and enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors. Next day Khusru's men delivered a tremendous attack upon the outer wall of the fort, which the Hindus repelled with considerable vigour-But the imperialists soon assumed the offensive and by means of a determined assault captured one of the principal bastions of the fort. Further resistance was hopeless; many Hindus were slain and many were taken captive, and among these was Antil Mahta, the chief commandant of the Rai's forces. The outer wall of the fortress having been taken the besiegers proceeded to capture the inner part of the citadel. Trenches were dug and a mine 150 yards in length was laid to storm the fort and the imperialists under the leadership of Khwaja Haji prepared themselves for attack. The Rai quailed before such preparations and negotiations for peace followed. Flushed with victory, Khusru forced upon the Rai a choice between Islam and the Jaziya, the usual condition which Muslim conquerors imposed upon the vanquished. Fully aware of the might of his foe, the Rai sent large and valuable presents consisting of jewels, cloth, horses, and elephants to appease the wrath of the victorious general, but the latter rejected these tokens of submission. looked upon these presents only as "a leaf in the garden of the Rai's wealth" and he bade him yield up all that he possessed. When the Rai protested his helplessness the Khan relented, and concluded a treaty by which the Rai gave some of his relatives as hostages, and ceded five districts of his country, and promised to pay an annual tribute of "more than a hundred strong elephants as large as demons, 12,000 horses and gold and jewels beyond computation." All his territory was restored to him except the fort of Bidar or Badrkot. To mark the humiliation of his adversary, Khusru, with the zeal of a half-caste, added a clause to the original treaty, which laid down that 'the

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relation between Turk and Hindu is that of a lion and an antelope, and the Turks, whenever they please can seize, buy, or sell any Hindu.' The Rai's life was saved though he had to drink to the dregs the cup of humiliation and shame. Having settled the whole country, Khusru, with the laurels of victory on his brow, hastened towards the capital, where his master had been impatiently waiting for his arrival.

The profligacy of the king and his neglect of the affairs of state led Malik Asaduddin, son of Malik Baghrahs Khan, uncle of Alauddin, to form a conspiracy to seize the king unawares at Ghati-Sakun. The rebellious Malik trusted to his own blue blood and the unpopularity of the Sultan for his success. It was arranged that ten or twelve horsemen should enter the royal seraglio in order to kill the Sultan. But the plot was discovered, and the machinations of Asaduddin were laid bare to the Sultan by one of his fellow-conspirators. Immediate steps were taken to arrest all the conspirators including the ambitious Asad and his brothers. After a mock trial they were all beheaded by the orders of the king, and the twenty-nine sons of Baghrash Khan were arrested. No mercy was shown to these tender striplings who knew nothing of the designs of their ill-starred father. They were "slaughtered like sheep," and the large fortune which their father had accumulated was confiscated. The ladies of the malik fared no better; they were turned out into the streets of the town to beg their bread, and in this plight they wandered from place to place for no one afforded them shelter for fear of the Sultan.

Having secured possession of Gujrat and the Deccan, and freed himself from the clutches of the conspirators, Mubarak abandoned himself to debauch. He belied the promise which he had held out in the early part of his reign. Success made him perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, and even for the most trivial offences he inflicted the most brutal punishments upon the offenders. His temper

became violent and he began to use filthy language towards the most esteemed nobles of the court. So intolerant of opposition did he become that no courtier or minister dared to gainsay his wishes in the least. None ventured to offer advice on matters of State, and things began to be managed in accordance with his caprice. Friends and foes were treated with equal inhumanity, and the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent men alienated the Alai nobles to whom was due the stability of the State. This appetite for cruelty grew by what it fed on, and the king became more and more reckless of human life. From Ihain he deputed Shadikhan, Silahdar, the commander of the footguards, to take the lives of Khizrkhan, Shadikhan, and Malik Shahabuddin, sons of the late king, who were imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, and who had already been deprived of their eyesight. The ruffianly agent loyally executed his inhuman mission, and carried the mothers and wives of the hapless princes to Delhi. In a fit of anger he ordered the death of Zafarkhan, the governor of Guzrat, without any charge being brought against him, and the next victim that followed was Malik Shahin, a trusted favourite, whom he had on a previous occasion raised to dignity by leaving him in charge of Delhi, and on whom he had conferred the title of Wafa-i-mulk, to the disgust of the ancient nobility.

Personally the Sultan gave himself up to dissipation. The court became the scene of the most disgraceful orgies, and the king lost all regard for decency and morality, and practised every vice that can debase human nature. Often did he dress himself in female attire, and with his body decked with trinkets, he went out into the city, and in the company of harlots danced at the houses of the grandees. The minions of the court encouraged him in these vices and left nothing undone to wean him away completely from the affairs of the State. There was a great demand for dancing girls, and "the price of a boy or handsome eunuch, or beautiful girl varied from 500 to 1,000 and

even two thousand tankas," The common form of amusement in which the king used to indulge was to show himself in a state of inebriety, in the company of public women, to the assembled nobles of the court. But the despot cast all decency to the winds when he allowed these women to insult in foul and obscene language such distinguished amirs as Ain-ul-mulk Multani and Malik Qara Beg, who had held as many as fourteen offices in the State. The Hazar Situn, the palace where the great Alauddin had devised the stern measures of state to consolidate and safeguard his empire, was now frequented by buffoons and jesters of the lowest type, and the chief of this band, a Gujrati Tauba, by name, was encouraged by his royal master in using abusive language towards the officers of the State. The contemporary chronicler relates that he had abandoned all religion and that with unpardonable levity he violated the fast of Ramzan and behaved like an apostate. Though he was a voluptuary of the worst type he was described on the coins as "the Khalifa of God of heaven and earth," and at times he did actually show interest in religious matters.2 He built a mosque at Deogir and completed the tomb of Alauddin, but this was done probably with a view to atone for the sins of a life, of the infamy of which he was only too well aware.

The result of the depravity of the Sultan was the slackening of the royal authority in the provinces of the

¹ Elliot III, p. 212.

² Barni writing with a clerical bias strongly condemns Mubarak's indifference to religion. He accuses him of apostasy and says that the Sultan had ceased to read prayers, and openly violated the fast of Ramzan. The author of the Tabakat, who is famous for his judicious narrative, follows Barni and says (Text, Biblioth. Ind., p. 196) that the Sultan showed open hostility to Shaikhs and Maulvis, and that even such men as Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia were treated with scant respect. But towards the latter part of his reign he assumed the title of Khalifa for himself in an un-abashed manner which in my opinion proves his eccentricity rather than his religious devotion. The building of a mosque at Deogir, and the completion of the tomb of Alauddin, and the foundation of a Madrasa only go to show that like some other notorious voluptuaries the Sultan had his own passing moods of piety. Briggs, "Ferishta," I, p. 389. Thomas, "Chronicles of Pathan Kings," pp. 181-82.

empire and the estrangement of the old nobility. After Zafarkhan's execution the command of Gujrat was conferred upon Hisamuddin, a half-brother of Khusru. The Parwari proceeded with his vile crew to take up his new office and finding himself at the head of a large army in the midst of his own people, he raised the standard of revolt in Nehrwala and the contiguous territory. But the nobles of Gujrat rose up against the parvenu and defeated him. He was captured and sent to Delhi, but the king who was completely under Khusru's influence, recked nothing of his treason and forgave him. To please his favourite he bestowed fresh honours upon him and admitted him to his suite. When the nobles heard of these proceedings, they were disgusted at the king's fatuity, but all further trouble was averted by the appointment of Malik Wahiduddin Kuraishi to the command. The new governor was a man of ability and courage; he controlled all elements of lawlessness and restored peace and order. The example of Hisamuddin was followed by Malik Yak Lakhi, governor of the Deccan. Forces were sent against him and together with his accomplices he was defeated and sent to Delhi. Yak I,akhi's nose and ears were chopped off and his confederates were severely punished. The command was now conferred upon Ain-ul-mulk Multani who with the assistance of his secretaries, Taj-ul-mulk and Yamkhir-ul-mulk, restored order in the country, and set himself to the task of realising the revenues of the State.

Although revolts broke out spasmodically in the empire, there was no separation of provinces or establishment

The words in the text are برادر هاي which have been translated as maternal uncle by Elliot. (Elliot III, p. 224). Badoni uses the words which mean half-brother—brother by the same mother but by a different father. The Tabkat-i-Akbari also has برادر هادر هادر اخياني which probably means uterine brother. It seems probable that he was Khusru's half-brother, i.e. brother by the same mother but by a different father. In two places he is spoken of as Khusru's brother by Elliot (Vol. III, p. 218) and in one place only as برادر هادر هادر اخياني used by Badoni does not clash with the sense conveyed by برادر هادر هادر عادر الخياني given in Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.

of independent power. No rebellious governor succeeded in setting up an independent despotism, nor did any conspirator successfully plan the overthrow of the royal power. This was not due to Mubarak, for he led a life which was unredeemed by a single manly act, but to the brave and loyal Alai nobles who still worked and fought out of devotion to their late chief. It was the magic of Alauddin's name that still appealed to their minds, and it was the strength which he had imparted to the State, that enabled the empire to hold together in spite of the follies and eccentricities of Kutubuddin Mubarak Shah.

Khusru's usurpation of royal authority.

Khusru had been absent for about a year in Ma'bar whither he had been sent to deal with the refractory Hindu Rajas. The Rais of the country had submitted and a rich booty amounting to 100 elephants, a diamond and other valuable things had fallen into the hands of the victorious Parwari. Elated with success he laid his hands upon a rich sunni merchant Taki Khan, who had amassed a large fortune. He was robbed of his goods by the royal army, and put to death by Khusru's orders. His victory over the Hindu Rais in Ma'bar and the easy acquisition of immense wealth upset the mind of Khusru who began to entertain treasonable designs. As a preliminary step, he tried to compass the death of the powerful nobles who were still bound to the house of Alauddin by ties of gratitude and fidelity. Some of the leading nobles, such as Malik Tamar of Chanderi, Malik Afghan, and Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Kara, came to know of his wicked intentions. They deputed Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha to warn him against the course he was pursuing, and informed him that they would not allow him to stay in the Deccan any longer. By means of artifices Khusru was induced to return to Delhi which he reached in seven days.

I Ferishta (Briggs I, p. 392) says the nobles informed the king of his hostile intents. The king ordered them to seize him and send him to Delhi. He was

formed the king that the Maliks, out of jealousy, had accused him of sedition, and invented stories of his machinations to subvert the royal power. He employed all the vile arts which his ingenuity could devise to convince the king of the malicious conduct of the Amirs in bringing a false charge against him. The hare-brained Mubarak believed what he told him and immediately granted pardon. The Maliks came to inform the king of the hostile designs of Khusru; the king disbelieved them and treated them in a highly unbecoming manner. As a reward for his fidelity Malik Tamar was deprived of the command of Chanderi, and Malik Talbagha was blinded, and with every indignity he was cast into dungeon, The Parwari was all-powerful at the court and none dared to remonstrate with the Sultan against the unjust manner in which the tried officers were treated. Those who were too proud to submit to the ascendancy of Khusru resigned their places on one pretext or another, leaving all honours and favours to be enjoyed by those who supported him in his wicked intentions.

Thus had Khusru succeeded in turning the tables upon his opponents. He did not, however, abandon his nefarious schemes, and daily conferred with his tribe to compass the death of the king. He gained over to his side Bahauddin, the King's private secretary, who had incurred his master's displeasure, and begged permission to keep around him men of his own caste, in order to guard himself against the jealousy of the officials. The thoughtless king granted his request, and Khusru brought parwaris from Bahlawal and

forcibly placed in a litter and sent to Delhi. In the Tabkat-i-Akbari (Text Biblioth. Ind., p. 198, it is stated that the nobles started without giving Khusru any intimation of their intentions, having sent Khusru already to Delhi. This is improbable. Why should they send Khusru in advance and leave him to relate the story himself, to prejudice the Sultan against them. Badoni (Al-Badoni I., p. 286) distinctly states that the Amirs seized him, placed him in a litter, and sent him to Delhi in seven days. Barni's version (Elliot III., pp. 219-220) is more reliable. He says that Khusru was induced by means of various artifices by the Amirs to go to Delhi and was accompanied by them. But the Sultan was so infatuated that he paid no heed to the complaint of the nobles and disgraced them.

Guirat. Every night he used to hold conferences with them to devise means whereby to assassinate the king, and it was decided that he should be put to death, while he was out hunting in the fields of Sarsawa. But some of the conspirators suggested that the deed should be done in the royal palace so that they might be able to defend themselves against attack. On his return from the hunting excursion, the king plunged himself into debauchery and indulgence, and in a fit of infatuation, he allowed Khusru's followers access to the royal palace. The keys of the palace were given to Khusru Khan, and armed parwaris began to frequent the palace during the night. The rumours of the conspiracy were affoat in the city, but the stolid monarch had not the slightest presentiment of the coming danger. Qazi Ziauddin, who had been the Sultan's tutor in his youth, and whose loyalty was not shaken by the shameless conduct of his idiotic pupil, suspected the designs of Khusru's men, and addressed the king thus: 'We who have been brought up under Your Majesty, and Your Majesty's father, and see the safety of the people in Your Majesty's well-being, if we should omit or neglect to tell you the truth, we should wrong ourselves, and God's creatures as well as Your Majesty.' The king related all this to Khusru who began to weep like a girl, and attributed the Qazi's report to jealousy. This piteous appeal deeply touched the heart of Mubarak, and with characteristic disregard of decency he kissed him and said: 'If the whole world should unite and speak ill of thee, I will not lend my ears to what they will say; for love for thee has made me independent of the world, and without thee the world is as nothing in my eyes.'

¹ Khusru had brought a large number of his castmen to Delhi. The Lucknow text of Ferishta says he brought about 20,000 parwaris and had 40,000 horse men under his command. The figures of Ferishta are not supported by any contemporary writer. According to Barni (Text, T.F., Biblioth. Ind., p. 403). Khusru used to bring nearly 3000 parwaris to the palace at night, whereas Elliot III, p. 22) gives only 300. The former seems to be too large a number to frequent the royal palace at night time.

The plot was now ripe and Khusru's Uncle Randhol with a few parwaris entered the palace, The plot is ripe. with arms concealed under their gar-The first victim of the assassins was the faithful Qazi Ziauddin who was struck unawares with a sword by a Parwar, named Jahariya, who had been hired to murder the king. The Qazi shrieked aloud as he fell down senseless on the ground, and when the Sultan heard the noise below he asked Khusru what the matter was. The villain informed the unsuspecting fool that the horses had broken loose from the stables and men were trying to catch them. Meanwhile Jahariya came upstairs, and with one stroke of his sword he killed the guards of the private apartments, Ibrahim and Isaq. Now the king realised that his life was in danger, and he hastily fled towards the ladies' quarters, but Khusru seized him by the hair, and made it impossible for him to get away. The king made a frantic effort to effect his escape but in vain. Jahariya soon appeared upon the scene and thrust his dagger into the king's breast, and severed his head from the body.1 The body was thrown into the courtyard of the palace which was now thoroughly ransacked. The slaves and domestic servants, who were inside the palace, were put to death and the sentinels took to their heels in order to save their lives. Masters of the palace Randhol, Jahariya, and

The circumstances of Mubarak's death are differently related by Ibn Batuta. His account is as follows: One day Khusru told the Sultan that some Hindus desired to become Musalmans. The custom was that such a man was brought before the king who presented him with a fine robe, a necklace, and bracelets of gold. The intending converts were brought one night to the roof of the palace when the king was sleeping. Kazi Khan, the keeper of the keys, suspected treachery, but they killed him and forced entry into the palace. The Sultan asked what the noise was and Khusru told him that it was made by the Indians. The latter then rushed upon the king and killed him. Ibn Batuta, Text and French Translation, Vol. III, pp. 197-98. Safarnama Urdu, p. 75. Ibn Batuta's account is obviously based on hearsay and cannot be preferred to that given by historians who were present at the court. Kazi Khan was a principal Amir who held the office of Vakildar, guardian of the king's palace. He was hostile to Khusru for the latter was in reality a Hindu and favoured the Hindus. Voyages D' I. B. vol. III, pp. 196-197 Safarnama of I. B. Urdu, pp. 74-75.

Hisamuddin went into the harem and killed the widow of Alauddin, mother of Farid Khan and Omar Khan, and perpetrated outrages which are too shocking to be mentioned. With the help of torchlight a court was hastily improvised at midnight hour, and some of the distinguished nobles such as Malik Ain-ul-mulk Multani, Malik Wahiduddin Kuraishi, and Malik Fakhruddin Jauna, and the sons of Qara Beg were summoned to the palace, obviously "to be made accomplices" in these heinous crimes. The house of Khilji was doomed, and with the forced consent of the assembled nobles and divines Khusru mounted the throne, and caused the Khutba to be read in his name on the 5th Rabiulawal A.H. 721.²

Khusru assumes the sceptre.

Khusru assumes the sceptre.

Khusru assumes the throne under the title of Nasiruddin in the palace of Hazarsitun. A hideous reign of terror was inaugurated,

and the friends and attendants of the former king were all put to death. Some of the most distinguished nobles of the empire were brought into the palace by means of guile and treachery and beheaded. Their wives and daughters were given to the Parwaris and the ladies of the royal harem were also subjected to disgrace.³ The Qazi's

¹ These nobles were brought into the palace by means of a trick. They were made to execute bonds to the effect that they would support Khusru's power. Barni, T.F. (Biblioth. Ind.) p.

The date of Khusru's accession given in the Lucknow text of Ferishta is 5th Rabi-ul-awal, 721 A.H. (March 4, 1321 A.D.) Brigg's date 26th Rabi-ul-awal, 721 A.H. is incorrect. "The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi" fixes the date to 5th Rabi-ul-awal, A.H. 721 and assigns to Khusru a reign of four months and some days. According to Badoni the event occurred in 720 A.H. Thomas accepts 720 A.H. as the correct date. (Chronicles, p. 183.) But the more probable date is 721 A.H. Barni, as usual, affords no clue.

³ According to Ferishta Dewal Devi was taken by Khusru into his harem. Barni is silent on the subject but Amir Khusru, a contemporary writer (Ashika, Elliot, III, p. 555) says that her hands were cut off while she was clinging to the body of her husband who was murdered by the order of Mubarak, and that she was left among the slain. Mr. E. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 177) is wrong in speaking of her as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultans of Delhi, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other, the foul pariah, Khusru. Whatever may have been her fate, it seems probable that she escaped indignity at the hands of

house was raided and given to Randhol, though his wife and children effected their escape. The associates of the parvenu were richly rewarded; Randhol was given the title of Raya Rayan, and Hisainuddin was made Khan-ikhana, and Bahauddin who had been his confederate and ally, received the title of Azam-ul-mulk. Some of the Amirs were similarly honoured to obtain their adhesion to the new government, and Malik Ain-ul-mulk Multani and Taj-ul-mulk became the recipients of this unexpected bounty. On the former he conferred the title of Alam Khan, and the latter was rewarded with a portfolio in the State. Jahariya, the murderer of Kutubuddin, was rewarded for his services, and Khusru signified his gratitude by lavishing honours and favours upon him. The royal harem was explored and the parwaris divided amongst themselves the women of the nobles and amirs. treasures of the State were rifled; and largesses were scattered among the people to obtain support, but the bulk of them came into the hands of the minions of the Court, who did not shrink from any crime, however ignoble, to please their master. Though Khusru had assumed the title of Nasiruddin, his object was to establish Hindu supremacy, and for this he began to collect around him a large number of outcastes in Gujrat—a corps of his own kinsmen who were bound to him by ties which could not be easily broken. Such a clique was necessary to maintain his power in the midst of hostile foes. Islam was treated with contempt; the Quran was desecrated, and used as a chair to sit upon, and idols were set up in the mosques to the grief and disgust of the faithful. For the time being there was a recrudescence of Hindu superstition and idolatory. The court nobles were divided into factions; there were some whose obeisance was purchased by means of gold, while the helplessness of others made them

Khusru. Her Rajput pride would have surely kicked at a union with a base-born parwari.

acquiesce in the new order of things. The Sultanate of Delhi had lost its prestige, and if a powerful Hindu Raja had organised a confederacy of his fellow-princes, he might have easily obtained possession of Delhi, and the power of the Muhamadans might have been well-nigh extinguished. Mewar had thrown off the yoke of Delhi and had expelled Maldeo whom Alauddin had left in charge of Chittor. Rana Hamir' had begun a career of remarkable conquests and under him Mewar had recovered her former ascendancy. There were lesser princes enjoying a state of quasi-independence, but they were preoccupied with their own affairs, and do not seem to have taken any interest in the political revolution that was going on at Delhi. Khusru's caste proved fatal to him. He could not obtain the support of any redoubtable Rajput chieftain, who might have placed himself at the head of a large army, and once again re-established Hindu ascendancy. It was not difficult for the Hindus "to restore the ancient land-

Through the kindness of Pandit Gauri Shanker Ojha, Curator of the Museum at Ajmer I have been able to obtain a copy of the inscription but it does not lead to any definitely satisfactory conclusion. I have grave doubts about the genuineness of the inscription for in Muhammad Tughlak's time Rajputana was entirely cut off from the Empire of Delhi. It is probable that this Mahmood may have been some general of Mubarak Khilji. The silence of the Muhamadan historians is easily explicable. Hamir had become a powerful Prince at the time but the Rajput States did nothing more beyond recognising the pre-eminence of Mewzer. There was no defenitive acknowledgement, as Tod says, of her sovereignty.

l Even during the lifetime of Alauddin Mewer had asserted its independence and Ferishta tells us that the royal garrisons had been thrown from the ramparts. Tod relates that after Alauddin's death Rana Hamir rapidly recovered his power and drove away Maldeo, the imperial governor of Mewar. The Khilji king Mahmood invaded Mewar but he was defeated and captured. Mewar after this victory became the premier State in Rajputana and all other States recognised her ascendancy. Tod, "Annals and Antiquities of Rajsthan" edited by Crooke, vol. I., pp. 318-319. Tod's account is not altogether correct. There was no such king as Mahmood of the Khilji dynasty. Tod distinctly says the successor of Alauddin invaded Mewar. There is no evidence to show that the successor of Alauddin ever attempted to reassert the sovereignty of Delhi over the States of Rajputana. The account is uncorroborrated and therefore open to doubt, The Rajputana Gazetteer gives a different account which agrees with that of Erskine. According to its author the king who was defeated was Muhammad Tughlak. He says there is an inscription in the fort of Chittor which furnishes evidence to prove the above fact.

marks of their power, by their combined efforts, for the influence of the Sultanati of Delhi had reached its nadir. But the unclean pariah, left severely alone, perished in painful isolation. How could he permanently found a Hindu State upon the support of the satellites whom every one hated and despised? Besides, the Allai nobles were filled with pain and grief at his usurpation of the royal authority. Among these discontented nobles was Fakhruddin Jauna whom the usurper had tried to conciliate by appointing him master of the horse. But he secretly brooded over the wrongs done to the house of Alauddin and planned ways and means to effect the overthrow of the overweening parwaris. Jauna communicated all that had happened to his father, Ghazi Malik, warden of the Marches, at Deobalpore. The veteran warrior was moved with indignation when he heard of Khusru's atrocities and outrages, and he "writhed like a snake," and swore to wreak vengeance upon the parwaris, who had stained their hands with the blood of the family of his patron, and who had defiled Islam and destroyed its power. But the safety of his son, who was a court noble, required that he should proceed with caution. Ghazi Malik bided his time and began to mature his plans for the speedy and effective overthrow of the usurpers.

Malik Fakhruddin Jauna was not reconciled to the newly established government, and in a position of unusual embarrassment, he continued to confer with the leading nobles of Alauddin, to devise means of Khusru's overthrow. Neither the attentions of Khusru nor the prospect of official honours served to dissipate his sombre broodings. One day at the time of afternoon prayer, he left the court with some of his followers, and rode post haste in the direc-

Also called Depalpur. It is a village in the Montgomery District at a distance of 28 miles from Pakpatan. According to Cunningham it was formed by Raja Deopal but we have no account of him. The village was an outpost of the Delhi Empire. It occupied an important position between Delhi and the Mughals. It was a big city in Baber's time and was equal to Lahore.

tion of Deobalpore. As soon as his flight was known to Khusru he was filled with dismay, and forthwith a small contingent of nobles, headed by the son of Muhammad Qara Qimar, who was the generalissimo of the royal forces, was despatched to overtake the disaffected Amir. But Fakhruddin, the hero of Turan and Iran, was noted for his intrepidity and vigour; he continued his march, the whole night and next day, eluded the grasp of his pursuers, and reached Sirsuti in safety. Before the arrival of Jauna, his father had already sent Muhamad Sartaba at the head of 200 horsemen from Deobalpore to occupy and garrison the fortress in anticipation of the coming danger.

Freed from anxiety on the score of his son, Ghazi Malik vowed vengeance upon Khusru, and began to make preparations for an encounter with the Hindus. He issued circular letters to all the nobles of the empire appealing to them for assistance. With a few exceptions, the notable of which was Maghlatee, the governor of Multan, who did not like to play the second fiddle to Ghazi Malik, the nobles expressed their willingness to join the confederacy. Khusru Khan was informed of these proceedings by Malik Beg Laqi, governor of Samana, who forgot the injuries that he had received at his hands, and joined the party in power.

This news alarmed Khusru and he began to organise his forces. The command of the army was conferred upon his brother, Yusuf Khan, surnamed Yusuf Sufi. Both captains were inexperienced men and the task of opposing a veteran warrior, whose might had made the Mughals of Khorasan and Mughalistan tremble, was without doubt beyond their capacity. The army of Delhi, demoralised by indolence and debauchery, was no match for the sturdy Muslims who followed in the wake of Ghazi Malik, and to whom the present war seemed to be nothing short of a jihad. Lack of experienced generalship, added to want

¹ Dalili or Daliya (in Elliot III, p. 226). It is Dabhali. J.A.S.B. 1892.

of discipline, made the cause of Khusru from the outset hopeless. The troops marched towards Sirsuti, and thence towards Deopalpore to encounter Ghazi Malik. The latter had just been reinforced by Bahram Abia, governor of Ucch, who joined with horse and foot to assist the cause of justice. He marched from Deobalpore, passed by the town of Dabhali,2 and leaving the river in the rear, encamped in an open field between Sirsuti and Deobalpore. The two armies drew themselves in battle array, and each side began to plan dextrous manœuvres to overpower the other. The rickety forces of Khusru were, in a preliminary engagement, utterly routed and fled in confusion. Much baggage, elephants and treasures fell into the hands of the victors, and a good many of the vanquished, besides the wounded and the killed, were made prisoners. The raw youths to whom Khusru had, in an evil hour, entrusted the supreme command, fled from the field of battle panicstricken, and conveyed to their ill-starred master the intelligence of the disaster that had befallen them. appearance, the cause of the parwaris was doomed, and they were so frightened that "hardly any life was left in their bodies."

After the battle was over, Ghazi Malik remained for seven days on the field of battle, obviously to organise his forces for a determined bout of action with the 'infidels.' Having possessed himself of considerable spoil, the victorious general commenced his march towards Delhi to deal a decisive blow. Reduced to sore straits Khusru began to look for help in all quarters. Like one "despised by fortune or worsted in gambling" he brought out all the treasures from Kilughari and Delhi. All records and account books were burnt and the exchequer was emptied to win the support of the army. He gave to the soldiers two and a half year's pay in advance and showered gifts

Barni and Nizammuddin both agree in saying that Khusru gave away 2½ years' pay to the army. Ferishta and Badoni more or less agree. The Lucknow text of the former says that he gave 2½, 3, and 4 years' pay to the soldiers,

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DECLINE OF KHILJI IMPERIALISM.

recklessly to prevent defection in the royal army. But this prodigality proved of no avail; the soldiers who knew that Ghazi Malik's cause was just and righteous accepted his gold, but gave up all intention of fighting against him, and quietly betook to their homes. Khusru, in great perplexity and fear, held council with the chiefs of the army, and employed every device of which his artful nature was capable, to attach them to his cause, but nothing availed to infuse hope and enthusiasm in the army. The soldiers openly said that to fight Ghazi Malik was to fight against the army of Islam, and they were troubled by no scruples in deserting a cause which was foredoomed to failure.

Having summoned his nobles and allies he left S ri and encamped, on the ground near the hauz-alai, not far from Indarapat. He occupied a position of great advantage, well fortified on all sides; in front of him were groves and walled gardens to shield him from the enemy's attack, and in the rear was the citadel of Delhi, where he could find a ready shelter, and supply of provisions in the event of danger. When all preparations had been made news was brought to Khusru, on the eve of the day of

whereas Briggs says that he gave away 3 years' pay. Badoni says he gave 3 or 4 year's pay and large gifts. There is no doubt Khusru squandered away the treasures of State when he saw a terrible danger staring him in the face.

I The Hauz' Alai or Hauzkhas was a magnificent tank, covering over 70 acres of land. It was built by Sultan Alauddin Khilji, in the year 695 A.H. (1295 A.D.). About 1354 A.D. it was filled up in the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq and the land was brought under cultivation. The tank was cleared again by the same monarch and the repairs were so extensive that Taimur attributed it to Firozshah. In 1352 A.D. Firoz built a College or Madrasa at the top of the tank. On the southern side of the Hauz there are still old buildings. The Madrasa is now a range of low rooms which are occupied by villagers. Carr Stephen, Archæology of Delhi, p. 83.

² The antiquarians and archæologists are divided as to the actual site of Indarpat. General Cunningham would fix its southern boundary at or about Humayon's tomb, and its northern at the Kotlah of Firozshah. Mr. Carr Stephen places the northern boundary of Indraprastha between the northern and southern boundaries of modern Delhi. Pandit Basheshar Nath in a paper read before the Literary Society of Delhi expressed his opinion that Indraprastha extended from the village of Okla to that of Barari. The subject is, however, too involved in legend and does not admit of a satisfactory explanation. Carr Stephen. ⁴² Archæology of Delhi, ⁷³ pp. 1-6.

battle, of the defection of Ainul-mulk Multani, who had secretly departed to Ujjain and Dhar. Khusru's courage failed him, and his heart quailed as he surveyed the prospect that lay before him. Ghazi Malik set his forces in order, and with his host advanced to the plain of Lohrawat to meet the army of Delhi. The parwaris with the Musalmans, who preferred wealth and position to honour and conscience, had repaired to this battle ground with their elephants and horses. The two armies made ready for battle. A sharp engagement followed in which Khusru's men were defeated. Malik Talbagha Nagori, whose consistent fidelity to the parvenu had led him to brave great risks was completely over-powered, and his head was brought to Ghazi Malik. The son of Oarah Oimar, who enjoyed the honorific title of Shayasta Khan, when he saw the day going against his party, withdrew from the army, and decided to flee from the field of battle. On his way to Indrapat he fell upon the army of Ghazi Malik and plundered it. But the battle raged fiercely and the Delhwis in spite of the treachery of Shayasta, fought with great gallantry till the evening. This heroic effort put the old warrior on his mettle; he mustered his followers and comrades and appealed to them to fight with all their strength. Loyally assisted by the officers and the rank and file, who looked upon the war as a crusade, he dashed in full fury, and charged the centre of the army of Delhi. Driven to extremities, Khusru and his men fought with desperate courage, and for a short while successfully withstood the attacks of their valiant foes.1 The forlorn hope

Barni like an orthodox divine gives a highly disparaging account of Khusru But the author of the Tabkat-i-Akbari gives him credit for bravery. Even Badoni, a man of strong predilections, admires the gallantry with which Khusru and his men fought. Ferishta joins in the praise and says Khusru's army opposed the confederates with great bravery. Ibn Batuta also says Khusru was a brave and spirited man and fought with considerable gallantry against his foes, Elliott III, p. 327; *ibid.*, pp. 667-668. "Tabkat-i-Akbar., p. 207; (Biblioth. Ind.) Briggs I, pp. 398-99. "Voyages D'Ibn Batuta" III, pp. 198-200 "Safarnama," Urdu, pp. 80-81.

of the Delhi army, despite the heavy odds arrayed against them, continued to fight till late in the evening, and carried everything before them. But their strength was soon exhausted, and the champions of Islam succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon them. Khusru made his escape from the field of battle, and arrived at Tilpat,1 all his followers having been wounded or killed. He concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi, an Alai noble. a former patron of his, in abject fear. Ghazi Malik's victory was decisive; it was a victory of the supremely able man over the discordant and helpless many. The parwaris were slain in the markets, and streets of the town, wherever they were found, and the victorious army seized their horses and arms from them. Seeing that the only way to escape death was to flee to their native land, most of them led towards Gujrat, though many of them were put to death by Ghazi Malik's excited soldiers on the road. Next day Khusru Khan was discovered in the garden where he had concealed himself, and by the orders of Ghazi Malik he was beheaded.2 The supporters of the usurper were diligently traced out, and met the fate which they richly merited. The Khan-i-Khana, the commandant of the forces of Delhi lay crouching in a garden to save his life, but he was caught by Fakhruddin, was mutilated and paraded through the streets of the city. All greeted with delight the man who had put an end to the disgraceful regime of the 'infidels,' and the chiefs and the nobles of the empire tendered their fealty to him. Master of the situation, he did not find much difficulty in making short work of his enemies, and proceeded from Indrapat to Siri

¹ Tilpat is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari in the Sarkar of Delhi. Jarret, "Ain-i-Akbari" II.

It is is Barni's account (Elliot III, p. 228) I.B. has given a different account of Khusru's death which seems to have been based entirely upon hearsay. He says Khusru remained concealed in the garden for three days and came out when he was tormented by hunger. He was brought before the king, was offered a betel leaf and sweet drink. He asked Tughlak to treat him as became a king, on which the warrior ordered him to be decapitated. Voyages D' I.B., III, 207.

and seated himself in the palace of Hazar Situn, which had been profaned by the Bacchalian revels of Mubarak and his henchmen. He received the felicitations of the assembled nobles who offered him the keys of the palace and the insignia of sovereignty on August 22, 1321 A.D. Though de facto master of the Sultanate of Delhi, Ghazi Malik shrank from the burden of the kingly office. He did not behave like a rapacious condottierrie, and had no desire to grasp the power which he had acquired by the force of his arms. To mark his respect for the family of Alauddin, he performed the obsequies of the scions of the royal house, who had perished at the hands of the usurpers, and with a full sense of his obligations and responsibilities he addressed the assembled nobles in these words: "I am one of those who have been brought up under Sultans Alauddin and Kutubuddin, and it is the sentiment of loyalty which is ingrained in my nature, that has prompted me to wash my hands of life, and to strike my sword at the enemies and exterminators of my patrons. I have taken revenge to the best of my power."

"Ye are the distinguished nobles of the Empire. If there is any survivor of the stock of my patrons, living at this time, bring him forth immediately, so that I may instal him on the throne and tender to him my devotion and fealty. But if the line of Alauddin and Kutubuddin has been completely extinguished by the enemies, ye, who are the elders of the past as well as the present regime, place on the throne some one whom you consider worthy of the honours of royalty. I will render unto him my loyal obeisance."

"I have drawn my sword to avenge the death of my patrons and not to gain power and kingdom. I have not imperilled my life and property, my wife, and children for the acquisition of the throne; what I have done, I have done with the motive of avenging the murderers of my patrons."

[|] Elliot III, 228. Text of T.F. (Biblioth. Ind.) p. 422-23.

The nobles informed him that no scion of Alauddin's house had been left alive by the usurpers, and they dwelt upon the confusion and disorder that prevailed in the empire owing to the strife stirred up everywhere by the murder of the king and the ascendency of the Hindus-With one voice they appealed to him in these words: '—

"O Ghazi Malik! For years past thou hast shielded us against the attack of the Moghuls, and effectively put an end to their incursions in our country. By these meritorious services thou hast established a claim upon our loyalty. This memorable deed of yours will be recorded in History; thou hast emancipated the faithful from the galling yoke of the Hindus and the parwaris; thou hast avenged the deaths of thy patrons and benefactors, and for this great service the nobles as well as the commonalty of the realm are deeply beholden to thee. We know none who is better fitted to assume sovereignty than thyself."

The plebeian king. To the united prayer of the well-wishers of the empire, he assumed the sceptre under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak Shah, and received the homage of all parties. The election of a plebeian to the imperial office demonstrated in an unmistakable manner the democratic spirit of Islam and reaffirmed the principle of the survival of the fittest which dominated and controlled the Muslim State in India in the 13th and 14th centuries.

l Elliot III, p. 228. Text of T.F. p. 421. (Biblioth. Ind.) pp. I.B. relates, we do not know on whose authority, that Tughlak and Kishlukhan both asked each other to occupy the throne. When they returned no decisive answer Kishlukhan said to Tughlak, "If you refuse to be Sultan, your son will obtain the sovereign power." Tughlak was adverse to this, so he accepted the government and sat upon the royal throne. Elliot III, p. 608. Voyages D' Ibn Batuta, Vol. III, p. 206. (Text and French Translation.) This account if correct, will explain the motive of Prince Jauna in bringing about the death of the old emperor.

A PRAYER YANTRA.

THE copperplate described below was purchased by me in the Benares bazar. It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ", and weighs 16 ounces. Such a large yantra is not commonly used nowadays. It is dated and described on the back as a yantra for the worship of Lakshmi Nrisinha.

Samvat 1623 samaye āṣaṛh vadi pratipakṣe some lakṣmī

nṛsimh yantra nirmit:

Pt. Padınakāra Dube of Benares has kindly prepared the following description of the plate.

R. Burn.

SHRI LAKSHMINRISINHA YANTRA.

In the North-East direction, from left to right, the first engraved shape seems to be Vajra (वच), i.e. Thunderbolt; the second to be the noose (पाम्), as the Nág-Pásh is commonly known, so the engraver has shown the noose by two serpents and the third to be the conch (णंख).

In the South-East, the first is energy or active power (ম্লি) of Lakshmi (vide Mantra Mahárnava, Taranga 2, page 25); and the second, the Kalpa-tree (কৰ্মহন্ত্ৰ) (vide

Prapancha Sára Sangraha, page 254).

In the South-West quarter; (I) are two Chamaras (বুন্হ), close to each other (vide P.S.S., page 254); (2) Club (গ্রা); (3) Discus (বুন); (4) Umbrella (হুন), shown above the discus; and (5) is somewhat doubtful. It can be either Ploughing-machine (হুল) or (সমুন্ম), an iron rod with which elephants are driven, for both of them are counted among the twelve weapons in general (আযুষ) (vide P.S.S. Patala 23, page 295–297) of Vishnu.

In the North-West are: (1) Bow (धनु); (2) two arrows (बाए); (3) a lotus flower (कमल); and (4) a pair of Sandals (चरणपादका).



In this Yantra, in the East-quarter, there are written, from left to right: (I) ऊँ ब्रह्मणे वो (न) मः which means salutation to Brahma, Lord of the regions above the earth and whose placing lies between N.E. and E. (vide M.M. Taranga 3, page 33-I; (2) ऊँ ऋग्वेदाय नमः 'Salutation to Rig Veda' and its placing lies in E. (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-I; (3) ऊँ इन्हाय नमः 'Salutation to Indra,' Lord of E. and accordingly his placing is in the East; and (4) ऊँ अपने नमः 'Salutation to Agni' Lord of the South-East.

In the South, there are written: (1) ऊँ यजुर्वेदाय नमः 'Salutation to Yajur Veda'; its placing lies in S. (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-1); (2) ऊँ यमाय नमः 'Salutation to Yama,' Lord of the South; and (4) ऊँ नैऋतये नमः 'Salutation to Nairiti,' but this should be ऊँ निऋतये नमः (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-1) 'Salutation to Niriti,' Lord of the South-West.

In the West, there are written: (1) ऊँ विष्णिये नमः 'Salutation to Vishnu,' but this should be ऊँ अनन्ताय नमः 'Salutation to Ananta,' Lord of serpents and of the regions under the earth and the placing of this lord lies between S.W. and W. (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-1), ऊँ सामवेदाय नमः 'Salutation to Sama Veda,' and its placing lies in the West (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-1); (3) ऊँ वर्षणाय नमः 'Salutation to Varuna,' Lord of the West; and (4) ऊँ वायवे नमः 'Salutation to Vayu,' Lord of the North-West.

In the North, there are written: (1) ऊँ ख्रायतेवेदाय नमः 'Salutation to Atharva Veda,' and its placing lies in the North (vide M.M.T. 3, page 33-1); (2) ऊँ धनदाय नमः 'Salutation to Dhanada,' i.e. Kubera, Lord of the North; and (3) ऊँ ईप्रानाय नमः 'Salutation to Ishána, Lord of the North-East. As a general rule, each lord of a direction has his placing therein.

Below these lords of the directions, are written in a circular line, beginning from the West, the Mantras of पाणपतिस्था, i.e. locating life into the Yantra as follow:— ऊँ यां हीं कों यं रं लं वं प्रां यं सो हं हं सः कों हीं यां ऊँ यस्य श्रीलच्यी-टिसंह्यंचस्य पाणा इह पाणा (:) ऊँ यां हीं कों यं रं लं वं प्रां यं सोहं हंस (!) कों हीं यां ऊँ यस्य श्रीलच्यीटिसंह्यंचस्य जीव इह स्ठ (स्थि) तः ऊँ यां

हीं कों यं रं लं वं प्रां षं सो हं हंस (:) कों हीं यां (ऊँ) यस्य (यी) लच्ची हिसंह यं (च) स्व इह सर्वेद्र (वेंन्त्रि) याणि ऊँ यां हीं कों यं रं लं वं प्रां षं सो हं हंसा (सः) को (कों) ही (हीं) यां ऊं यस्य श्रीलच्ची हिसंहय (यं) चस्य मनोबुध्य (द्य) हं वत (का) र वि (चि) त्त प्राय (यि) व्यक्ते नो वाद्या (व्या) काप्रपाद्य (व्र) स्पर्भ रूपरसगंध (गन्ध) श्रोचलक (क्) व (च) चृति (जें) ह्वाघा (या) या वा का (क्पा) शि पादपायु (पू) परू (स्थ) माण (गा) इहात्रा (ग) न्य (य) सुषं (खं) वि (चि) रं वितिसंतु (स्तृ) स्व (स्था) हाः (For these amendations) vide Purashcharyarnava (प्रस्थार्णिव) Taranga 3, page 208, printed by Prabhákari Company, Benares Cant.) But the Mantras of Prana-Pratistha of this Yantra differ a little from the Mantras written in Mantra Mahárnava, Taranga 4, page 49. In place of कों Maharnava has कों after यं has सं हंसः सोहं and has not at all कों कीं व्यां which come after हंसः in each Mantra, written in the Yantra.

According to पोठपूना (seat-worshipping) method written in Mantra Maharnava, Taranga 4, page 46, 108, gods and goddesses altogether are invoked, placed and worshipped and on account of this method, in this Yantra too, some of them have been placed, i.e. written below the Mantras of Prána Pratiáthá. As a rule, the worshipper first of all must bow to his Guru, Guru's Guru, Guru's Guru's Guru and Guru's Guru's Guru's Guru and then to Ganesha and place them on his left and right sides respectively. As these two are written in this Yantra, in the North-West and South-East respectively, so it is inferred thereby that the worshipper was sitting with his face turned towards the North-East (vide M.M.T. 4, page 46). Accordingly there are written, in the N.W. उँ गुरु परमार परमेस्गिर परमेस्गिर परमार परमेस्गिर परमेस्गिर परमेस्गिर परमार परमेस्गिर परमेस परमेस्गिर परमेस परम

In the middle of these two the worshipper should bow to his desired god and place him there, so, in the Yantra, commencing from the S.E. that is written (vide M.M.T. 4, page 46) ऊंप (वि) राट परमेस्टिने श्रीलद्मीन्टिसंइ-सेनासमिन्वताय विश्वक्सेनाधिपतय (ये) नमः and in the right side of this ऊँस पें (वे) ग्रहस्हा (स्था) पनम (म्) is written.

In the N.E., below two circular lines, there is written ऊँ ईश्वराय यतिने नमः

In the N.W., under the first line, there are written: (I) चिं (चीं) चें (चे) चं (च) पालाय नमः and below this; (2) ऊँ दुंदुर्गायें नमः ऊँ सं सर्खतां (खें) नमः

The regular (अनुलोभ) Matrika Varnas are ऊँ यं यां इं इं उं ऊं ऋं ऋं ॡं एं ऐं यों की यां यां कं खंगं घंड चं छं नं भां नं टंठंडं ढंगां तं यं दं यं नं पं णं वं भं मं यं रं लं व गां घं सं हं लं हां।

From these, the Matrika letters of this Yantra can be made out by taking for the first letter, the first letter from the beginning, for the second, the last letter from the end, for the third, the second letter from the beginning, for the fourth, the last but one letter from the end, and so on.

As a rule, these Matrika letters should surround the greatest circle described in the Yantra (vide Prapancha Sara Sangraha, page 293-1).

Below these Matrika letters, beginning from the East, there are written ऊँ च्याचिम्यो नमः ऊँ।परिषदेभ्यो नमः ऊँ न (ब्र) स्वा । र (रि) गो नमः ऊँ ना (ब्रा) स्व ग (गा) य नमः

Just below these, beginning from the East, there are written: (I) ऊँ भूर्लच्योभुंवर्लच्योः सुवः (खः) कालकणी तंनो (तन्नो) महालच्योः प्रचोदयात्; this seems to be the Gáyatri (गायची) of Maha Lakshmi, but such a Gayatri of the goddess is not to be found in (I) Purashcharyárnava, (2) Prapancha Sára

Sangraha; (3) Mantra Mahárnava and (4) Dikshá Pradipa; in this Gayatri occurs the word Kálakarni (कालकणी), which is one of the ten Mudras (मुद्रा) of Tripura (चिप्रा) goddess and is used when obstacles are to be removed (vide M. Maharnava T. 1, Slokas 15-17, page 23-1); (2) उँ परि-वारेभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to (her) retinues'; (3) ऊँ भूतेभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to ghosts (under her)'; (4) ऊँ दूतेभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to (her) messengers ': (5) ऊँ दिसंहाय विद्राहे वचनखाय धी महि तज्ञः सिह (:) प्रचोदयात् ; this is the Gayatri of Nrisinha ; (6) ऊँ वैश्येभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to Vaishyas,' i.e. to men of agricultural and mercantile tribe; (7) ऊँ गर्गभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to troops of inferior deities under the especial superintendence of Ganesha'; (8) ऊँ यूदेभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to Sudras or to men of servile tribe'; (9) ऊँ ऊँ उँ मु (ग) क् त्मने नमः 'Salutation to Garura, the bird and vehicle of Vishnu'; (10) ऊँ व्य (व्यं) ग (गे) भ्यो नम 'Salutation to the bird's dependents'; (II) ऊँदुर्या (ग) वान प्रखा (स्था) य नमः 'Salutation to that inaccessible Brahmana, who has passed through the conditions of student and householder, and has left his house and family for lonely meditation in woods and wilds'; (12) ऊँ प्रतिभ्यो नमः 'Salutation to active powers of deities' and lastly follows the Mantra of the Sun ऊँ क्रीं पृ पि (णिः) सूर्य खादित्य भीं (श्रीं). But these Gayatris of Maha-Lakshmi and Nrisinha and Prána Pratistha Mantras should not be written on the Yantra, for Gayatri and Prana Pratistha Mantras are not found to be written on any Yantra of a god.

The construction of the Yantra according to Kalpan-

tarokta method (vide P.S.S., page 290).

Make a lotus flower containing six leaves and in the centre of the lotus write Nrisinha's Vija Mantra चों with Pranava ऊँ on each side of it. Write three letters च (representing Brahma), उ (representing Vishnu) and म (representing Maheshvara) with Pranava for their prefixes in the N.E., E. and S.E., respectively. Write ऊँ इं (representing the sun) and ऊँ मं (representing the moon) on the right and left sides of the Vija Mantra, respectively. But

now the lotus and these letters are not visible in the Yantra. Perhaps they might have been rubbed off. Describe round this lotus a चतुर्स, which literally means a four-sided figure, but in Tantra Shastra it means a square. Make another six lotus leaves outside of the square. The easiest way for making such leaves is that two circles, one greater than the previous, should be described, having for their centres, the centre of the first constructed lotus of six leaves and shapes of leaves should be made between them in such a way that the vertices of leaves may lie on the circumference of the greater circle. By this method the shapes of leaves will be constructed hereafter. Therefore circumscribe the square, describe another greater circle and make the shapes of six leaves in such a way that their six vertices may lie on the circumference of the greater circle, three of which should lie in S.W., W. and N.W. and three should lie in N.E., E. and S.E. directions. respectively. In the middle of one leaf write one letter of the Chakra Sudarshana Mantra सहसा रंड फट् of six letters, respectively. The first letter should have Pranava for its prefix. In Tantra Shastra, there are four ways of writing letters: (I) letters in their true forms; (2) letters with visargas (:) after them; (3) letters with Anusvar (.) on their heads; and (4) letters with visarga and anusvara The third way of writing letters is followed everywhere in this Yantra and therefore the above-mentioned Mantra is written in the Yantra as ऊं सं हं सां रं जं पंट्. first letter सं with Pranava, in this Yantra, is written in the middle of the leaf, lying in the South-West direction. This shows that the face of the worshipped, i.e. the gold image of Lakshmi-Nrisinha, placed in the centre of the first constructed lotus after the Vija Mantra has been written, was towards the South-West, that is, just opposite to the worshipper's face. According to Tantra Shastra rule प्रज्यप्जकयोरन्तरालेप्राची 'the included space between the worshipped and worshipper is the East,' the S.W. is now to be considered as the East and the first letter of each Mantra should be written in the middle of the leaf lying in this direction and the second letter of each Mantra should be written in the middle of the leaf lying on the right side of the first letter and so on, for the directions are reckoned clockwise. Write on each vertex of each leaf the Maya letter \$\frac{1}{2}\$. In this Yantra, instead of long \$\frac{1}{2}\$'s, short \$\frac{1}{2}\$'s are written. Similarly make the shapes of other eight leaves, one leaf lying in one direction beyond \$\frac{1}{2}\$'s and write on one leaf one letter of Narayana's Mantra

र्ज नमो नारायणाय of eight letters respectively. Put down Bhuvaneshi's letter हो on each vertex of each leaf. These two Maya's letters है and हो should not be written on lotus leaves, but in this Yantra, they have been written on them. Make other shapes of twelve leaves beyond हो's, one leaf lying in the original S.W. and two leaves lying close to the left and right sides of the original W., thus three leaves lying in a quadrant and similarly make other shapes of the remaining leaves in the other three remaining quadrants. Put down, in the middle of one leaf one

letter respectively, of Vasudeva's Mantra ऊँ नमी भगवते

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

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12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
सर्वतो मुखं न्रसिंहं भीषणं भन्नं मृत्युमृत्युं नमाम्यहं of thirty-two letters.
Each letter of this Mantra should be written with Pranava close to its left and right sides. Put down on each vertex of each leaf, the letter ज्ञीं and describe a circle surrounding ज्ञीं's.

Remarks.

As a general rule of Tantra Shástra, a god, when worshipped without his Yantra, does not please with that worship (vide P.S.S., p. 29). On account of this, the practice of worshipping gods together with their respective Yantras as for their seats, was very common in former times, but now, in India, such a mode of worshipping

gods with their respective Yantras is probably neglected or is decreasing day by day.

By worshipping Lakshminrisinha with His Yantra, a man, after gaining his all desires, obtains, in end, eternal emancipation (vide P.S.S., p. 293-I). By close observation, this Yantra has many defects, which show the engraver's deficiency in Tantra Shastra and penmanship.

Padmakara Dube, Benares.

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A GENEALOGY OF THE PAMARS.

By Beni Prasad, M.A., Asst. Professor in Indian History University of Allahabad.

THE genealogy and history of the Pamars, one of the principal branches of the Rajput race, bristle with difficulties. The publication of fresh genealogies may be of some help in solving a few of the difficulties. One such Hindi MS. genealogy exists at Chhatarpur, a small State in Central India in the very heart of Bundelkhand, ruled by a Pamar dynasty. The copy which the present writer studied was made from an old MS some seventeen years ago. Unfortunately, it gives few dates but it often gives the names or parentage or both of the wives of the Pamar chiefs, thus connecting Pamar history with the history of scores of other States and chiefships. Therein, indeed, consists much of its value. I have not verified everything I give the following analysis that the genealogy says. thereof in the hope that workers in the field of Rajput and Bundela history may find it of some use.

The genealogy covers nearly seventy generations—a fact which exposes it to suspicion. It aims at tracing the ancestry of the present Maharajas of Chhatarpur and therefore leaves out every line of descendants which does not pertain thereto—a fact which is constantly to be borne in mind. Unless otherwise stated, the succession is to be understood as from father to son.

The genealogy occasionally gives a few remarks, of which the important ones are translated below as they occur:—

(1) Agni-pal married (1) The daughter of Rana Kumbha.

(2) Kakal Devi, daughter of Sulanki Raja of Soron.

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(2)	Raja Pal	married	Jaiwanti,	daught	er o	of Nal Kac of Narwai	
(3)	Piro Rai	***	Jashavanto	le ,	,,	Torraja of Man	
	Dharmik	,,	Shakat Ku	nwari	,,	Sihaji Raja of	Rathor, Medta.
(5)	Kamal Sen	,, (I) Shringar K	unwari	,,	Sulanki Deva o	
		1	a) Darlana IZ			todha.	ME HAVE
		(2) Puhup Kun	iwari ,	,,	Rawal R	
						of I. Samlasa	~ .
(6)	Bharatsen	,,	Puhupavati		,,	Raja G	
						Hadrat.	
	Dhundhamar	,,	Chand Kun	wari ,	,	Ven of Ma	ndor.
(8)	Dharsen	,,	Chandavati	,	,	Bhupdeva	
(0)	Padang					Raja Pa	
(9)	1 adang	,,		11	,	Bhimpal Vadu d	
						Rāja of	
						uli	Ttana
(10)	Bhanji	,,	Ranavāli Ku	ınwari ,,		Bhāli Raj	a Mal-
						deo of	Saisal-
(TT)	Puhup Sen		NI 1 - 1			mere.	
(11)	Tunup Sen	,,	Nasakde	,,	,	Kevata Sa	
						Rajput	Rao
						Kumbha conquere	
						jarat an	
						duced to	
						mission	Sur
						Chavada	a
						branch o	of the
(12)	Shalivahan		Toimes (Y			Chauhan	
,,	- any anan	,,	Jaimanti Kui	iwari ,,	I	Bappa Raw	val of
						Chittor.1	

The Rajput bards give Samvat 191 or A.D. 135 as the date of Bappa Rawal's birth but from the cumulative evidence of tradition, chronology and inscriptions, Tod placed him in the first quarter of the 8th century. (See Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Co. Routledge I, pp. 18-69). This accords with the tenure of Chhatarpur genealogy. From Shalivahan to the present day intervene about 1,200 years and 56 successions thus giving each generation about 22 years.

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A GENEALOGY OF THE PAMARS.

(13)	Rasal	Kunwar	married	Draupati,	daughter	of Badgiya	Raja	Bhim
						Singh	of	Lela-
						lasotg:	arh.	

(14) Durvasa ,, Shringar Kunwari, daughter of Sisodia Saktaroat Sakta Singh of Saloomar.

(15) Durvasa had two sons—Gang and Kalang who divided the kingdom between them. Kalang reigned in Abu while Gang founded Dhava and reigned there.

Ganga married Balkunwari, daughter of Solanki Rao Kumbha of Toda.

The genealogy takes up the descendants of Ganga.

- (16) Kelan Sen married Raj Kunwari, daughter of Bhangopal Sulanki of Toduriagarh.
- (17) Abhaya Chandra ,, Suraj Kunwari ,, Kakaldeva of Amer.
- (18) Savant Chandra ,, Deva Kunwari ,, Chandavat Prithwipal of Karela.
- (19) Har Chandra ,, Drupāti Kunwari ,, Chandman Chan dela of Rampura.
- (20) Gulab Chand ,, Govind Kunwari ,, Devava Malluhar of Bhimgarh.
- (21) Maha Chand ,, Raj Kunwari ,, Chandela Raja Chandra Varma of Mahotsayanagar.
- (22) Swarup Chand " Gaur Kunwari " Bhāli Rawal Rajlakh of Pugal.
- (23) Manind 1 ,, Prakash Kunwari ,, Rathor Raja Keshodas of Idar.
- (24) Indra " Shaikhavāl Raja Salakh of Ramgarh.

Ind is a corruption of the Sauscrit Indra.

98 A GENEALOGY OF THE PAMARS.

(25) Mahaindra marrie	d	Bhagvant Kunwari	,,	Bithal Das of Goraspur.
(26) Manrakhind mar	ried	Manmavati daught	cer of	Bhadona Raja Khanderao of Gadhor.
(27) Ratanind	,,	Kanakavati	,,	Jhala Man Singh of Sa- dari.
(28) Purakhdevaind	,,	Yashvant Kunwari	,,	Gehlot Rawah, Yashwant Singh of Chittore.
(29) Pratapind	,,	Sujan Kunwari	,,	Baghela Bagh- raj of Bando- garh.
(30) Madanind	,,	Salam de	,,	Bachh raj of Karauli.
(31) Premind	,,	Bhoj Kunwari	,,	Kanavat Shis- hodia Kanji.
(32) Puravaind	,,	Guman Kunwari	,,	Saktavat Gaur Sangaji of Ramgarh.
(33) Bhojindra	,, (r) Dep Kunwari	,,	Gahiwar Pratapsingh of Guhilpur.
	,, (2) Rang Kunwari	,,	Gaur raja ujar Kanji of Ma- harathgarh.
(34)	1			
				Kunwar.
(I) married P	uhup	avāli daughter of		nan raja Ardh-
				ndra of Bam- Inagar.
(2) ,,		,,		adhwaja of Ta-
				a nagar.
(35) Bhartari ji marrie	d (1)	Pingalde ,,		n Deva Chau- of Ajmere
	(2)	Aramal ,,		ndev Rathor of asas.

He had a daughter Mainavali who was married to Trilok Chandra Rāja of Gaur in Bengal and who gave birth to Gopichand. Both Gopichand and Bhartari ji are reputed to be immortal.

			99
(36) Bikramajit m	arried	(1)	Bhagwan Kunwari, daughter of Chauhan
			Ana of Ajmere.
	,,	(2)	Chandra Kunwari, daughter of Jhalaraja
			Chand ja of Jhalawad.
	,,	(3)	Kusham Kunwari, daughter of Gaur Ind-
			rakan.
	,,	(4)	Rani Khichi.
	,,	(5)	Rani Padiharini.
	,,	(6)	Sulankini.
	,,	(7)	Hadi.
	,,	(8)	Chauhani.
	,,	(9)	Chavadi.
	,,	(10)	Khemaji.
	,,	(11)	of Balnot.
	,,	(12)	Naruki Kachhwahi.
	,,	(13)	daughter of Rathor Madrao of Medta.
(37) Bramha Cha-	,,	(I)	Amrita Kunwari, daughter of Badgujar
tra			Mag of Bagadgarh.
	,,	(2)	Hadi.
	,,	(3)	Chauhani.
	,,	(4)	Summan Kunwari of Basalugaon, Kachh-
			wahiraj.
	,,	(5)	daughter of Gautam Gambhīr Singh of
			Nagargarh.
	,,	(6)	Kundal Kunwari, daughter of Madho-
			Singh of Madhukargarh.
	,,	(7)	Krishna, daughter of Torraja Suryaman.
	,,	(8)	Tarade ,, Tilok Chand of Do-
			diakera.
	••	(9)	Tarade ,, Balawat Rathor
			Jodh Singh.
	,,	(10)	Kuntal Kun- ,, Vijai Singh of Jodh-
(0) D 1 1			wari. pur.
(38) Premchakra	,,	(I)	
		(2)	" Udavat Rathor.
		(3)	
		1.5	Ram Singh of Tatadia.
		(4)	Rukmavati, daughter of Raja Gopaldas
		(-)	Johil Padihar.
		(5)	Rukmabati, daughter or Sanchora Chau-
			han Gudagaon.

Kala pahartot.

(6) Rukmabati, daughter of Pahar Singh

(7) Daya Kunwari, daughter of Raja Sindal.

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100 A GENEALOGY OF THE PAMARS.

(20) Ajay Paj married	(I) Consust had do	1
(39) Ajay Raj married	(I) Gopavat hadi dau	ghter of Gopmath of Bhaisvod-
		garh.
	(2) Dular de	,, Chauhan Shi-
		tal of Sona-
		gara.
	(3)	" Jhaliraja
		Ishardas
		of Rund-
	(4)	gaon. ,, Rathor Nava-
	(4)	deva of
		Ama.
(40) Mahipal ,,	(I) Savanga	" Sisodia Rana
		Hammir
		of Hamir-
,,	(2) Dadimde	garh. ,, Rathor Su-
	(-)	rajmal of
		Gurhku-
		charan.
,,	(3) Chandan Kunwari	" Jhalaraja
		Pada m Kunwari.
,,	(4) Swarup Kunwari	" Sir Mathura
		Jadava
		Raja Ma-
,,	(5) Rup Kunwari	danpal.
"	(5) Rup Runwan	"Khichiraja Balwant
		Singh of
		Radhagarh
"	(6) Shingar Kunwari	,, Chauhan raja
		B h o p a l Singh of
		Garhnava-
		raja.
"	(7) Rajju raja	" Sisodia Rao
	(8) Ram Kunwari	Gokuldas.
"	(~) Kam Kullwall	,, Gaur Raja Ratan of
		Juhi Gaon.

A GENEALOGY OF THE PAMARS. IOI Mahipal married (9) Panna Kunwari daughter of Rao Samaldas of Panwadgaon. (10) Lachman Kunwari " Rathor Saheb Singh Nenwagaon. Mahipal founded Mahitpur. (41) Mardan Singh Bhumipal Jawahar Kunwari. (41) Mardan Singh married (1) Sarava Kunwari daughter of Bhim Singh of Karigaon. " Chuda va t (2) Rukma Kunwari sisodia Rao Chudaji Salumar. " Dodini rao (3) Amba Kunwari Swarup Singh of Vajitgarhsar. "Narhan (4) Gyan Kunwari Rao Sarat Singh of Namirana gaon. "Jogavat (5) Pratap Kunwari Kachbwaha Rao Jagman of Lalvadigaon. "Naruka (6) Chamanse Kachhwaha Rao Raja Sardar Singh of Una-

vara.

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- (42) Bhoj ji married
- (1) Sirdar Kunwari daughter of Hadarao Bhiduji of

Rajgarh.

- (2) A princess of Shahpura.
- (3) ,, Gaur havali.
- (4) Khagavat Kachhwahi.
- (43) Bhoj,

Phul Kunwari daughter of Solanki Rao Ram

Singh of

Devalana-

garh.

He founded Bhopal and constructed the great tank Bhuj Sagar.

- (44) Pal married
- (1) Bahal Kunwari of Jotiyagaon.
- (2) Nimavat Hadi of Nivoragaon.
- (3) A lady of Khelagaon.
- (4) ,, ,, Narukihhasugaon.
- (5) Nathavat Kachhuwahi of Bhasugaon.
- (6) Chatur Chujot Kachhuwahi.
- (45) Sahipal,,
- (1) Gulab Kunwari daughter of Bhatiraja Shivadan Singh of Pandargaon.
- (2) A lady of Fatehgarh.
- (3) Khagavat Kachhuwahi:
- (4) Purnamlot Khhajuwahi Bhoj Kunwari who founded Bhojpur.
- (5) Daughter of Raja Aman Singh Sulanki. This Rani founded Amanganj.
- (6) Naruki of Ladane Gaon.
- (7) Lalita Kunwari, daughter of Chudavat Rathor Chandrabhan of Navavgaon.
- (8) Daughter of Kalyan Singh Jodha rathor of Kishangarh.
- (9) Ganga Kunwari daughter of Shaktavat sisodia Devi Singh of Pipaldagaon.

Sahipal founded Shahpura.

- (46) Shatrupal married (1) Rambha Kunwari daughter of Varnot Sulanki Dugar Singh of Negarh.
 - (2) A lady of Davadaduva.
 - (3) " " ,, Kochalvada.
 - (4) Berisalot Hadi of Badavangaon.
 - (5) Kachhwahi of Jhavanagaon.
 - (6) Prem Kunwari daughter of Ranavat, sisodia Udaya Singh of Devajvas.

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(7) Dalhi Kunwari daughter of Rajavat . Kachhwaha Bhur Singh of Isardagaon.

(8) Jait Kunwari daughter of Gaur Manohar Singh of Maunrupa.

Shatrupal's daughter Kan Kunwari was married to Ummed Singh, Raja of Bundi

- (47) Dharangambhir married (1) A daughter of Bhatirao Bhuman Singh of Sohil man.
 - (2) Chatur Kunwari daughter of Dahimaam. This rani founded Rajahas.
 - (3) Novaram Hadi of Teigaon.
 - (4) Badhavat Sulanki of Satpadagaon.
 - (5) Naruki Kachhwahi of Dagarthal Gaon.
- Baghraj Shardul Singh who founded Srinagar.

 Baghraj warried (1) Hira Kunwari dayahter of Raja N

Baghraj married (1) Hira Kunwari daughter of Raja Mahipal of Narawar.

- (2) A lady of Lakhnot Gaur Sinduragaon.
- (3) Khichi.
- (49) Udayajit " (1) Pyar Kunwari daughter of Rathor Kup Deva of Begevagaon.
 - (2) Tulasa Kunwari daughter of Sisodia Ramkal of Tallodegaon.
 - (3) Suraj Kunwari daughter of Kumbhavat Kachhwahan of Piprod.
 - (4) Surata not Kachhwahi of Jhujhargaon.
 - (5) Ummeda Kunwari daughter of Guhlot Guman Singh of Medavas.
 - (6) Indra Kunwari daughter of Chauhan Raja Kirat Singh of Manipuri.
 - (7) Anand Kunwari daughter of Kalyan ot Kachhwa Ramsingh of Kanwaragaon.

> Randhaval married (1) Chamal Kunwari daughter of Pitavatgaur Nirhhor Singh of Indur Khi.

- (2) Hadi of Kavawargaon.
- (3) Bhoj Kunwari (Prithwi Raj ot Kachhwahi) of Lodawangaon.
- (4) Harvalpoti Hadi.
- (5) Sulankini.
- (6) Chauhani.

Randhaval founded Ramgarh and Dholpur.

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- (51) Patal Singh married (1) Jagesh Kunwari daughter of Amavat Sulankirao Ama of Selarpur.
 - (2) Dadamdeva Kunwari (Ravatka sulankini) of Bavaigaon.
 - (3) Krishnavat sisodini of Basigaon.
 - (4) Bhilavat Sulankini of Takadigaon.
 - (5) A lady of Dhagarman.
 - (6) Khushal Kunwari daughter of Sougiri Dayadas.

From Patal Singh date the 35 kuris of the Pamars.

- (52) Mahipji married (1) Kanku Kunwari daughter of Dhiravat rathor
 Rao Bahadur
 Singh of Napkigaon.
 - (2) Indra Kunwari ,, ,, Mihalgot Sulanki Rao Mohalji of Gatagaon.
 - (3) Jham Kunwari ,, ,, Sakhavat Kachhwaha Lachhikan of Sakarigaon.
 - (4) Kuntal Kunwari ,, ,, Bhadorini Devi Singh of Bhairgaon.
 - (5) Latakan Kunwari (Naruki kachhwahi) of Sosithalgaon.
 - (6) Daughter of Gaurvalrao Bhim.
- (53) Mahipji had six sons and three daughters. Of the latter one married Jai Singh of Amer, the another married Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur and the third married Salumar Atit Singh. Of the sons, the eldest was Lakhan Singh who married the daughter of Rao Man Singh tot of Gwalior.
- (54) He had three sons (1) Ajaras who ruled in Ujjain.
 - (2) Maturmal,, ,, ,, Dholpur.
 - (3) Panyapal ,, ,, ,, Panwaya, a jagir from Raja Man increased by some other land.

Punyapal married Raj Kunwari daughter of Sahinpal Bundela of Garhkudar. In the Vikrama era 1313 (1256 A.D.), the Pamars ceased for ever to contract matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs. Henceforth they marry only with Bundelas and Dhandheras.

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- (55) Punypal had four sons :-
 - (1) Ratansingh the founder of the Berchha line of Pamars.
 - (2) Shankarsa the founder of the Karara line of Pamars.
 - (3) Diwan Jait Singh the founder of the Kairna line of Pamars, who settled in Kairna in the Virkram era 1531 (1474 A.D.).
 - (4) Chandra Hansa who lived in Ghati Miyanpur.

Diwan Jait Singh married Hira Kunwari daughter of Diwan Ram Singh Dhandhera of Sara.

Diwan Jait Singh's son was :-

- (56) Kunthal Saya married into the Bundelas of Bevana.
- (57) Daduray married into the Dhandherans of Tapkan Mohar.
- (58) Daduray had three sons:—(1) Diwan Shalivahen; (2) Chakra Sen both of whom married into the Bundelas of Badegaon; and (3) Angu who lived in Jhadagaon and founded Jhadavar line of Pamars.

Diwan Shalivahan's son was :-

(59) Kunwar Rupsaya who married into the Dhandheras of Chok.

(60) Hadresha Ratan Singh.

- (61) Nathuram.
- (62) Alamsa.
- (63) Hera Singh.
- (64) Aman Singh killed in Randhava Soneju Bahaju who married the daughter of Indrajit of Sarkanpur of Khargapur and who came to Sanetsingh in Panna (C.I.) in 1841 Vikrama era (1784 A.D.) and became his commander-in-chief. He seized Chhatarpur, part of Panna State and founded the present ruling dynasty.
- (65) He had four sons:—
 - (1) Pratap Singh born 1840 Vikrama era or 1783 A.D.
 - (2) Prithwi Singh ,, 1843 ,, ,, 1786 ,,
 - (3) Hindupatijudeva ,, 1846 ,, ,, 1789 ,,
 - (4) Bakht Singh ,, 1852 ,, ,, 1795 ,, tap Singh reigned till 1911 ,, ,, 1854 ,,
- Pratap Singh reigned till 1911 ,, ,, ,, 1854 ,, (66) Jagat Raj who ascended the throne in 1912 ,, ,, ,, 1855 ,,
- (67) Vishwanath Singh, the present chief of Chhatarpur.

$JAH\overline{A}NGIR'S$ STONE ELEPHANT AT AJMER: "THE $H\overline{A}THI$ $BH\overline{A}T\overline{A}$."

By P. B. Joshi.

A MONG what the local historian calls "the minor sights of Ajmer," there is, just opposite the Victoria General Hospital, a Hindu temple (?). The 'Hāthi Bhātā,' as the locality is now named after the stone elephant, is situated close behind Akbar's palace at Ajmer and was probably a part of the camping ground for the Imperial retinue. This is likely, because the palace front opens into the town. Further, the overflow from the Ana Sagar to the Bisla Lake passes by the Hāthi Bhātā, and consequently it may not be wrong to conjecture that the place was on the thoroughfare leading from the palace to the Bisla Lake where Jahāngīr had his pleasure house.

The ground behind the palace has been considerably filled in by now, and the stone elephant is quite four feet below the present surface level. It is cut out of an outcrop of the rock, is almost life size, and forms a perfect specimen of art. The length from head to tail is 8' 4", the head from temple to temple 2'-10", and the girth 7'-11". Over it is raised a temple. The elephant is in a sitting posture and has the following hemistich engraved on its right:—

تاریخ فیل سنگ شد از حکمت اله این کوه پاره فیل جهانگیر بادشاه

which gives Hijri 1022 (1613 A.D.) as the year of its construction, the year of Jahangir's arrival in Ajmer.

¹ H. B. Sarda, Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive, p. 128.

² H. B. Sarda, Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive, p. 66.

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The Emperor Jahangir evidently took pleasure in having stones thus carved into animals. Writing, for instance, of a place near Jalalabad, he tells us:—

"A white rock was present in the river bed, I ordered them to carve it in the form of an elephant and cut upon its breast this hemistich, which agrees with the date of the Hijri year: "The white stone elephant of Jahāngīr Pādshāh," that is, 1016." Elsewhere the Emperor erected a Minār at the head of the grave of an antelope, having the grave stone carved to represent the animal.

Curiously enough Jahangir makes no mention of the Ajmer statue in the Tuzuk, nor do any other writers of the period that I have been able to consult. In fact, but for the inscription on the elephant and the local tradition which connects the statue with Jahangir, it would have easily passed as an image erected in honour of some deity. As it is, the Hāthi Bhātā has a little story of its own. "My Guru," the keeper of the temple tells us, "used to say his prayers here. The Emperor Jahangir came to know of this and ordered him to vacate the place. Guru of course refused, and the infuriated Emperor sent an elephant to trample him to death. When the elephant came near, the Guru ordered him to sit down. animal obeyed, but was turned into stone." "And there it is," says the keeper pointing to the statue, "sitting ever since: when the Emperor heard of this he was penitent, came to the Guru, and made him costly presents."

An apology for a painting carefully framed and preserved hangs on the wall close by. In this the Guru is shown seated underneath a tree with disciples round him. Conspicious among these is a young man, well dressed and with a halo round his head. At the feet of the Guru there are a lion, a snake and an elephant. The painting, if painting it can be called, is modern, and at best very

¹ Tuzuk (R + B) Vol. I, 103-4.

^{2 &}quot; The minaret still stands" Eastwick, Punjab Handbook, p. 200.

inferior. The keeper has no explanation to offer for the existence of the snake and the lion in the picture beyond the fact that his Guru "made them disciples." He has likewise no document to substantiate his story. All that he could show us was a pair of sandals that belonged to his miracle-working Guru and which on that account form an article of worship in the temple. The sandals though profusely besmeared with a yellow paste appear hardly twenty years old. They have been rarely worn and the nails have just begun to rust. Still these sandals perhaps form the keeper's only title—historical and legal—to the possession of the Hāthi Bhātā temple!

His story is, of course, incredible. One may feel inclined not to grudge the Sadhu's Guru his miraculous powers, but one finds it difficult to conceive that a Hindu Fakir and his temple could be tolerated so dangerously near the Imperial palace, especially as Jahāngīr was, at this time, in no mood to let the "Jogis practise the worthless religion of the Hindus." Why, he had one of the miracle working fakirs actually turned out of his abode at Pushkar.

If there was no temple at the Hāthi Bhātā in Jahān-gīr's time, it is evident that there was none at a later date either. For, if there had been, the Marhattas were not unlikely to preserve it, the more so, as the place was conspicuous.

The statue itself has attracted little attention of the various travellers who visited Ajmer, and my surmise is that it was buried till recently when people began to settle in the locality. It was perhaps then that it came to light, and some ingenious Pandit invented the story of the miracle and raised a temple over a purely historical relic. I asked the keeper how long the temple had been there. His reply was of course "Jahāngīr Bādshāh Kai Bagat Sai" (from the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr).

¹ Tuzuk (R+B) Vol. I, pp. 254-55.

JAHĀNGĪR'S STONE ELEPHANT.

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The Ajmer elephant is of considerable archæological interest. It is in every detail accurate and true to nature; and a good specimen of the masterly skill of the sculptor of Jahāngir's day. It would have been interesting to know what the Jalalabad elephant was like; but as the Punjab Gazetteers are silent about it, the statue has probably disappeared. Fortunately, the Ajmer stone elephant, though besmeared with vermilion quite an inch thick, is still more or less in tact, and deserves better care and preservation. It would perhaps have been advantageous, if the artist who was, some years ago, entrusted with the task of restoring the elephant statues of Jaimal and Patta at Delhi, had been given an opportunity of studying the artistic detail of the Hāthi Bhātā.

¹ Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905–6, p. 33 (et seq).

² Perhaps made at Ajmer. Those of Amar Singh and Karan in Jahangir's time "hastily" done in that town. [Tuzuk Vol. I, p. 332.]

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

I—Some forgotten Europeans of Shāh Jahān's time.

REFORE we proceed to the subject of the pietra dura inlay of Agra and Delhi we must emphasize the fact that large numbers of Europeans, artists and others, resided at Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's Court. Some writers would have us believe they were a mere handful and mere adventurers. Let them read the records of the period, and doubtless they will form a different opinion. Manucci's Storia do Mogor shows that under Aurangzeb they were very numerous and followed all kinds of professions. Gunners, gun-founders and surgeons were especially in demand during his reign. But, Aurangzeb was not an artist. Father Catrou says very well: "The Gunners of the Empire were almost all Europeans under the Emperors who preceded Oramgzeb. 'The present Mogol's [Aurangzeb's] zeal for the Alcoran, will permit him to employ none but Mahometans. There are hardly any Franguis to be seen now at Court, except Physicians and Goldsmiths. All the rest have quitted a Country, where the free Exercise of Religion is not allowed as formerly. The Emperor has but too well learnt to dispense with our Gunners, and generally with all our Artizans of Europe."

It was not so under his three immediate predecessors. They favoured not only gunners, surgeons, merchants, but especially artists. As far back as 1577, some Portuguese, who had accompanied Pero Tavares of Hugli, took serv.

¹ CATROU, General History of the Mogol Empire.... London, 1709, p. 347.

ice under Akbar at Fathpur Sīkrī, and the chief reason why Akbar allowed the Portuguese to settle at Hūglī was that their ships would bring to Bengal, whence they could be sent easily to Agra, the curios and porcelain of the Far East.

Ralph Fitch, the pioneer English traveller, writes: "I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore [September 28, 1585], who did entertaine him very well, and gave him an house and fiue slaves, an horse, and euery day sixe S.S. in money."

It is said that Akbar allowed his European gunners to plant vineyards at Agra, and that, when he accidentally swallowed one of the poisonous pills which he intended for others, he had in vain recourse to Portuguese physicians (1605).³

Jahangir "order'd that the Entrance of his Palace shou'd be free to all the Franguis of Agra, that is to say, Europeans of what Nation soever. He drank with 'em till Day light, particularly at the Times that the Mahometans fasted with the greatest exactness. When any scrupulous Person of his own Nation hapned to be bye at these Assemblies, he obliged him to break his Fast, or threat'ned to throw him to the Lyons, a brace of which were always kept chain'd under the Windows of his Apartments."

Richard Steel entered Jahāngīr's service (1618–19) with the intention of erecting water-works at Agra. He brought over five workmen; but, he abandoned his projects and was satisfied with following the *laskār* to make pictures, clocks, coaches and such devices. He returned to England in 1619.

"There were Painters in his [Jahāngīr's] time in

¹ A. Monserrate, Mongol. Legat. Comment., Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 559.

² J. HORTON RYLEY, Ralph Fitch, London, 1899, pp. 19, 100.

³ CATROU, op. cit., pp. 137, 168.

⁴ Ibid., p. 173.

⁵ W. Foster, The Embassy of Sir Th. Roe, pp. 438 n, 484, 500 n, 518 n.

the Indies, and Natives of the Country who copy'd from our finest pieces of Europe so exactly, that one must be a nice Judge to distinguish their Hand from the Original. He took great delight in the European Sciences, which was perhaps the Reason of his so much esteeming the Jesuits." One of these painters was a Portuguese, another an Englishman, Hatfield.

Dārā Shikoh "had learn'd all our European Sciences, and almost all our Languages... His Liberality had drawn to him from all Parts, the ablest Ingineers, and the best Gunners, of all the Nations of Europe."

Austin of Bordeaux was only one of many artists who had come to India at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign. We intend speaking of him and his work some other day. Another artist employed by Jahāngīr, and later by Shāh Jahān, was Jerome Veroneo. We have made him known on former occasions as the planner and overseer of the Tāj, and we may have opportunities still to make a closer acquaintance with him.

Let us say a few words about the Venetian Bernardino Maffei, the surgeon; the Venetian Angelo Gradenigo, an adventurer; Hortensio Bronzoni, a Venetian; Bravette, a Frenchman; and Lourenço Mendes, a Portuguese.

Bernardino Maffei.

Maffei was a Venetian, whom we find at Agra in 1627–28. "Berdanim [Bernardine] Maffei, a relative of our Father Pedro Maffei, . . . was serving as the King's physician, and, for various cures which he had effected on

¹ CATROU, op. cit., p. 214.

² J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 67.

³ W. Foster, The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, pp. 459, 477, 500, 500 n.

⁴ Ihid., p. 235.

⁶ Our notes on him and the Peacock-Throne require revising in the light of new discoveries. Cf. meanwhile SIR E. D. MACLAGAN, Four letters by Austin of Bordeaux, in Journ. Panjab Hist. Society, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1916), pp. 3-17.

⁶ J.A.S.B., 1910, No. 6; Journ. United Prov. Hist. Soc., Vol. I (Pt. 2), June 1918, pp. 132-136. I reserve my new study on the Tāj for another occasion.

⁷ Jahangir.

the person of King Jahangir and others, Asafkan recommended him so much to the new King Xah Jahan that he made even more account of him than the King his father, and, as he is naturally fond of the Fathers and all the Frangis, he became fond of him, had himself doctored by him, and, quod majus est (which is more), he ordered him to cure the great Queen and raised his pay, so that he received a daily salary of 25 rupees, or ten cruzados, and besides favours from the King himself and the grandees whom he cured."

We may refer to him what Bernier relates of "one of our countrymen," Bernard, who "resided at the court of Jehan-Guyre, during the later years of that King's reign, and was reputed, with apparent justice, to be an excellent physician, and a skilful surgeon. He enjoyed the favour of the Mogol, and became his companion at table, where they often drank to excess. The King and his physician possessed congenial tastes; the former thought only of his pleasures, and left the management of public affairs to his wife, the celebrated Nour-Mehale, or Nour-Jehan-Begum, a woman, he used to say, whose transcendent abilities rendered her competent to govern the Empire without the interference of her husband. Bernard's daily pay was ten crowns (écus), but this was greatly increased by his attendance on the high ladies of the Seraglio and on all the Omrahs, who seemed to vie with each other in making him the most liberal presents, not only because of the cures he effected but on account of the influence he possessed at court. This man, however, disregarded the value of money; what he received with one hand, he gave with the other; so that he was much beloved by everybody, especially by the Kenchens [dancing-girls], on whom he lavished vast sums." He fell in love with one of these dancing-girls, and asked her from Jahangir, at the Am-

¹ Asai Khan, as I understand.

² Mumtāz Mahal (?).

Letter of Father Fr. Corsi, S.J., Agra, October 6th, 1628 (unpublished).

Khas, in lieu of a present which the Emperor offered him before all the Omrahs, as a remuneration for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the seraglio. "All smiled at the request and expected it would be refused, he being a Christian and the girl a Muhammadan; but Jahāngīr, who had no scruples of any kind, said after a fit of laughter: 'Lift her on the physician's shoulders, and let him carry the Kenchen away.' No sooner said than done."

Maffei did not long survive his unedifying exploit. His grave, in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, says in Portuguese:—

AQVI GIAZE. IL QON/DAM BERNARDINO MA/FFEI. VENEZIANO. SIRVR/GICO. DL. GRÃ. REI-MOGOL./ QVAL DELLE ET. DE TO/DA LA CORTE FOI./MVI:/TO ESTIMADO. POR SVE/CVRE. FATTE. MOREO A/OS: II: D. AGOSTO. NO. A/NNO. 1628./2

(Translation): Here lieth the late Bernardino Maffei, a Venetian, Surgeon to the Great Mogol King, who was much esteemed by him and all his court on account of the cures he effected. He died on the 11th of August in the year 1628.

Angelo Gradenigo.

Angelo Gradenigo, another Venetian, was at Agra in 1627–28, together with Maffei and Veroneo. "Being a merchant at Tatta, [he] was summoned by the King, because he had been told he could play a Monicordios which had been presented to the King in those days. He came and played well, and the King was much pleased with him, and he was much more pleased still with various dishes which the said Angelo prepared for him in the

BERNIER, Travels (Constable's edn., 1891), pp. 274-276.

² MA and FF of MAFFEI, LL in DELLE and TT in FATTE are joined.

³ A monochord was a musical instrument composed of a sound-board with a single string; used in the 11th century in singing-schools to teach the intervals of plain-song; also, a mediæval musical instrument with several strings and bridges for the production of a combination of sounds.

European way, in which he is very clever. For this the King made him various gifts and received him in his service at ten rupees a day."

In 1627–28, while litigating about his brother's property, he was accused, whether rightly or wrongly, of having married in Kābul before a Mula the daughter of a Moghul widow. Angelo stoutly denied it. It was also alleged that he had deceived the king by saying he knew how to cast guns. By and by, he passed himself off as a doctor and entered the service of Fauzdār Khān.

Gradenigo is a good Venetian name. One Pietro Gradenigo became Doge of Venice in 1289.*

Hortensio Borges or Bronzoni.

Father Antonio Botelho, S.J., relates how one day one of the two tame lions in the palace of Delhi gave no small fright to Hortensio Bronzoni: "Ortencio Borges, a Venetian, and lapidary to the king [Shāh Jahān] told me that, as he was one day with the King, both being seated in the palace, for they were weighing some precious stones, the lion appeared at that moment. The King called him to where he was seated, and, remarking that Ortencio was frightened at seeing the lion come towards him, he said: 'Ortencio, sit still, or else the lion may eat you up.' The lion came near and put one of his paws on one of Ortencio's legs, and, as the king ordered the animal to get away at once, he carried off in his claws part of Orten-

¹ Letter of Father Francisco Corsi, S.J., Agra, Oct. 6, 1628 (unpublished).

² Ibid.

³ Note communicated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple from the Travels of Peter Mundy. The fact is mentioned under the year 1632. See *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, Vol. II, *Travels in Asia* (1628-34), edited by Sir R. C. Temple, London, Hakluyt Society, 1914, p. 208, where Angelo is mentioned in conjunction with Signior Jeronimo Veroneo (a Venetian goldsmith), and Signior Francisco (a French 'embroderer'). All three and others were in Shāh Jahān's service.

^{*} ALETHEA WIEL, Venice, 3rd edn., London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1896, p. 170, and see Index for several others of the name.

⁵ Perhaps a reference to pietra dura.

cio's hose and vest. Ortencio related to me very pleasantly the story of the danger he ran on that occasion."

We may without fear identify Hortencio Borges with the Venetian lapidary whom Manucci calls Hortensio Bronzoni. The alias is explained by the fact that Bronzoni married one of his slaves, a Hindu by birth, Suzanna Borges, who by her first husband had a son, Nicolão Borges, a young man of twenty, married to a daughter of Francisco de Souza.2 Bronzoni or Borzoni is a distinctly Italian name, and Manucci, a Venetian like him, who knew him well, is likely to have given his name correctly.3 It was Bronzoni who cut for Shāh Jahān the diamond presented by Mir Jumlah. It weighed 900 ratis or 7811 carats and was perhaps the Kohinur. Hortensio did the work so badly that he was fined Rs. 10,000 for it.4 It was he again who made for Aurangzeb a small ship with its sails, rigging, guns, flags, etc. It was launched on a large tank and worked by European artillerymen.5

At Agra, in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, there are on the same platform four inscribed tombstones in the best style adopted by Christians in the 17th and 18th centuries. A fifth larger stone in the centre records the death of

¹ H. Botelho, S.J., Summa Rerym memorabilium...(1648-54), fol. 33 v (unpublished).

Terry gives the story of a tame lion "which went up and down amongst the people that frequented his [Jahāngīr's] court, gently as a dog." (A voyage to East India, London, 1777, p. 184.) Aurangzeb had a fierce lion walked every day with a goat through the principal square. (Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 443.) Father A. Botelho saw in 1648 (?) a lioness, a tiger, and a cow kept before the palace of Agra and drinking from the same basin. (Summa Rerum memorabilium, f. 22 v). Tavernier (Ball's edn., I, 80) describes the process of taming lions. Cf. also W. Foster, The Embassy of Sir Th. Roe, I, 198. Shāh Jahān had a liontower in his new fort at Delhi. Cf. Journ. Asiatique, 5e série, tome 16 (1860), p. 204.

² Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 209; 214-216; 286; IV, 198.

³ A. DE GUBERNATIS, Storia dei viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali, Livorno, 1875, p. 47, says that a certain Gio. Francesco Maria Borzone embarked in 1648 on one of the two ships sent to India by the newly started Company of Genoa.—Manucci (III, 287) has a fictitious story in which he introduces Hortensio Bronzoni and Juan Dias de Almeida with a marriageable daughter of his.

⁴ TAVERNIER (Ball's edn., I, 396).

⁵ MANUCCI, Storia do Mogor, II, 47; 47 n. 1.

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EUROPEAN ART AT THE MOGHUL COURT. 117

Hortensio Bronzoni in 1677. All these inscriptions are in Portuguese.

I. AQVIESTA/SEPVLTADO/HORTENSIO/BRONZONI/VENE-CIANO/FALECEO AOS 15 DE/AGOSTO DO ANNO 1677./I

(Translation): Here is buried Hortensio Bronzoni, a Venetian. He died on the 15th of August of the year 1677.

The two stones on the right are inscribed to Dom Joseph Borges, and one Nicolão (?). See Nos. 2 and 3 below.

2. AQVI IAS DOM IOS/EPH BORGES CAVA/LEYRO PROFESSO/DA ORDEM DE/ XP° FALECEO E/M DELY AOS [1?] 4/DE IA.V° D[E] 17I [8?]/.²

(Translation): Here lieth Dom Joseph Borges, a professed Knight of the Order of Christ. He died at Dely on the [I?] 4th of January (?) of I7I [8?].

One Joseph Borges da Costa was Dona Juliana Dias da Costa's grandson, his brother-in-law being Diogo Mendes. On December 5, 1715, Dom João of Portugal honoured them both with the habit of the Order of Christ. Hence, I think that the year of demise in No. 2 should be 1718. One Dom Joseph Dias da Costa was similarly honoured with the habit of the Order of Christ on September 26, 1716.

3. AQVI ESTA/ SEPVLTA/DO ANECV/LAO QVE O/FELSEO

OS/I DE MA/IO 1670./

All the L's in this inscription are upside down. The same remark must be made as for No. I about the Q's. This inscription, like many others in the graveyard, betrays

I The two N's of anno are worked into something like an M.

² The O of Agvi should be represented in the form of a capital q. The O and F of Professo are compounded into one letter.—IA.V° may be IANR°, a contraction of IANEIRO.—The 7 of 1718 is strangely cut. I took the figure after it for a 7, but, for reasons to be given further, I think it should be a 1. The lower limb of the last figure 8 is broken off.

⁸ Cf. J. A. ISMAEL GRACIAS, Uma Dona Portugueza na Corte do Grão Mogol, Nova Goa, Imprensa National, 1907, p. 146.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 145-147, 165.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 157-158.

great illiteracy, and no wonder. There were no schools worth speaking of in the North of India. More correctly, the inscription should run thus: Aqui esta/sepultado Nico/lão que/faleceo aos/ I de Ma/io 1670./ This means: Here is buried Nicolão, who died on the 1st of May 1670.

We shall not be far wrong if we identify this Nicolão with Nicolão Borges, the son of Suzanna, a Hindu woman, who married first one Borges, next Hortensio Bronzoni. The fact that our Nicolão is buried near members of the Borges family and near Hortensio Bronzoni leaves hardly any doubt on the point.

The two inscriptions on the left of Hortensio Bronzoni's grave commemorate Dona Thereza Borges and Francesco Borges.

4. AQVI IAZ DONA THE/REZA BORGES Q FALEC/CEO AOS IO DE MARÇO E/ FOI SEPVLTADA AOS 12/ DA ERA DE [1776?]./2

(Translation): Here lieth Dona Thereza Borges who (q=que) died on the 10th of March and was buried on the 12th of the year (sic) [1776?].

5. AQVI IAZO FRANCISCO BORGES FALECEO EM AMBALA E FOI SEPVLTADO AOS 12 DE MAIO DE 1707.³

(Translation): Here lieth Francisco Borges. He died at Ambala and was buried on the 12th of May of 1707.

These five inscriptions have a family likeness, and their proximity to one another, coupled with the similarity of names and the fact that Bronzoni married Suzanna Borges, whose son by her first husband was a Nicolão (No. 3), indicates relationship.

In another place of the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, before a platform marked No. 100 in 1912 and con-

l About Francisco de Souza, whose daughter Nicolão Borges married, see my article *The family of Lady Juliana da Costa* in *Journ. of the Punjab Histor. Soc.*. Vol. VII, No. 1 (1917), pp. 5, 5 n. 2, 7 n. 1. See *ibid.*, pp. 4-6, 7 n. 1, on some of the Borges.

² I do not remember how I decided on 1776 as the likely date.

³ This inscription is in two lines, one on each side of the stone.

taining four graves, only two of which are inscribed, we found on an erect headstone.

6. FRANCISCA BORGES/ MORREO AOS 16/DE MARÇO 1654./

(Translation): Francisca Borges died on the 16th of March, 1654.

Bravette.

Father Anthony Botelho tells us how, after Shāh Jahān's departure for Delhi (1648), first a friendly 'Umbrao' was appointed as Captain of the Agra Fort, and next a Persian 'Vazir,' who treated the Fathers with scant respect. Father Botelho obtained from Dārā Shikoh, then at Delhi, a letter of recommendation and went with Father Henry 'Buzeu' (Buzeo, Busi, an alias for Uwens) to pay his respects to the Vazīr (end of 1648). Both being new to the country, they took with them as their interpreter a young man, Jacome Bravette, a young Christian born at Agra, the son of a Frenchman who had served the Moghul Emperor as lapidary.2 He adds that Jacome was still alive at the time when he wrote his account (c. 1670).3 There can be no doubt that the young man is the Jacome Bravette who was buried at Agra in 1686. His funerary inscription in the Padres Santos' Cemetery says:-

aqvi iaz iaco/me bravette/ faleceo aos/ i de março/ 1686./ 3

(Translation): Here lieth Jacome (James) Bravette. He died on the 1st of March, 1686.

We may safely identify Jacome as the son of the Sieur

¹ She was perhaps the daughter of Francisco de Souza who married Nicolão Borges of inscription No. 2.

E. A. H. Blunt, List of Inscriptions on Christian tombs and tablets of historical interest in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, 1911, gives some of the above 6 inscriptions: No. 1 is his No. 114; No. 2, his No. 127; No. 5, his No. 117; No. 6, his No. 108. My decipherments were made in December 1912, during a visit to Agra. I had Mr. E. A. H. Blunt's book with me, and obtained not unfrequently readings different from his.

² A. Botelho, S.J., Summa Rerum memorabilium (1648-54), f. 39 v.

⁸ I DE MARÇO might perhaps be 7 DE MARÇO. The inscription is not in Blunt's List.

'Bravet,' the French trader to whom Jahāngīr paid Rs. 30,000 for some bric-à-brac which he had brought from Europe, and another Rs. 30,000 for a tiny padlock.

Curiously enough, some of the Bravettes married into the family of the Bourbons of Bhopal, and their descendants may still exist in Upper India. Somehow, they seem to have corrupted their name, by metathesis, to Bervette. Col. W. Kincaid's genealogical tree of the Bourbons of Bhopal—how far can it be relied on?—shows that Salvador Bourbon (c. 1736) married a Miss Bervette; and, in the beginning of last century, two sisters, Louisa and Juliana Bourbon, married Bervettes. ²

One Gastin or Gaston Brouet, who was alive in 1774, wrote for Col. Gentil a Persian history of Lady Juliana da Costa, the translation of which, by Professor E. H. Palmer, was published in Maltebrun's Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, Vol. for 1865.8 In his history of Lady Juliana, Gastin or Gaston Brouet (the name as deciphered in the Persian MS.) declares that he collected information from his ancestors. Probably he is the same as the Augustin Barbette who, in 1766, is described as the intimate adviser of Suja 'ud-daula of Faizābād.* Perhaps, he had married in Juliana's family; at any rate, from the Bourbons and the traditions of his own family, he may have known much about Lady Juliana. He would have made the acquaintance of Col. Gentil at the Court of Oudh, Faizābād, where Gentil spent fully ten years (1764-1775) and married in Lady Juliana's family.5

MANUCCI, Storia do Mogor, I. 171-172.

² Col. W. Kincaid, The Indian Bourbons, in The Asiatic Quarterly Review, January-April, 1887.

³ H. BEVERIDGE, Dona Juliana in East and West, Bombay, July 1903.

⁺ EMILE BARBÉ, Le Nabah René Madec, Paris, Alcan, 1844, p. 38.

I refer to Miriam, of the Bourbon family, in Journal of Indian History, Allahabad University, Febr. 1922, pp. 235 n. 1, 248 n. 3, 248 n. 4.

The following from The Examiner, Bombay, May 6, 1922, p. 180, deals with Lady Juliana and deserves entering here, ne excidat memoria. We do not however vouch for the correctness of the story. The old couple mentioned in the extract belonged probably to the d' Eremão family, members of which, still alive, connect

In 1766, René Madec, a Breton of Quimper, who from a sailor became a Nawāb, married, in his camp at Papundh, Marianna, daughter of Augustin Barbette (sic) and Magdalen of Delhi, Augustin and his relatives coming from Lucknow to the marriage. Father F. X. Wendel, S.J.,

themselves with Miriam and Juliana of the Bourbon family, with Mir Jumlah and the Kohinur.

A new Catholic mission station at "Masingarh, Oakla, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, was once the estate and residence of the Lady Juliana, who by her personality, virtue and wisdom wielded so much power at the Court of the Emperor Aurangzebe. This potentate had so great a respect for her that he entrusted to her keeping his own imperial seal. Her father was a French nobleman, a favourite soldier of fortune, in the Great Moghul's army; her mother was an Indian Princess, a lady of great beauty and of noble blood. The Lady Juliana's presence in the Court of that cruel Mahomedan Emperor was a great blessing for Christianity, for she made use of all her influence for the protection of the Christians, and particularly of our Missionaries, to whom she was a most generous benefactress. Her estate was about 8 miles from Delhi, and consisted of four villages, and one of them, where her residence was, still bears the name of ' Juliana Bai.' These villages being on the Delhi-Agra Canal were very flourishing at one time, but since the closing down of the canal, which was many years ago, they lost all their former prosperity. They were bequeathed to the Agra Mission some 50 years ago by an old couple, who claimed descendance from the Lady Juliana. The names of the generous donors can be seen on a tablet in our Church at Delhi, towards the building of which they had contributed very generously.

"Ever since the property came into the hands of the Mission, every effort was made to convert the villagers, or at least to establish there a Christian settlement. A school and a house for a Catechist were built there, but two years after there was not left a stone upon a stone of these buildings, so adverse were the villagers to Christianity. When the movement of the Chamars towards the Catholic faith started, the persecutions of the Zamindars also started against them. Some of the new Christians came to settle on the Mission land from time to time, and now there is quite a large settlement of them. His Grace, the Archbishop, gave the permission and the money for the building of a pakkā Church and school there, and now the stability of this Mission, thank God, is assured. This new Church was opened and blessed with great solemnity by the zealous founder of this Christian village, the Very Rev. Fr. James, on the morning of the 16th instant [April?]. One must, indeed, admire the guiding hand of Divine Providence, who, in His infinite goodness, ordained that this Church and this Christian settlement should spring up in the very place where the house of the Lady Juliana was. Of this house can now be seen only the foundations. This beautiful little Church has been dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus, and is only a quarter of a mile from the Railway Station of Oakla." (Franciscan Annals of India, Agra.)

Less than six years ago, Sir Edward Maclagan once sent me a photograph of what remained of 'Bībī Juliana kī Sarā', or the Lady Juliana's travellers-inn, at Oakla.

officiated. Madec wrote from Agra, 1775: "I married in this town a girl born in the country, of French origin, and therefore a Christian. About 150 years ago, in the reign of Jehanguir, a Mogol Emperor who was very fond of foreigners, several Frenchmen and other Europeans fixed themselves at Agra, drawn thither by that Emperor's favours. Their posterity subsists to this day, to the number of some 30 families, whom the blessing of God and the care of the Jesuits have invariably maintained in the profession of Christianity. My young wife gave me several children, of whom a boy and a girl are alive. I have them brought up near me." In 1778, Madec returned to Brittany, where he was ennobled and died in 1784, his widow, born at Delhi in 1763, living on till 1791. Her name appears also in the form Barvette.3 One of the children, Mary, died at Bharatpur, May 21, 1771, and is buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, where we read above her grave :-

I. H. S. Ici repose le corps de Marie, fille de René Madec, décédé [sic] à Bartepour le 21 de Mai 1771.

The advent of the English in Oudh proved the financial ruin of the Bravettes; they were deprived of their pay.

The Bravette family still lingers on in Oudh. On February 17th, 1922, while at Lucknow, where I was to read this paper before the United Provinces Historical Society, I copied some inscriptions in the larger postmutiny graveyard of Oliver Road, Hazratganj, Lucknow, and found that the later Barvettes wrote their name 'Burvett,' 'Burwitt,' 'Burwit.'

¹ We have nowhere come across the Christian name of the French lapidary who founded the Indian branch of the Bravette family. Was he perhaps the French embroiderer Francesco, whom Mundy mentions twice in his travels? (Cf. op. cit., II, 65; 208).

² EMILE BARBÉ, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

³ Ibid., p. 288.

⁺ I take the inscription from E. H. Blunt's List, op. cit., p. 43. No. 120.

⁵ EMILE BARBÉ, op. cit., p. 247.

- —Sacred to the memory of/ Beltizar Burvett/Surgeon to the late Ex-King/ of Oudh./ Died on 23rd August 1862/aged 65 years./
- —In Memory of/ Joseph Burwitt,/ the adopted son of Mrs. Burwit;/ died of dysentery 30th Jan. 67/ aged 52 years./
- —To/ The Memory of/ Ellen Burvett, the/ beloved daughter of/ Joseph Burvett, who/ died of cholera on 22nd [?]/ August 1869, aged—years/—months./

Lourenço Mendes.

Father A. Botelho had gone from Agra to Lahore, where he spent the Lent of 1648, ministering to the Christians there. When he left it for Delhi, at the end of Lent, Shāh Jahān had arrived with his troops from Delhi. Hence, when Father Botelho arrived at Delhi, the palace was empty, and one of the 'Umbraos' showed him round.

"When I went to see the palace of Dely, there went also with me Lourenço Mendes, a Portuguese, a native of Damão, who was many years in the King's service, drawing the models of the jewels which he [the King] ordered to be made, the goldsmiths then applying the enamel and the precious stones. He took me to a quarter of the King's palace and showed me I do not know how many rooms—and it was not a small number—the doors of

I Four graves with small crosses on the same platform. One Burwitt is in Aden, Manager of the Club, and still owns a small house near the junction of Kachahri Road and Bharonji Road, Lucknow. The latter road runs over the site of the old Lucknow Church where Fathers J. Tieffentaler, the geographer, and Father F. X. Wendell, both Jesuits, ministered at the end of the 18th century. Not far from there, adjoining the Grass Market, opposite the Kachahri, there is an old pre-mutiny Catholic Cemetery, where I found 70 graves, only two of which still bear inscriptions. In the centre rises a cupola supported by eight columns, under which lies buried, Catholic tradition says, Miriam Begam, the Christian wife of the first King of Oudh.

I was greatly disappointed not to find any pre-mutiny Christian graveyard at Faizabad. There is even no tradition now about any Christian graveyard or Church at Faizabad. The oldest tomb in the Catholic section of the common graveyard in the Cantonment dates from 1859.

which were walled up with stone and mortar; and he told me that in those rooms all the King's precious stones were deposited in Martaban jars, his diamonds, sapphires, rubies, emeralds and all the other kinds of precious stones, and that, when the King was not in the palace, it was the custom of closing up those doors with stone and mortar, for greater security."

Lourenço Mendes is most probably to be identified with Lourenço Mendes Botelho buried at Agra in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, to the right of the path leading to Martyr's Chapel. The tomb must be close to No. 70 (in 1912) or Cipriano de Paris. The inscription, in Portuguese, runs as follows:—

AQVI IAZ LOV/RENÇO MEN/DES BOTELHO/ MORREO AOS I/ DE IVLHO. 1664./

(Translation): Here lieth Lourenço Mendes Botelho. (He) died on the 1st of July, 1664.

There must have been a balustrade round the tomb, as is shown by the sockets for pillars which are to be seen in the (red sandstone?) platform. Likely enough, he was related to Diogo Mendes Botelho, whom Manucci knew, while living with his Venetian countryman Hortensio Bronzoni. ³

One Dom Diogo Mendes was the brother-in-law of

Another reference to pietra dura?

² A. Botelho, S.J., Summa Rerum memorabilium (1648-54), f. 33v.—Shāh Jahān "had Two deep Vaults dug in his Palace of Dely, supported by huge Marble Pillars. In one he laid up his Gold in mighty Hoards, and in the other he kept his Silver. To make the carrying away of any of his Treasure the more difficult, he took care to have both the Silver and Gold coined into Pieces of so prodigious a bigness, that they would be of no use in trade. Cha-Jaham spent a great part of the Day in those Vaults, upon pretence of the Coolness of 'em; but in reality to Feast his Eyes with those vast Heaps of Riches." (Catrou, General History of the Mogol Empire, London, 1709, pp. 232-233.) Akbar (and Jahāngīr?) acted similarly with their treasures of gold and silver; but where are the vaults in the Delhi Fort of which there is question here? Are they known to exist? On some points Catrou had information which I have been unable to trace to other printed sources.

In the description of Lourenço Mendes' work may we not see an allusion to pietra dura inlay?

³ MANUCCI, Storia do Mogor, III, 286.

Dom Joseph Borges da Costa, grandson of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa, the Portuguese lady who rose to such influence at the Moghul Court in the first decades of the 18th century. Born in 1658, she died in 1732, and was buried in the Church of Agra. The best account of her is in Gentil 2 and H. Beveridge. 3 Gentil married her greatgrand-niece, the daughter of Sebastian Velho and Lucia Meudece (read: Mendes). Dom Diogo Mendes is mentioned as the recipient of two letters addressed to him in Mogor by the Viceroy of Goa (1714-15).4 On December 5, 1715, Dom João of Portugal honoured him with the habit of Christ. 6 On September 26, 1716, there is still question of two alvaras of the habit of Christ for Dom Diogo Mendes and Dom Joseph Borges da Costa. 6

II—Pietra dura inlay.

We shall introduce this subject by a long passage translated from Antonio Zobi's Notizie storiche sull' origine e progressi dei lavori di commesso in pietre dure, Firenze, 1853, which, as far as I am aware, has never been quoted here in India.7

"We know also that sumptuous works have been executed in the East Indies, which, if Signor Zobi on Ferdithey are not altogether identical [with nand I. of Florence and his the pietra dura work in Italy], bear four artists.

very much resemblance to it. Hence, we may conjecture that they were derived from Florence, for the reasons which I shall expose. When the aforesaid Grand-Duke Ferdinand I. had begun the construction of the Chapel, fearing always that the stones he had collected would

GENTIL, Mémoires de l' Indoustan, Paris, 1822, pp. 367-380.

² GENTIL, op. cit.

⁸ H. BEVERIDGE, East and West, Bombay, July 1903.

⁴ J. A. ISMAEL GRACIAS, Uma Dona Portugueza na Corte do Grão Mogol, Nova Goa, 1907, pp. 132, 138-40, 143.

⁵ Idem, ibid., pp. 145-147; 165.

⁶ Idem, ibid., p. 158.

⁷ It was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Fr. Felix, O.M.C., then at Maryabad, Gujranwala Dt., Punjab.

prove insufficient for covering the interior, he decided to send four of his workmen to the Mogol, a country very rich in excellent stones (silici), and to buy a quantity of them. The Medicean Archives show that, with this end in view, he applied to the king of Spain in 1608 for a passport.1 We do not know, however, whether the men left, or whether, having left, they returned. All the same, it is not unlikely that they went to the Mogol, and that, being enticed away by lucrative employments, or kept back for some other reason, they taught their art to the natives. Dr. Giulio Ferrario says in his monumental work on Costume antico e moderno (Vol. II della Asia, p. 236): 'At a small distance from the city of Agra, on the high-road leading to Delhy, in a place called Scherdery' is to be seen the famous tomb of Emperor Akbar.... The façade is richly decorated with marble mosaics of various colours in compartimenti.' Such vague and brief information would be of no value to us, if we could not connect it in some way with our art. The above-said circumstances of the projected expedition of the four Florentine artists to the Mogol, there to purchase pietre dure, offers us precisely a probable link. The Hon'ble Charles Trevelyan, an Englishman who resided long at Delhi as assistant to the English resident there, passed through Florence in 1839,3 and, seeing the work done there with pietre silicee, he was kind enough to write the following about the Indian commesso work known so far.

"'The inner wall of the famous tomb of Taj Mahal at
Agra is enriched with pietra dura
mosaics. At Delhy, the walls and
the columns of the two audience halls

¹ This correspondence may since have been published. I am not aware, however, that it has been.

2 Read: Sikandra.

³ Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, Baronet (1807-1886): went out to India in the E.I. Co.'s service in 1826; Assistant Commissioner at Delhi; Under Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1831: Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1836-8, when he retired. Returned to India (1840-1865). Cf. C. E. BUCKLAND, Dict. of Indian Biography, London, 1906, p. 428.

of the Mogol Emperor, as also the rooms and the baths near the palace, are similarly adorned. The designs of the above-said works are light and graceful, but less rich than those I saw in the pictures (tavole) of the Florence Gallery, I mean that the designs are more sparse, as was required by the use they were put to, viz., adorning the walls of majestic apartments. The objects represented are mostly natural fruits and flowers; Etruscan vases are also very common; a fine assortment of them, with flowers gracefully growing out of them, is worked in the lower part of the inner walls of the Taj. The only departure from these subjects which I have seen in these pietra dura mosaics (I must remark that Mr. Trevelyan calls commesso work 'mosaics') exists at Delhy before the great marble throne standing in the first audience-hall of the Emperor. It represents Orpheus playing the violin, and sundry animals and birds listening attentively to the musician. This mosaic, which is about one foot square, is surrounded by a great variety of fruits and flowers more than usually compact. As it is the richest and most perfect sample of this kind of work which I have seen in the East, I shall try to have the design of it copied by a native artist, and to obtain also a coloured copy of portions of the mosaic covering the inner walls of the Taj, since Mr. Zobi wishes to make use of them to illustrate his work. The Maomettans are forbidden to represent living figures, and this may be the reason why, with the exception of the above-mentioned mosaic, no such figures are found, and why all the other mosaics express flowers and fruits, which they are free to depict.' In the Dervan-i

² Birds and other animals are also depicted. We do not derive from this any argument in favour of the European origin of the *pietra dura* work at Agra and Delhi. If Akbar, Jāhāngīr, and Shāh Jahān had no scruples about making their

¹ N. Basta and A. Cerati's Gran Dizionario Italiano Francese e Francese Italiano, Tom. 2, Paris, 1854, explains thus lavoro di commesso: "quel bel lavoro che si fa commettendo insieme, con industrioso artifizio, pietre durissime e gioie, per far apparire figure, animali, frutti, ed ogni altra cosa in tavole, in istipetti, ed in simiglianti opere."

Khas or inner audience-hall of the Imperial Palace at Delhy, the white marble is adorned with various graceful gildings and arabesques. All these works are highly prized by the English living in the East, and they redound to the credit of the school that produced them. To me they appear even more valuable than what I find in Italy, for I consider them superior in taste and execution to those first specimens which I have seen of late.2 The idea of discovering their origin came to me when I visited the Church of the Certosa at Pavia. The pietra dura work in the East and that which I saw in that Church are certainly of the same school. I cannot enumerate exactly the names and qualities of the stones used. I shall say only that cornelian is much used to make red flowers and fruits, while the other stones are cut so as to resemble as much as possible the object depicted. The field is always the same, viz., white marble. In the baths there are large slabs of a particular kind of stone, to which the natives attach much value. In appearance, it is like white marble; but it is slightly shaded with light green, which makes it look much fresher when water flows over it. These baths have been greatly damaged by the greed of some who have picked out and stolen the smaller stones.

Indian artists paint human beings, neither would Shāh Jahān have scrupled about the animals, and even Orpheus, depicted in *pietra dura* in the Dīwān-i-'Ām of Delhi. Certain animals, such as elephants, were executed even in the round, at Agra and Delhi under Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

¹ Sic. Dīwān-i-Khās.

² Under such a wealthy patron as Shāh Jahān, the Italians could easily have surpassed the work undertaken at Florence under the Medicis. In India, the Italians would have been supervisors; they would have drawn the designs and would have taught the technicalities of their art to the Indians. The pietra dura inlay in the Fort of Delhi is on such a vast scale that it is evident that a few Europeans could not have coped with the work. Our argument lies chiefly in the presence of so many Italians at Agra and Delhi at the time when pietra dura flourished most, in the tradition that they executed the work, in the superior execution of the designs at the Dīwān-i-ʿĀm, in the symbolism of certain designs: chiefly in the picture of Orpheus, by which our Westerners, never allowed to sign any of their works in India, seem to have circumvented Shāh Jahān, leaving it to posterity to discern their doings in that piece of Greek and Roman mythology.

After these explanations, I believe there can be no doubt that Europeans executed these works. The story of Orpheus and the flowers depicted are as many proofs in favour of this supposition; the Etruscan vases executed in many places corroborate also the tradition that those artists were Italians. It is commonly said that Shah Jahān, the Augustus of the East, executed these and other great works by calling Italian artists to his help. I believe I have read that he addressed himself to Florentines, but I do not remember where I saw this.2 I shall write to Delhy and Agra and get the names and the nationality of the artists who must have done this work examined into, and that by means of traditions, books, manuscripts, and inscriptions on tombs. The cemetery of the Christians of Agra is still intact, though it goes back to a remote period, i.e., up to the reign of Shah Jehan, if not much further.3 I shall ask one of my correspondents, a friend of mine, at Agra to get copied and sent to Mr. Zobi all the inscriptions to the Italians buried there. As far as

This appeal to tradition as it existed at Delhi in 1839 is not without its significance.

In BISHOP R. HEBER, Narrative of a journey (1824-25), London, 1828, Vol. I, p. 560, we read about a small apartment in the Emperor's palace at Delhi (1824): "It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers, and leaves of green serpentine, lapis lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labour of an artist of that country.....Half the flowers and leaves had been picked out or otherwise defaced." Behind the throne "are mosaic paintings of birds, animals, and flowers, and, in the centre, what decides the point of their being the work of Italian, or at least European artists, a small group of Orpheus playing to the beasts" (p. 562).

I doubt not that a diligent search for descriptions of Agra and Delhi earlier than Bishop Heber would bring in a large collection of quotations of the same kind, even suggesting or claiming the *tradition* that the *pietra dura* of both places was done by Italians, by Florentines.

The ground of the Padres Santos' Cemetery, i.e., the Cemetery of the holy Fathers, must have been obtained from Jahangir in 1610 or even earlier. There had been an earlier cemetery; but the remains of the Christians were transferred to the new cemetery. The older cemetery must have been in the garden of the Convent of the Nuns of Jesus and Mary, Agra, near the Cathedral. See my Mirza Zū-l Qarnain, in Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 183-185.

^{*} I copied all the inscriptions in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, and in and

I know, the art is no longer practised, except at Agra, and the workmen make only at their own initiative paper-weights, rulers (righe), and other knick-knacks. The biggest piece I ever saw was a chess-table ordered by Lord Combernere and Lady William Bentinck: it was ornamented with arabesques and flowers.'

fail, indeed, to obtain for me further informations and elucidations from his Delhy correspondent, the very honourable Mr. Metcalfe, the Agent in that city of the English Governor-General. With rare courtesy he sent me twelve coloured designs, samples of the commesso work in pietra dura to be found there. Before examining the said designs, I think it useful to premise an extract from the letter which Mr. Metcalfe sent me with his present. It runs thus:—

"In my efforts to concur with Signor Zobi's intentions I had the assistance of some of the most intelligent natives of the country and of competent European friends. Hence, I hasten to communicate as soon as possible the result of our common researches. By way of preliminary observation, it is necessary to remember that, the practice of Painting and Sculpture being proscribed among orthodox Musulmans, such works are only incidentally referred to, if at all, in their writings. Regular treatises on these arts are nowhere found. What never formed the subject of education, study and liberal culture could not be judged worthy of the smallest historical allusion."

who attributes to Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hamīd the whole system of Shāh Jahānī architecture. Books and traditions, too, show that the whole system of Architecture called *Shah Jehanee* owed its origin to OASTA AHMUD and OASTA HAMID,

about the Cathedral and native Chapel (Akbar Pādshāh kī gīrjā) in December 1912. They are not yet published; a good many are mentioned in Mr. E. A. H. Blunt's List of Inscriptions, Allahabad, 1911.

If the art had been indigenous to India, it would very likely have formed the subject of treatises.

both architects,1 to whose genius and taste we owe that object of universal admiration, the Taj, and all those magnificent stone buildings which form the chief ornament of Delhy and Agra. Whether the mosaic panellings in question were executed by the said artists or by others, it seems impossible to determine for the reasons indicated, viz., the silence of history. Hence, the information we sought for is mixed up with traditions and researches made into collateral facts. According to a document furnished by a descendant of the illustrious house of Timour, it would seem that in 1058 A.H., which answers to A.D. 1643,2 during the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan, the architects Oasta Ahmud and Oasta Hamid designed and jointly achieved the building of the palace (Killah Moobaruk) and the different buildings contained within its enclosure. The time of building is ascertained by the words Shoud Shah Jhun Abaduz Shah Jehan Abad, which mean that Shah Jehan caused Shah Jehan Abad [Delhi] to be populated. According to the Ubind reckoning, the above words give us the said number of years, or the time of building.

"If the date 1643 is exact," continues Signor Zobi, we may yet infer that the four workmen sent by Ferdinand I. to the Mogol, there to acquire stones, had already taught the art of inlaying and combining them (de commetterle ed intarsiarle) to the natives of the country, and that they were then employed in adorning the chief halls of the Taj. The inscriptions which, says Mr. Trevelyan, exist in the

It remains to be seen whether Europeans are not concealed under these names, since the Tāj, at any rate, which is said to have been the work of Oasta [Ustād] Ahmad, and Oasta Hamid, was planned by Jerome Veroneo. We must be on our guard against the Indian habit of dealing with twin names. Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hamīd might be only a case of assonance, as in Gog and Magog, Sind and Hind, China and Macina.

² Read: 1648. Shāhjahānābād was completed, after ten years' work, in 1648, on which occasion Shāh Jahān left Agra for Delhi in great pomp. Some of the Jesuit Fathers of Agra describe the glorious pageant (MS. relation).

³ Read: 1648.

⁺ Later Italians, rather.

Christian cemetery of Agra, might throw perhaps very much light on this point of the history of our art, and in course of time they might go to prove what share we may have had in the spread of the first seeds of civilization in those remote countries."

Thus far Signor Zobi. The reader will have seen in Mr. Metcalfe's letter this point of contact with Sleeman that, whereas in Sleeman Ustād Īsa and his son Mu-

hammad Sharif are made to build not only the Tāj, but the palaces of Agra and Delhi, the same is here attributed to Ustād Aḥmād and Ustād Hamīd. Where did Metcalfe get his information from? No doubt from the same source as Saiyīd Aḥmad Khān.

Saiyid Ahmad Khān wrote: "Ustād Hāmīd and Ustād Ahmad, unique architects in their art, directed the work [of the Delhi Fort]. It was they who caused to be executed with perfect art, in the reception hall, above the stone throne, a mosaic reproducing the picture painted by the Italian painter Raphaël, and representing Orpheus singing, as will be explained in its proper place. It is quite sure that Italian workmen were employed with the native workmen in building the Fort." He goes on to say that 'Izzat Khān, Allah Wirdi Khān and Makramat Khān successively directed the work.

i Signor Zobi's theories on the pictures sent him by Metcalfe were not in Father Felix' extracts. They would be worth studying by an expert. Probably Zobi holds that the work was done by his countrymen.

² Cf. Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852, d'après le texte hindoustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khan, par M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris, MDCCCLXI, p. 33, or Journ. Asiatique, 1860, No. 6.—The 1st edn. of the Hindustānī work, the Āṣāru-ṣanādīd appeared in 1847, another edn. of 1854 was used by Garcin de Tassy; other editions still appeared in 1876 (Lucknow) and 1904 (Cawnpore). Cf. my article in J.A.S.B., 1911, pp. 103 n. 1, 108.

When we happen to discuss again the question of the builder of the Tāj, we may have something more to say about Ustād Hamīd and Ustād Ahmad.

Since Ustād Īsā and his son Muhammad Sharīf are identical with Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hamīd, the Tāj being ascribed to both groups, might not, after all, Ustād Īsā stand for the 'Christian master-builder,' *Īsā* meaning 'Jesus,'

Saiyid Ahmad Khān's passage contains at least a tradition, if nothing more, that Ustād Hamīd and Ustād Ahmad, the two "architects unique in their art" who

superintended the building of the Delhi Fort, had the picture of Orpheus executed and insists that Italian workmen were employed in building the Delhi Fort. This statement is emphasised a little further by the same author, in connection with the stone throne or "the seat of God's shadow," i.e., the place where stood the peacock throne described by Tavernier. "Behind it, there is a marble niche, seven gaz high, and two and a half broad, which is adorned with mosaics representing in beautiful coloured stones natural birds and animals. In the centre is the figure of a man, who seems to sing while accompanying himself on a string instrument. The history of this musician, called Orpheus, is celebrated in the kingdom of Italy, which is situated in Europe. It is related that he had not his equal in the art of music, and that his voice was so melodious that, when he started singing, the animals of earth and sky were as if fascinated, and flocked near to hear him better. Now, there was in Italy a matchless painter, called Raphaël, who died in the year 1520 of Jesus Christ, and who, drawing on his imagination, painted this legend of Orpheus, so celebrated in his country, on a canvas representing the marvellous musician surrounded by animals and birds, crouching, or at rest, to hear him sing. It is this tableau, which is very popular and very celebrated in Italy and in all

and $\bar{l}s\bar{a}i$ 'Christian'? And since Veroneo, the Venetian, died only in 164c, after planning and superintending the building of the Tāj, might he not have designed also the palace of Delhi, begun in 1638? Metcalfe, evidently, obtained from Saiyid Ahmad Khān the group Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hamīd. Therefore, when he ascribes the Tāj to them, he must be understood to give Sayid Ahmad Khān's opinion. This opinion is not, however, expressed in the Sayid's Description of the Delhi Monuments, the Tāj of Agra being there irrelevant.

¹ We would expect that these Italians were employed under Europeans, and that therefore Ustad Hamid and Ustad Ahmad designate Europeans.

Europe, and of which there are many copies, which was reproduced in mosaic in this niche. It represents, therefore, Orpheus; but, as this tableau was known only in Europe, it may be concluded with certainty that Europeans, come from Italy, were among the workmen employed on the construction of Shāh Jahān's castle." ²

A few pages further, after describing the inlay at the baths, Saiyid Ahmad Khān makes the reflexion: "These mosaics prove that a clever Italian was among the artists employed for these constructions, for it is known that the invention of mosaic is due to Italy." ⁸

At p. 56 (*ibid.*) * we find the Persian chronogram recording the date, not of the beginning, but of the end, of the construction of the Delhi Fort, *i.e.* 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.). The translation is "Shāhjahānābād was made flourishing by Shāh Jahān." At pp. 32-33, Saiyid Ahmad Khān states that the Fort was begun in 1048 A.H. or 1638 A.D., and that Shāh Jahān seated himself for the first time on the throne at Delhi on 24 Rabi I 1058 (1648 A.D.).

Who was the descendant from the noble house of Timur who favoured Metcalfe with the necessary information? We do not

In the translation the word 'Englishman' was corrected to 'Europeans' by Garcin de Tassy.

² Cf. Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 par M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris, 1861, pt. 1, ch. xix. Le fort de Shāh Jahān, p. 33, or Journ. Asiatique, 1860, 5e série, tome 16, pp. 197-198. Indian artists, it will be contended, might have been directed by Shāh Jahān to make the picture of Orpheus from European picture-books in his library. That is true; but he would have had to overcome, on the part of Muhammadan artists, at any rate, prejudices which Italian workmen would not have had. If there had been any tradition in favour of the Indian origin of the pietra dura work at the Dīwān-i-Ām, Sāyid Ahmad Khān would doubtless have referred to it instead of bringing in Italian workmen to explain its presence. And if we have to drag in Italian workmen here, we may as well see them busy on the screen in the Tāj and on the rest of the pietra dura work at Agra and Delhi.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 51, or *Journ. Asiatique*, 1860, 5° série, tome 16, p. 212. The admission is the more remarkable as the mosaics at the baths did not offer the same puzzle as the Orpheus of the Dīwān-i-Ām.

⁺ Journ. Asiat., 1860, ibid., p. 220. 5 Journ. Asiat., 1860, ibid., pp. 193-194.

know. If it was not Saiyid Aḥmad Khān himself, the latter may have been one of the "most intelligent natives" consulted on the occasion. He was magistrate of Delhi and had before 1852 written already several books in Urdu. The first edition of his \$\overline{A}s\overline{a}ru-\sigma-san\overline{a}d\overline{d}d\$, from a translation of which work we quoted the passages above, appeared in 1847. He tells us himself that his ancestors came from Arabia, went to Herat, and migrated to India in Akbar's time. Under 'Alamgīr II, his grandfather was put in command of 1000 foot and 500 horse. His father and Aḥmad Khān himself enjoyed the same distinction. Finally, his mother's father was first minister to the last king of Delhi, Abbas Shāh.

Saivid Ahmad Khān's confession that the pietra dura inlay of Delhi was the work of Italian Value of his statement. artists is of some value. He was a well-read man, and his ancestors had long been in touch Therefore, where he does not quote with the court. authorities, he may voice a correct tradition. His argument about the Italian workmanship of the picture of Orpheus above the throne is the more plausible since we have strong proofs that a number of Europeans were employed on Shāh Jahān's thrones, that Veroneo planned the Tāj, and that a Venetian laid out his gardens. Still the Saiyid's argument may have been only an inference which itself needs support, for de Tassy suspected that, though he mentioned among his English authorities only the Memoirs of the Delhi Archæological Society and of the Royal Asiatic Society, he had consulted especially English authors.2

After this discussion on the sources of the information sent by Metcalfe to Signor Zobi, we may go back to Signor Zobi's theory that Florentine artists were sent to India in quest of precious stones for the Medicean Chapel.

Garcin de Tassy's review of Saiyid Ahmad Khān's Āṣāru-ṣ-ṣanādīd, Delhi, 1854, in Journ. Asiatique, 5º série, tome 8, 1856, p. 532.

² Ibid., p. 533.

He states that in 1608 Ferdinand I. addressed himself to the King of Spain for a passport to be given to four of his workmen but that it is not known whether they went, or, supposing they did, whether they returned.

I cannot say whether this application for a passport was ever published; probably, it is still in MS., awaiting an editor. Be that as it may, it is quite probable that such an application was made, as will appear from "fragments of relations sent to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I. of Tuscany concerning the voyage to the East-Indies."

"If the matter which Your Most High Signoria has in

A reference to them quoted by A. de Gubernatis.

view is to be executed, it will be necessary to obtain first the permission of the King of Spain for three or

four men, so that they may in Your Most High Signoria's name embark at Lisbon for the East Indies on the first ships or war-galleons (which may be starting then or will start at the usual time), and go from the said India and remain freely in all those places without their being interfered with by that Viceroy 3 and other Governors, 4 and especially so that they may pass to Cambaia, there to search for the stones which Your Most High Signoria wishes to obtain for your Chapel; and it should be specified in the said permit that the said men of Your Most High Signoria must be helped and favoured in all those places, by all those governors and servants of His Majesty in those countries, both when they go from one place to another and in any other juncture whatsoever. For the journey of the said men to and through the said India, as also for their return thence to Lisbon, either in the same ships or in others, according as they find occasion or it prove convenient to the said men, it is necessary that in the said passport all this be recommended to the Viceroy of Goa.

 ¹ Cf. A. DE GUBERNATIS, Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani, Livorno, 1875, p. 371
 (taken from Archivii Generali Toscani, Indice della Segretaria Vecchia, tom XI).

⁺ At the harbours held by the Portuguese.

³ The Viceroy of Goa.

⁵ Gujarāt.

When the passport is obtained, it may be ordered that it be sent to Lisbon to whomsoever Your Most High Signoria will prefer, in order that at the time of departure it be given to me here.

"A letter should be sent to Lisbon to whomsoever Your Most High Signoria will prefer, that they may prepare on the ships or war-galleons now about to depart for East India a place for two men and two servants. They must try to accommodate them, as usually, with the captain, or the pilot, or the master, or the mate of the said ships, settling with them that they will give them sleeping room in their cabins, and make the expenses for their journey from Lisbon to Goa or Coccino, serving them in all their wants. For it is necessary in this matter to take information from experienced Portuguese, and give orders that they should reserve sleeping accommodation only for two, but board for four. And, as neither one captain nor one pilot can accommodate or feed so many persons, it will be necessary for part of them to seek their berth with the captain or the pilot, the others doing the same with the master or the mate, in one or more ships, according as it will be possible. And these precautions are to be taken at once, because in such occasions no room is found, and by and by it would be impossible to manage, as it is very difficult to ship food for such a long journey of at least six months."

These minute instructions show that the journey contemplated for the four Florentine inlayers was imminent. de Gubernatis refers this fragment to the year 1606. According to Zobi, Ferdinand I. asked for a passport in 1608. If Zobi and Gubernatis refer to the same document, as seems to be the case from the details mentioned by both—the number of the men and the intention of purchasing precious stones for the Medicean Chapel—one of the two has read the date of the document wrongly;

¹ Cochin.

or else we must suppose that the question was still under discussion in 1608.

de Gubernatis published still two other fragments of correspondence addressed to Ferdi-Two other fragments of Medicean correspondence nand I., which he supposed emanated in A. de Gubernatis. from Carletti. If we knew their date and their author, they might throw further light on the previous fragment. Unfortunately, both are undated. They may have been written from Europe. The writer shows, however, an intimate knowledge of the East. He notes the months when ships leave Lisbon for Goa and Cochin, the time of their arrival in India, and of their departure from India and arrival at Lisbon. Only Portuguese are allowed to proceed to India on board the Portuguese vessels; on their arrival at Goa, they sell wine, oil, coral, glass, and other things of little value, while they gain above 50% on the exchange of their silver reals of eight. Pepper alone is the monopoly of the King of Portugal; every one is free to buy drugs, spices, diamonds, pearls, rubies, Chinese goods, such as musk and porcelain, also Indian cloth-stuffs. The King's prohibitions are useless. Dutch, English and French ships are navigating freely; the Dutch have practically expelled the Portuguese from the Moluccas. Why then should the Duke not try to capture the trade of China, since no one can stop his going there?2

This information is sufficiently in keeping with the fragment we have first quoted. The writer of the three fragments may have been one and the same; in fact, de Gubernatis suggested, though with some diffidence, that all three emanated from Carletti.

Who was Carletti? We learn that he left Florence at the age of eighteen on May 20, 1591, to go to Spain in the service of Niccolò Parenti, a Florentine merchant, with

¹ Ibid., pp. 28, 370.

² Ibid., pp. 28, 370.

³ Ibid , p. 370 n. 1.

whom he embarked at Leghorn on the galleon of Pietro
Paolo Vassallo, a Genoese. First he
was mixed up with the slave-trade
between Africa and America; from

America he went to the Philippines, Japan and China, and, in the beginning of 1600, he found himself at Goa. He wrote a book of his travels, Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti, published only in 1701. His discourses are addressed to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and were written from memory after his return to Florence, his original papers, which were very minute, having been lost with all his property in the course of his travels. While in India, he did not go into the interior, "as it is not the custom of the Portuguese to penetrate inland." This is all I can discover about the man.

If Carletti wrote the instructions of 1606 or 1608, he must have been back from India. At all events, the writer of those instructions was apparently contemplating a journey thither. Else, why should he have asked that the passports, when obtained, should be given to him at the time of departure? Other explanations are, however, possible. The writer may have been simply an agent of the Grand-Duke at Lisbon.

de Gubernatis regretted to have found so few "precious" unpublished documents on Italian travellers. His disappointment should not discourage others. Even his review of printed travels is incomplete, and his chief ambition seems to have been to discover in the Italian writers the beginnings of oriental studies. The original papers which he published were found in the Archivii Generali Toscani. En passant, he alludes to some papers on India in the R. Archivio Generale of Venice, the

Biblioteca Magliabechiana and other libraries.* There

¹ Ibid., pp. 28, 39-41. 2 Ibid., p. 363.

³ Are not these the Medicean Archives?

⁴ Ibid., pp. 8 n. 1; 14 n. 1; 26 n. 1; 29 n. 1; 42 n. 1, 65 n. 1; 400.

may have been much more which he did not see the full value of and left unnoticed. There can be no doubt that the Italian libraries and private Italian collections must contain much of importance for the artistic period we are examining. We do not know, and no one here seems to know, whether any search was undertaken since 1875, i.e., after de Gubernatis. Much too might be found in the Lisbon Archives, in particular in the correspondence between the Grand-Duke and Portugal. Even the little we have now put together is unknown to our best guidebooks on Agra and Delhi, or to our writers on Indian art.

A. F. C. de C [ourson] wrote to the Pioneer (Febr. 18, de Courson's suggestion.

1912, p. 9): "With regard to Mr. Hoffstadt's letter in your issue of the 10th, I wish to bring to notice that there are archives in the Lorentian² Library in Florence which prove clearly that certain Florentines had a good deal to do with the building of the Taj. I don't say for a moment that they designed the building, but they had details to carry out.³ I believe these records at Florence have been transcribed and some day they ought to be given more publicity."

I We must not forget that, from the 13th century, from the days of Marco Polo, and probably earlier, up to the time we are considering, there had been a steady flow of Venetian and Genoese travellers into India and the Further East. Before the advent of the Portuguese, they held the gates of the Levant, and the monopoly in Europe of the spices and precious stones of the East. With all their might did they resist the new bidders for power in the Eastern Seas, the Portuguese. One finds the little Italians everywhere in the 16th century, even mixed up with the Portuguese in their settlements.

Of Jerome Veroneo, the builder of the Tāj, Padre Manrique said, in 1641, that he had come on the ships from Portugal, a fact in which he must have judged there was something sufficiently remarkable to justify his mentioning it, and Manucci tells us that he had been ransomed by the Portuguese.

² Laurentian (?).

³ How is it that A. F. C. de C. was so sure about the lesser fact, and doubtful about the greater? We feel in just the opposite position. Manrique is a sufficient guarantee that Veroneo planned the Tāj and superintended it till 1640, when he died; but we still lack a clear, contemporary statement about the Italian pietra dura inlayers.

Certainly, if they exist; but one is tempted to be sceptical in the absence of any reliable authority and in view of the hesitations betrayed by A. F. C. de C.

Some years ago, I had some correspondence on the origin of the Tāj with a literary friend in Italy, whom I strongly urged to search the Venetian and Florentine Archives for new information on Jerome Veroneo. I gave it up when he sent me nothing better than a passage from a Calcutta periodical, *The Oriental*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 15, containing Col. Anderson's list of the chief artisans employed on the Tāj.

Special researches which I have now made in the letters exchanged between the town of Goa and the King of Spain and Portugal (1606–1611) have yielded no result.¹

Even so, though we cannot actually show that Ferdinand I. did send Florentine artists to India, though we reach only a strong presumption in the matter, there are other indications that Italian artists introduced into India the pietra dura inlay of their country.

The Rev. E. Terry, who was more than two years Sir
Thomas Roe's Chaplain at the Court
of the Great Moghul (1615–18) writes:
"The Jesuit congregations there are very thin, consisting of some Italians, which the Mogul entertains, by great pay given them, to cut his diamonds and other rich stones; and of other European strangers, which come thither, and some few others of the natives before mentioned."

I have searched, I. F. BIKER, Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes, Lisboa, 14 vols.; RAYMUNDO A. DE BULHÃO PFATO, Documentos remetidos da India ou Livros das Monçoës, Lisboa, 1880-85, 3 vols.; J. H. DA CUNHA RIVARA, Archivio Portuguez-Oriental, Nova-Goa, 1857-77, 10 vols. (some fascicles or pages are missing in our collection of the last work).

2 TERRY, A voyage to East India (reprinted from the edn. of 1655), London,

Manucci has the following: "[Akbar] ordered that

Manucci's. a great number [of Europeans] should
be taken into his service, such as
lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, surgeons, and gunners of
various nations. Among them there being many Catholics, they petitioned the king that either he would allow
them to depart for their homes or permit the religious
orders to settle in Āgrah, for the fact was that without
priests they could not exist. Akbar sent envoys to the city
of Goa to obtain priests, whereupon the Jesuit fathers
came. For them he ordered the construction of a Church
in Āgrah, and thus first of all Europeans became servants
of the Mogul."

Manucci speaks from hearsay, and, writing nearly a century after the events, he commits A small mistake of Manthe mistake of making the first Jesuit ucci's discussed. Fathers came to Agra instead of to The mistake is a slight one, however. Fathpūr Sīkri. Fathpur Sikri was only for a short time Akbar's capital. Manucci's long stay in the North of India, and his moving in the best circles, Indian and European, is an excellent guarantee that the reason given for the first arrival of Christian Missionaries is correct. It is, perhaps, the most plausible yet given for the journey from Bengal to Fathpur Sīkrī in 1579 of Father Gileanes Pereira. He had been preceded by a group of Portuguese who had taken service under Akbar.

The Jesuits were at the Moghul Court of Fathpūr Sīkrī a first time between 1580 and 1583, the second time at Lahore in 1590-91, and the third time from 1595 to 1803. During the first years of their third stay they lived with Akbar at Lahore; but in 1604 we hear of a Church begun at Agra by Jahāngīr. "It is badly needed, as the

^{1777,} p. 427.—Terry did not visit Agra and Delhi. He did not go much beyond Ajmer.

¹ MANUCCI, Storia do Mogor, I, 140.

Christians are very crowded in our present little Chapel." The Christians had therefore a small Chapel at Agra before 1604. Father Monserrate's frequent visits from Fathpūr Sīkrī to Agra in 1580 are represented as having been undertaken in the interests of his health. Where did he put up? Were there not, at any rate, some Armenian Christians at Agra in 1580 whom he could have ministered to? Fathpūr Sīkrī was so near to Agra, and was so inconvenient chiefly on account of the scarcity of water, that it is difficult to imagine that the entire royal establishment had been removed to Fathpūr Sīkrī. Some Christian families, chiefly Armenian, might have continued in Agra between 1568 and 1580.

We have unfortunately so few accounts of Akbar's reign by European travellers that we must suppose that the 'large numbers' of European lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, etc., mentioned by Manucci, should be shifted to the beginning of 'Jahāngīr's reign.

Here are some allusions to the presence of *Italians* in Mogor which I can lay hands on without too much difficulty.

The Annual Report of the Jesuits for 1597 mentions a Milanese gunner who died at Agra. a. in Akbar's time; We hear next of an Italian in Prince Salim's (Jahāngīr's) service, whose name was Jerome Filippe. He was a gentleman who had come from Goa with the Fathers (1595?) and had married, probably a woman of the country. "The Prince has him in his service and holds him in high esteem, and it is through him that he and the Fathers communicate."

¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 93 (Letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier, S.J., Agra, Sept. 6, 1604).
2 J.A.S.B., 1896, pp. 88, 91, 92. His name was not Giovanne Filippo, as Sir E. D. Maclagan has it (ibid.), but Jacome Filippe, a Christian name meaning James Philip. Cf. F. Guerreiro, S.J., Relaçam Annal das Covsas que fezeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesus nos annos de 602, e 603...Lisboa, , f. 60 n. du Jarric translates by Jacques Philippe in his French edition. The difference of name and of nationality makes it impossible to identify him with John Philip de Bourbon.

A learned Florentine traveller, an Orientalist for those days, João Battesta Vecchiete, was several months at Agra and Lahore in 1604. Akbar treated him quite royally.

Some twenty years before, this João Battista had come to Goa in search of Sassetti, one of the mercantile agents of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. We learn from Sassetti that Vecchiete had been sent with another gentleman by Cardinal de' Medici (later Ferdinand I. of Tuscany) to Prester John of Ethiopia. He wrote a Relazione della Persia for the King of Spain and delivered a funeral oration on Sassetti (d. 1588) on his return to Florence in 1589.

It would not be surprising if, on his return to Italy after 1604, Vecchiete had concerted measures with the Grand-Duke about the purchase in Mogor of pietra dura for the Medicean Chapel. The contemplated journey of four of the Grand-Duke's workmen in 1606 or 1608 followed probably close on Vecchiete's return to Florence.

This journey is all the more plausible as we shall show further that Shāh Jahān appears to have obtained some of his *pietra dura* from Italy.

Midnall wrote from Qazwin in 1606: "I would have come myself when I wrote this letter, save that there were two Italian merchants in Agra that knew of all my proceedings. I doubted, as I have good cause lest they should do me some harm."

When in 1609 three of Jahāngīr's nephews were baptised in the Jesuit Church of Agra under the names of Don Filippe, Don Carlos, and Don Henrico, a "noble ca-

¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 95.

² A. DE GUBERNATIS, Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani, Livorno, 1875, pp. 14 n. 1; 25-26; 25 n. 1; 26 n. 1; 26-29, and Lettere di Filippo Sassetti sopra i suoi Viaggi nelle Indie Orientali dal 1578 al 1588, Reggio, Torreggiani e C., 1844, p. 230.

 $^{^3}$ J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 95 n. 2. It would be surprising if, with so many Italians about in India, the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I. had failed to secure precious stones for his Chapel.

valcade of Christian gentlemen, Portuguese, Venetians, Poles, English, and Armenian, all of them magnificently attired to do honour to their nation, followed the three little Princes, who, dressed in Portuguese costume, with a golden cross about their neck, rode [to the Church] on white elephants, surrounded by a troop of courtiers and servants." We know from Finch that some sixty Europeans rode in the procession, Captain Hawkins carrying "St. George his flag for the honour of England." The Jesuits tell us that, after the ceremony, Jahāngīr said: "What will it be when my turn comes?"

On April 4, 1610, William Finch met at Agra a Venetian merchant with his son and a servant, "newly come by land out of Christendom." He met also at Agra an Englishman, three French soldiers, and a Dutch engineer.

Thomas Kerridge writes from Agra to the Council of Surat (Sept. 7, 1613) that a Neapolitan juggler had come to Agra from Surat and had been given Rs. 5,000 by the king, whereas a Frenchman, a little later, received only promises; yet he was a great deal better than the Italian.

Italians and Greeks ⁵ are referred to in a general way, by Nicholas Whithington as at Agra in 1614. ⁶ On October 29, 1614, he writes from Agra that "three days past here arrived an Italian which came from Tutta [Tatta]. His merchandise, all looking-glasses and Almain ⁷ knives, he is commanded to carry to Agimeere to the king." ⁸ He

l Ragvagli d' alcune Missioni fatte dalli Padri della Compagnia de Giesu.... Roma, Zanetti, 1615, pp. 32-33.

² N.W.P. Gazetteer, VII, 605, or P. VAN DER AA, Naaukeurige Versameling der gedenkwaardigste Zee en Land Reysen, Leyden, 1707, Vol. 23, p. 101.

⁸ Purchas His Pilgrimes, Glasgow, 1905, IV. 174.

⁴ W. FORSTER, Letters received by the E.I. Co. (1602-13), p. 283. See p. 307 for a reference to Venetian merchants bringing cloth overland.

⁵ Armenians might have been designated as Greeks; but the Greeks had always had a favourite hunting-ground in India.

⁶ Purchas His Pilgrimes, Glasgow, 1905, IV. 174. 7 Allemand (German).

⁸ W. FOSTER, Letters received by the E.I. Co...., Vol. II, p. 143. Angelo Gradenigo had come from Tatta. See above.

relates also that, when he was in Sind, the Baluchis took a ship with seven Italians and two monks, the rest on board having been killed.

On May 12, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe presented to Jahāngīr "a little box of Cristall made by arte like a rubie and cutt into the stone in Curious workes, which was all inameld and inlayd with fine gold.... The King the same night sent for all the Christians, and others his owne subjects, artificers in gould and stone, to demand if ever they sawe such woorke or howe it could be wrought, who generallie Confessed they neuer sawe such arte, nor could tell how to goe about it." ²

On May 22, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe went to the king's darbār at Ajmer "to have one Jones, a youth that was runne away from me to an Italian [John Veronese, a jeweller], and protected himself under the name of the King to the infamy of our nation." 3

On November 23 and 24, 1616, Roe speaks of one Jerome (alibi John) Galicio, a resident at Lahore, and of one Signor Bonelli, a factor, resident at Lahore, who about ten months before had been slain and robbed. On

Purchas, op. cit., before the passage quoted above; or P. Van DER AA, Naaukeurige Versameling...(op. cit.), Leyden, 1707, Vol. 25, p. 67.

² W. Foster, The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, London, 1899, I, 144 n. I. Among the artificers in gold there must have been present Austin Hiriart (Austin of Bordeaux), and possibly Veroneo. Note 'the Christian artificers in stone' and Jahangīr's passion for imitating the best work from Europe. It would be surprising if by now—by 1616—Jahangīr had not received from the many Italian merchants and others samples of the pietra dura inlay of Florence. He had all the best curiosities of Europe, and no one could approach an Eastern monarch without a valuable present, which besides was always royally paid for.

³ Ibid., I, 179. Who was this John Veronese? Probably 'Veronese' stands for Veroneo. Jerome Veroneo, the Venetian, was one of the best goldsmiths whom Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had in their service. If 'John' is not a mistake for 'Jerome,' we might yet suppose that Jerome Veroneo had brought with him a relative of his. Possibly, the Venetian merchant with his son and a servant whom W. Finch met at Agra on April 4, 1610 (cf. supra), was our Veroneo; on the other hand, Manrique says that Veroneo had come to India in the ships from Portugal.

⁴ Ibid., II, 341, 360, 361. Does it not look as if Roe confused the Christian names of Veronese and Galicio?

o Ibid., II, 341.

November 30, of the same year, a Pole and two Italians arrived at Ajmer with the English caravan from Agra. They were bound for Surat, and Sir Thomas received one of them in his tent. He writes again from Mandu on September 24, 1617, that he had dined a few days before with an Italian, "that had long used Persia."

An undated letter of Father Jerome Xavier's time (ante 1616), which contains a census of the Indian-born and Armenian Catholics of Agra and fixes their number at about 310, says: "The number of the merchants, Portuguese, Armenians, Greeks, Venetians, and of other nations who flock to this Court is very great."

In March 1626, Robert Young sends his greetings to the "patterie" (Padri) and the Italian trader Valentine Bernardine. Joseph Hopkinson writing to John Banggam (Ahmadabad, Feb. 1, 1627) wishes to be commended very kindly to Emmanuel de Paiva and the Padre, Signor Eduardo, Sebastian and Rodrigo; there was a great deal of love between them.⁵

Father Francisco d' Azevedo wrote in 1632: "The number of Christians frequenting this Church [of Agra] is about four hundred, many of them Armenians living in this city, and besides there are some others, merchants, who come from Persia and return thither, and some Europeans, Italians,

[!] Ibid., II, 355.

² Ibid., II, 418. At this period the Persian Court received perhaps an even larger influx of European artists, soldiers, and adventurers, than the Moghul Court. Persia being nearer to Italy, the Italians were numerous there. The Europeans passed freely to and fro between the court of the Shāh and that of the the Great Moghul.

³ MS. letter in my possession.

⁴ W. FOSTER, English Factories in India (1618-21), p. 346. Perhaps Bernardino Maffei.

b W. Foster, op. cit. (1624-29), pp. 170, 117, XXI, 189; W. N. Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers (Colonial, East Indies, 1625-24), No. 396.—Signor Eduardo, Sebastian and Rodrigo appear to have been laymen, not Pādrīs, as Sainsbury understood.

⁶ Armenians from Julfa, near Ispahan, most likely.

Frenchmen, etc., in the King's service, and Portuguese. The greater part of the Christians of the Mission are natives newly converted to the Faith.

Father Corsi, who was in Mogor from 1600 to the time of his death (Aug. 1, 1635), was himself a Florentine. He was particularly dear to Jahāngīr, whom he followed almost continually. Father Joseph de Castro, a Turinese, was in Mogor from 1610 till his death in 1648. Several others of the Fathers were Italians.

We could multiply such quotations from the unpublished Jesuit letters now in our possession. But, we do not see the necessity of it, and the work of exploring many

hundreds of badly written pages would prove too trying. Those who are familiar with the accounts of travellers covering the end of Akbar's reign and the reigns of his two immediate successors will bear me out if I say that the North of India was literally overrun by Europeans, travellers, merchants, adventurers, and artists. Allusions to them are, however, less numerous under Akbar than under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Neither must we expect that the diaries of merchants should notice particularly artists.

Manucci may then be considered reliable enough as to the large influx into North India of European lapidaries, enamellers, gold-smiths, surgeons, and gunners. Their immediate descendants were alive in his time, and, when they connected the arrival of their forbears at Akbar's court with that of the Jesuits, the only mistake they made was to mention Agra instead of the ephemeral Fathpūr-Sīkrī.

The Italians, according to Terry (1615-18), were

These were, no doubt, our European engineers, goldsmiths, surgeons, painters, embroiderers, gunners, cutters of diamonds and other stones, and our inlayers of pietra dura.

² MS. letter in my possession.

employed by Jahāngīr in cutting "his diamonds and other rich stones." Doubtless, it is to the word 'enamellers'? these same cutters of diamonds and of other precious stones that Manucci

mainly alludes when he speaks of European lapidaries and enamellers. And by enamellers and cutters of other precious stones may we not understand inlayers of *pietra dura*? The Portuguese word *esmaltar* means to enamel, to inlay, to variegate with colours.

It would, at any rate, have been very natural if the Jesuit Fathers or some of the many Italians about his court had told Jahāngīr that the artists of their country could do work vastly superior to the glazed coloured tiles of Lahore, Multan, etc. And it would have been equally natural for Jahāngīr to get them to invite some of these artists to come and settle in his dominions.

If the Italians are generally spoken of as Venetians, it would not mean that there were no term concealing Florentines among them. Besides, the art of pietra dura inlay was not

confined to Florence.

I believe that the term 'Venetian' was a convenient one at that time for 'Italian.' Before the advent of the Portuguese, the Indian trade was in the hands of the Venetians. Long after the Portuguese had come to India, the Venetians continued to exploit the Indian markets by sea and land. The Italians who came to India overland embarked mostly at Venice. 'Venetian' would thus have been loosely employed in India for 'Italian,' in the same way as 'Frangui,' 'Feringi,' was a convenient term for all Europeans, and 'Armenian' for all West-Asiatic Christians. Jahāngīr's surgeon, Bernardino Maffei, is styled a Venetian. However, the Maffeis were from Bergamo in Lombardy.'

Bernardino Maffei's brother, Peter, was a Jesuit. I find two Jesuits of the name Maffei. Jean Pierre, born at Bergamo in 1533, died in 1603 at Tivoli. He is the author of Rerum a Socielate Jesu in Oriente gestarum, Historiarum Indicarum

On October 22, 1616, the Persian ambassador presented Jahāngīr at Ajmer with embroidered stuffs "between which were Italian pictures wrought in the stuffe, which he said was the King and Queene of Venice." Now, unless he referred to some other Prince and Princess of Italy, this was perfectly absurd, since Venice was a republic.

We have given above the names of several diamond-

The Italians in Mogor synchronous with its pietra dura inlay,

cutters and enamellers. Their advent to and stay in Mogor coincides with the period when the *pietra dura* art

flourished in India. Bold floral mosaics, made of marble or red sandstone appear on the south gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (1605–27) and are nearly equivalent in effect to pietra dura work, though not identical with it. 2

The tomb was not finished yet in 1626 or 1627, when Herbert saw it, though 14,000,000 rupees had already been spent on it. When Jahāngīr saw it in 1608, he was not pleased with it. He wanted it, as he says in his Memoirs, to be the most magnificent work which travellers from the remotest corners of the world (his friends the Europeans?) might see anywhere. The innovations took four years, and the money sanctioned was spent. Then other artisans, "well versed in the art of architecture, in consultation with skilful engineers, rebuilt certain parts according to models that were approved of. By degrees a magnificent building was constructed... It was reported to me [Jahāngīr] that altogether fifteen lacs of rupees." had been spent on the building." Is it an obsession that makes me see in these other artisans and engineers

libri XVI, and of many other works. Pierre Antoine Maffei was born at Bergamo in 1663 and died in 1744. Cf. Sommervogel, Biblioth, de la C. de J., V. s.v. Maffei.

¹ Travels in India by Sir Thomas Roe, London, Trübner, 1873, p. 67.

² Cf. V. A. SMITH, History of Art in India and Ceylon, p. 438.

³ This makes only Rs. 1,500,000. Should it not be 150 lākhs (Rs. 15,000,000)? Cf. E. A. DUNCAN, Handbook for visitors to Agra, 7th edn., Calcutta 1909, p. 214.

Europeans, especially as so many of them were indeed engineers, a word covering the meaning of 'architect'? The late completion of the Mausoleum would show that the Italian cutters of precious stones may have directed the mosaics. In 1641, the interior of the portico was still covered from the cupola to the bottom with Christian paintings, the most beautiful being one of our Lady. 'Duncan is struck by the presence of the cruciform cresting and other crosses in the Mausoleum.'

The earliest example of true *pietra dura* is said to be in the Gol Mandal in the Jagmandir palace at Udaipur in Rajputana, built in or about 1623 for Prince Khurram, later Shāh Jahān. The process is extensively employed on Itimad-ud-daula's tomb near Agra, which was commenced in 1621. Shāh Jahān (1627-58) entirely abandoned mosaic for *pietra dura*. The *pietra dura* inlay in the Lahore palace is to be traced to Shāh Jahān's reign.

As V. A. Smith says very aptly, the earliest Indian

which is later in date than and identical in technique with Ferdinand I.'s work at Florence. examples of *pietra dura* being considerably later in date and identical in technique to the Fabbrica Ducale of Ferdinand I., a strong presumption

arises that the art must have been introduced into India from Italy. The facts we have adduced, and which no previous writer had taken the trouble to collect, all but prove this presumption. "There is no doubt that this presumption," V. A. Smith goes on to say, "is not rebutted by the obvious fact that the designs of the Mughal work are essentially Asiatic, and in the main Persian, because the ordinary Indian practice is to transpose foreign importations, so to speak, into an Indian key. Persian designs

¹ MANRIQUE, Itinerario, Roma (1649 and 1653), p. 350.

² E. A. Duncan, op. cit., p. 216. These cross designs are so common elsewhere in Muhammadan buildings that, unless it be proved that those of Sikandra are the earliest, there is no reason to insist on this point.

³ V. A. SMITH, History of Art in India and Ceylon, p. 438.

Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc., Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 50, 52, 53; MANRIQUE, ibid., p. 94, or MANRIQUE'S Itinerario, Roma (1649 and 1653), p. 363, col. 1.

were readily assimilated, but in the seventeenth century nobody in India cared for outlandish European forms, or wanted to have them. Now, of course, things are different; and European forms are fashionable, because the government is English, As the evidence at present stands, I continue to believe in the Italian origin of Indian pietra dura, so far as the technique is concerned."

We do not agree altogether with the words we have italicised. The tastes of seventeenth-Western models the fashion from Akbar's century India were not so very reign.

different from what they now are. The great changes which we now witness in India in matters of artistic taste, customs, costume, and religious thought began under Akbar. It was Akbar who first appeared before his nobles in European costume (1573).2 As a boy Jahangir would dress at times in Spanish or Portuguese fashion. 3 This alone indicates that an enormous change has come over India. The letters of the Jesuits, both published and unpublished, are full of instances of the spirit of imitation which showed itself in the domain of painting. What was true of painting must have been true in other departments of art, especially as there were no nationalistic schools with sentimental Europeans to direct them. A beautiful European picture would set a whole town astir. In those days of no museums, 13,000 persons at Cambay or Surat flocked to see a picture of the Adoration of the Magi (1608). It remained exposed during thirteen days. 4 The same for the Christmas Crib at Lahore, which the Jesuits set up every year with greater and greater magnificence, taxing their ingenuity on grottoes and hydraulic works, so much so that special men were called from the Portuguese

¹ V. A. SMITH, History of Art in India and Ceylon, pp. 440-441.

² Cf. J.A.S.B., 1912, p. 192; J.A.S.B., 1904, p. 53.

³ A. Monserrate, S.J., Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, in Memoirs A.S.B., III, 554.

⁴ F. GUERREIRO, S.J., Relaçam Annal...de 607, & 608....Lisboa, 1611, f. 191-190.

towns on the West Coast to prepare it. Three or four thousand persons visited it daily for twenty days (1598). \textstyle Not European models only were being constantly copied by the court painters, but Chinese and Japanese models as well. All along V. A. Smith suspected this influence of Chinese and Japanese art in the Indian paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries. If he had been aware of some of the evidence, he might have shown himself less compromising in his attitude on the origin in India of pietra dura inlay.

What was probably the most gorgeous piece of *pietra*dura inlay at Delhi has disappeared.

Father Catrou on the pietra dura vine at Delhi.

Father Catrou writes, and from the context I understand that the passage

refers to Delhi: "From the same principle [of pleasing his women] it was that Cha-Jaham built and adorn'd that famous Gallery, so much talk'd of in Europe, and which I do not give a Description of, but upon the credit of those who were Eye Witnesses. 'Tis neither very long, nor very large, nor very lofty, but the Riches it contains, surpass all we have seen in Europe. It's Windows are all open'd of one side, and are neither very large nor very regular. The Wall opposite to the Windows is adorn'd with so great a number of precious Stones, some of which are of inestimable Value, that a Detail of 'em wou'd seem almost The Wall is crusted over with Jasper, upon Incredible. which creeps a Vine form'd of precious Stones of the largest Size. The Stock is of a kind of russet Agate, Inclining to a Box Colour. The Leaves are Emeraulds, so artificially set on, that 'tis not easy to perceive the Joinings. The Grapes which hang in Clusters, and seem to be imboss'd are compos'd partly of Diamonds, and partly of Granats. This Work was not entirely Finish'd by Cha-Jaham for want of Materials. The other Side of the Gallery, in which the Windows stand, is adorn'd with

¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 81.

Looking-glasses, of a pretty large Size, whose Borders are set at proper distances with the largest Orient Pearl. The Clusters of precious Stones multiply'd in the Looking-Glasses give a surprising splendour, which dazles by Day and enlightens the Gallery by Night. 'Twas talked at Court, that *Cha-Jaham* had design'd this magnificent Apartment for a Woman Dancer of the very scum of the People, and of little, or no Merit. Strange depravation of the Heart of Man! A Prince giving a loose to all his Desires,..., Strives to quench the Thirst of his Incontinence in the muddyest cisterns."

Whatever may have been Father Catrou's authority for this remarkable piece of informa-Corroborated by Gentil, tion not to be found in Manucci, whose memoirs he abridged, we must accept it. It is not the only information in Catrou which cannot be traced to Manucci. Father Catrou must have had at his disposal other accounts now rare; hence, we must not consider his book as superseded by the more ponderous Manucci. Is that vine mentioned by any of the Muhammadan historians? Saiyid Ahmad Khān's description of Delhi contains about the palace so many things which had ceased to be in his time that he had evidently much older descriptions to draw from. Yet, he is silent about the vine. However, that vine existed. Gentil corroborates Catrou. "Nadir-Chah took away also the superb golden balustrade which surrounded the emperor's bed and was of inestimable value. A vine ran round the balustrade. white grapes were diamonds; the red ones, rubies. Emeralds, topases and other precious stones formed the bunches and the leaves." 3

Six words omitted.

² F. CATROU, S.J., The General History of the Mogol Empire, London, 1709, pp. 227-228.—This famous Delhi vine, so much talked of in Europe, is not mentioned by our many travellers. Is it because, perhaps, it was in a part of the Delhi palace set aside for the women?

³ GENTIL, Memoires sur l' Indoustan, Paris, 1822, pp. 173-174. I understand that Gentil speaks of a vine at Delhi. Gentil could not have seen it. He came to

Among the exhibits at the Coronation Darbār, Delhi, and the DelhiExhibition of bunches of grapes in stone said to have come from the Delhi Palace. 1

The Moghul Emperors of India were fond of copying the examples of their Tartar ances-The idea possibly borrowed from China. tors. Shāh Jahān seems to have borrowed from the Great Khān of China the idea of his vines in precious stones, of the peacocks of the peacockthrone, and of other things. Friar Ordoric relates of the Great Khān: "In the midst of his palace is a certain great jar, more than two paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone called Merdacas [the oriental jade] (and so fine, that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns). It is all hooped round with gold, and in every corner thereof is a great dragon (serpens) represented as in act to strike most fiercely. And this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom, and these fringes are a span in breadth. Into this vessel drink is conveyed by certain conduits from the court of the palace, and beside it are many golden goblets from which those drink who list. In the hall of the palace also are many peacocks of gold. And when any of the Tartars wish to amuse their lord, then they go one after another and clap their hands, upon which the peacocks clap their wings, and make as if they would dance. Now this must be done either by diabolic art, or by some engine underground."2

India when it had disappeared; but at Lucknow he married into a Portuguese family of former grandees, who could know and could have seen.

¹ Cf. The Delhi Museum of Archaeology, Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Darbar, 1911, Catalogue of Exhibits (Calcutta, 1911), p. 5, No. 362.

² Cf. H. Yule, Cathay, and the way thither, London, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I

^{(1866),} pp. 130-131.

Even the idea of the large jar seems to have been borrowed from the Great Khān. Saiyid Ahmad Khān (*Journ. Asiatique*, 5° série, tome 16 (1860), pp. 201, 214), describes an enormous basin consisting of one stone, and having a support cut in the stone itself. It was quarried in the Mekran quarries, and was brought in intact to Delhi, a distance of 300 kos, cut in the form of a basin, four gaz square and

A similar custom prevailed at Arakan, the capital of Arakan.

Arakan in 1636. Father Frey Sebastian Manrique, O.S.A., writes: "In the same palace there is a hall gilt from top to bottom, which they call the Golden House, because it has a vine of the purest gold which occupies the whole roof of the hall, with a hundred and odd combalengas of the purest gold. These combalengas are in breadth and shape like big pumpkins (calabaças) of the kind which we call Guinea pumpkins, and they say that each of them weighs ten bissas, or forty pounds Spanish."

Besides, Shāh Jahān had had a similar gallery begun at Agra. Tavernier writes of Agra seen by Tavernier, (1665):—

"On the side overlooking the river there is a projecting divan or belvedere, where the King comes to sit when he wishes to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his brigantines, and making his elephants fight. In front of this divan there is a gallery which serves as a vestibule, and the design of Shāh Jahān was to cover it throughout by a trellis of rubies and emeralds, which would represent, after nature, green grapes and those commencing to become red; but this design, which made a great noise throughout the world, and which required more wealth than he had been able to furnish, remains unfinished, only having two or three wreaths of gold with their leaves,

one and a half gaz deep. We find, however, enormous stone bowls in earlier Indian times. There is one, broken, at Sanchi, between stupa No. 2 and the great stupa, which I saw in February 1922.

The peacocks of Shah Jahan's throne could be made to turn, thus displaying their tails.

The idea of the peacock-throne was even older than the Great Khān. Menander Protector, in the 6th century, writes of the king of the Sogdians: "The following day there was another [drinking] bout in a pavilion supported by wooden posts covered with gold, and in which there was a gilded throne resting on four golden peacocks." H. YULE, Cathay and the way thither, op. cit., Vol. I, p. clxiv.

¹ Cf. Itinerario, p. 107, col. 1. This custom existed also in Pegu. For the word combalenga see Mgr. S. R. DALGADO, Glossario Luso—Asiatico, Vol. I, Coimbra, 1919, s.v.

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as all the rest ought to be, and enamelled in their natural colours, emeralds, rubies, and garnets making the grapes." 2

In 1794, Thomas Twining was conducted round the Agra Fort by the Governor, a Mahbut destroyed by 1794. ratta general. Amongst the buildings shown him "was the ancient palace of Acbar and of Shah Jehan, in which the former experienced the smiles and the latter the frowns of fortune. But the object which most struck me was a colonnade of white marble. The columns and arches were of extraordinary lightness and elegance, and sculptured with a degree of skill and taste no less remarkable. I inquired for the famous trellis, with the vine bearing rubies instead of grapes. Were not the fact of this regal extravagance well attested, it would be reasonable to doubt the existence of a work so little in accordance with the good taste which produced the Taje. Some beautiful parts of the trellis still remained, but the vine and rubies had disappeared. It is presumable that the stones representing the grapes were no other than cornelians similar to those used in the Taje, and brought probably from the bed of the Soane." 8

Who would not be tempted to connect Shāh Jahān's vine in pietra dura at Delhi, and similar ones at Agra and Lahore, with the grapes of sunny Italy, all the more because grapes give wine, and wine is a luxury strictly forbidden to orthodox Muhammadans? The more so again, because

Remark the word 'enamelled,' used, as I understand it, for pietra dura inlay.

² Cf. Tavernier, Travels (Ball's edn., I. 108-109). The passage refers to Agra (1665), while Catrou's occurs after his description of Delhi. When Gentil, quoted above, speaks of pietra dura inlay of vine-leaves and grapes, the context points to Delhi.

For the vine pattern at Lahore, cf. Dr. J. P. Vogel in Journal Punjab Hist.

Soc., Vol. I (1911), p. 52.

8 Cf. TH. TWINING, Travels in India a hundred years ago, London, 1893, p. 202.

Akbar had allowed his European gunners to cultivate grapes at Agra, and Jahāngīr was as fond of wine as some of his European admirers. I am afraid that even Shāh Jahān was orthodox only by fits and starts. I know Muhammadans may eat grapes, and there were $Ang\bar{u}r\bar{\iota}$ $b\bar{a}ghs$ at Agra and Delhi, but Italians would have tended them excellently, and such men as Hortensio Borges and Lourenço Mendes, to mention only some of the later artists, could have imitated vines and grapes in pietra dura.

What if a Venetian had laid out the gardens of the Imperial Palace of Delhi? Only the A Venetian laid out the very best European engineers could Delhi gardens and made the water-works, have devised the elaborate waterworks which turned the palace into a fairy land. We have lost the secret of the system. It must have been lost shortly after Shah Jahan. Water spouted up from hundreds of fountains, fell in cascades, flowed in hundreds of rills to the basins of the halls, and trickled out at the centre of every flower in and around the basins. Who but some Italian decorator would have thought of disposing on the west side, in 'another' garden of the Great Rang-Mahal, and on the border of the river, a terrace with seats, and, below, two very fine grottoes?1

We have it on the authority of the solitary Catrou that, indeed, a Venetian laid out the Delhi gardens.

"Cha-Jaham's principal Care was to make a couple of Gardens of an inconceivable Magnificence to his Palace of Dely. A Venetian drew the Plans of 'em, somewhat after the Model of those magnificent Vineyards, which serve as Ornaments in Italy. As it was difficult to bring Water into 'em from the River Gemna for making Canals, he turn'd the Course of another River into it, whose Bed was about thirty leagues distant from Dely. A New Channel

Cf. Salvid Ahmad Khan in Journ. Asiatique, 5e série, tome 16 (1860), P. 201.

was cut all the way, which brought it into the Emperor's Gardens. These Canals were stockt with fishes of a prodigious bigness, with Gold Rings fastned to the snouts of 'ern, and garnish'd, as is said, each with a Rubie and two Diamonds.''

We argue from this passage that the Venetian who was he not Veroneo, the builder of the Tāj, ardens, but of the water-works, must have had a hand in the designing of the Delhi Fort as a whole, and even of the general disposition of the pietra dura designs, with which the water-works were intimately connected. Who was he? Why not Veroneo or one of his friends? Veroneo drew the plan of the Tāj, as we know from Manrique, and, as the Tāj gardens must have formed an essential part in the original design of the Tāj, Veroneo must have designed the Tāj gardens too. Veroneo died at Lahore in August 1640, late enough therefore to have designed the Delhi palace as well.

Why should he and some other artist connected with him, possibly his son, not be the use Indian names?

Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hamid of Saiyid Ahmad Khān, "unique architects in their art (who) directed the work [of the Delhi Fort]", or, as Metcalfe put it, who originated "the whole system of architecture called Shah Jehanee," and built, among other things, "that object of universal

¹ CATROU, op. cit., London, 1709, p. 224. I find a similar passage in Th. Salmon, translated from the English by M. Van Gooch, Hedendaagsche Historie of tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren, III Deel, Amsterdam, I. Thirion, 1731, p. 168. "He spared neither trouble nor expense to embellish the gardens of the Palace. A Venetian made the plan of it after the grand designs which he had seen in Italy."

[&]quot;After the model of those magnificent Vineyards, which serve as ornaments in Italy." Does the phrase not lead to the term Angūrī Bāgh? Was this phrase not borrowed from Italy? Was the term Angūrī Bāgh used before Akbar? Were not all the Angūrī Bāghs under Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān, at Lahore, Agra, and Delhi, modelled by Europeans? And ought we not to attribute to Europeans the laying-out of the imperial gardens in Kashmīr?

The word used by Catrou in the French original for 'Vineyards' is 'Vignes.' Cf. Histoire générale de l' Empire Mogol.... Paris, 1715, p. 158.

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admiration, the Tāj''? Especially, as Saiyid Ahmad Khān adds that "it was they who caused to be executed with perfect art" the picture of Orpheus. Why should they not be concealed under the names of Ustād Īsā and of Muhammad Sharīf, the builders of the Tāj, according to other Indian accounts?

If Shāh Jahān had to employ a foreign gardener, it

The Venetian gardener a proof that Italians made the *pietra dura* inlay of Delhi,

would prove that, at the time, gardening as a fine art was not much practised by Indians and Persians, or at any rate that Shāh Jahān considered

them inferior to the foreigners at his Court. This being granted, we take it that the Venetian gardener, or one of

It is quite possible that the group Ustād Īsā and Muhammad Sharīf and the group Ustād Ahmād and Ustād Hamīd represent two different groups of Europeans; against it there is the fact that the planner of the Tāj and the planner of the Delhi gardens are both called Venetians, and that they may be one and the same.

The group Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Hamid may quite well designate only one individual. Yule writes (Cathay and the way thither, 1876, Vol. I, p. exix n.): "The use of a double assonant name, sometimes to express a dual idea but often a single one, is a favourite Oriental practice. As far back as Herodotus we have Crophi and Mophi, Thyni and Bithyni; the Arabs have converted Cain and Abel into Kabil and Habil, Saul and Goliath into Tulut and Julut, Pharaoh's magicians into Risam and Rejam, of whom the Jewish traditions had made Jannes and Jumbres; whilst Christian legends gave the names of Dismas and Jesmas to the penitent and impenitent thieves in the Gospel. Jarga and Nargah was the name given to the great circle of beaters in the Mongol hunting matches. In geography we have numerous instances of the same thing, e.g., Zabulistan and Kabulistan, Koli Akoli, Longa Solanga, Ibir Sibir, Kessair and Owair, Kuria Muria, Ghuz and Maghuz, Mastra and Castra (Edrisi), Artag and Kartag (Abulghazi), Khanzi and Manzi (Rashid), Iran and Turan, Crit and Mecrit (Rubruquis), Sondor and Condor (Marco Polo), etc. In India such rhyming doublets are not confined to proper names; to a certain extent they may be made colloquially at will upon a variety of substantives. Thus chauki-auki means 'chairs' simply (chauki), or, at most, 'chairs and tables'; lakri-akri, 'sticks and stakes.'"

I Sleeman gave to Austin of Bordeaux and a son of his the titles of 'Ustād Isā (which he wrote, however, 'Ustān Isā') and Muhammad Sharīf. But there are serious difficulties in the way for this identification. Austin appears to have been poisoned on the West Coast of India shortly after 1632. Austin's Indian title was Hunarmand, as we now know by comparing the 'European Hunarmand' of Jahāngīr's Memoirs with some of Austin's own letters lately published by Sir. Edward Maclagan. Cf. Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections (edited by V. A. Smith), 1915, p. 319; and Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc., Vol. IV (1916), pp. 3-17.

his compatriots, an inlayer of pietra dura, was responsible for the admirable incrustations of vine-leaves and grapes in the Delhi palace. Mr. E. B. Havell will have no objection to a Florentine or Venetian having been employed there for that sort of work. If this is so, nothing would be more natural than to infer that Shah Jahan had, about the same time, commissioned the same gardener or one of his compatriots to lay out the gardens of the Taj, especially as there was also an Angūrī Bāgh in it. This is all the more probable as Aşaf Khān, Mumtāz Mahal's father, was the Mæcenas of foreign artists. Now, since there was also an Angūrī Bāgh in the Agra palace, that Venetian gardener would have been again the very man for Shah Jahān to employ, and Aṣaf Khān might have used his services too for his beautiful garden at Lahore, that garden being described with much admiration by Manrique in 1641.2

The Venetian gardener, or his brother artist, the inlayer, who must have designed and superintended the inlay of the vine-designs and the Orpheus of Delhi, is likely to have designed and superintended the inlay of vine-leaves and grapes in the palace of Agra mentioned by Tavernier and Thomas Twining, and the similar inlay of vine-leaves and grapes in the Shīsh Mahal of the Lahore Fort. Going a step further, we ask why Italians should not have made the pietra dura inlay in the other parts of the Agra palace, in the Lahore palace, at Itimadu-d-daula's tomb, and finally, in the Tāj?

Shāh Jahān's tastes could not have changed to any appreciable extent within a few years.

The work was not above a Venetian

J.R.A.S., Vol. VII (London, 1843). See the plan of the Taj by Col. J. A, Hodgson, No. 43.

² MANRIQUE, Itinerario, p. 369, or Journ. Panjab Histor. Soc., Vol. I (1911), p.

^{99.} It contained several Christian paintings.

8 For the vine pattern at Lahore see Dr. J. P. Vogel, Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc.,

Vol. I (1911), p. 52.

artist's competence. And not a few who have seen both the inlay of the Taj and that of Italy and Delhi, will have it that the traces of Renaissance are unmistakable in the arabesques, the scrolls, the leaves and flowers and vases. Moreover, since gardening, painting and sculpture are all pictorial arts, and since Mr. E. B. Havell maintains (for the nonce we can maintain it too) that in India "painting and sculpture [why not gardening also?] are nearly always subordinated to the architectural idea," would it not follow, on Mr. E. B. Havell's own showing, that, as the style of the Taj had to be co-ordinated with the inlay and the gardening, both the work of Europeans, as we have concluded, the Taj was also designed by them? A priori then, and with no other authority than that of Catrou about the Venetian gardener who designed the Delhi gardens, we reach the conclusion that a European designed the Taj. Manrique is right therefore when he asserts that Veroneo was the builder of the Taj. Bronzoni, or to some other Venetian or Florentine, we may leave the superintending of the pietra dura, and the details of the gardening.

No one would believe Manrique. Manrique stands no longer alone. Since, thanks to Catrou, we have at last found some work for our European engineers, architects, and gardeners, we ought to find traces of their activity in other directions still.

We ought to see them at work, for instance, on European work at Sikan- portions of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and on the laying out of the garden there.

Anyhow, we can see them at work in the Delhi Fort

at Delhi, in a silver otherwise than in inlaying and gardenceiling; ing. Sleeman voices some tradition,

very likely, when he says that Austin of Bordeaux was

¹ Cf. XIXth Century Review, 1903, p. 1040.

designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries of Shāh Jahān's palace at Agra, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. Whether the work was eventually executed at Agra, matters not. It seems, however, to have been done at Delhi; and, if a European was to have done it at Agra, we may safely conclude that it was done by a European at Delhi. Saiyid Ahmad Khān writes of the Trial-Palace or the Great Rang-Mahal: "It is said that the ceiling (toiture) of this palace was originally entirely of silver; but that, in the reign of Farrukh-Siyar it was necessary to take it away and to cover it with copper. Finally, in the time of Muhammad Akbar II, they removed also the copper ceiling (toiture) and replaced it by a wooden one, which at present is rotten." ²

There is at least a tradition that Shāh Jahān commenced his own tomb on the side of the Jamna opposite to the Tāj Mahal.

A. C. L. Carlleyle, of the Archæological Survey, went over the ground (the Mehtab Khān kā bāgh) in 1871-72, and wrote:—

"If then we may judge, by this great oval site or foundation, of what kind of building was probably intended to be raised on it as a mausoleum for Shah Jahan, we may well imagine its plan to have been that of a great oval cloistered building, covering and enclosing an area of 250 feet by 217 feet, and containing a smaller building in the centre, probably in the form of a handsome lofty pillared building several storeys in height, and surmounted by a canopy-shaped roof supported on columns, and in the centre of this last, under cover, would have been the actual tomb of Shah Jahan. Now, a design of this kind would be altogether un-Indian, or not the least like anything that was ever built in India, but the idea has many

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. H. SLEEMAN, Rambles and recollections of an Indian Official (edited by V. A. Smith), Oxford University Press, 1915, p. 319.

⁸ Journ. Asiatique, 5e série, tome 16 (1860), p. 203.

Italian characteristics about it, and it was no doubt altogether the design and conception of an Italian. Such a design indeed would have had something Roman, something Lydian, and something Etruscan about it. It would have been like a Colosseum, with a Lydian tomb in the centre and with a grand gateway, in keeping, on the northern side of the great oval (furthest from the river), and a grand pavilion on the southern side of the great oval (facing the river)."

Let it be noted that this was written before Keene revived the name of Veroneo as that of the Italian architect of the Tāj. (Keene, *Turks in India*, 1879.)

There is at least a tradition too that Shah Jahan intended to connect his own Mausoat his marble bridge across leum and the Taj by means of a the Jamna at Agra; marble bridge. Sleeman may be wrong when he says that the death of Austin of Bordeaux and the wars between Shāh Jahān's sons that followed prevented the completion of the Mausoleum and bridge.2 He may be wrong in saying that Austin of Bordeaux was to have undertaken the work, but he appears to be right in thinking that Ustād Īsā—our Veroneo—was to have done it. Tavernier 3 and Thévenot speak of Shāh Jahān's Mausoleum on the other side of the river; but the earliest reference I can find to a bridge—I have made no exhaustive search—is in Twining's Travels in India a hundred years ago. 6 Sleeman speaks of a bridge;

¹ MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, Arch. Survey of India, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1874, pp. 181-182.

² SLEEMAN, op. cit., edn. of V. A. Smith, pp. 319-320.

³ TAVERNIER (Ball's edn.), I, III.

⁺ Thévenot, Voyages, Paris, 1684, p. 101.

^{5 &}quot;The construction of the Taje was begun about the year 1630, and is said to have occupied 20,000 men for 22 years, and to have cost a crore of rupees. It was the intention of the Emperor to build a similar Mausoleum for himself, on the opposite side of the river, and to unite the two by a handsome bridge; but his death, or rather, perhaps, the distractions of the latter years of his life, prevented the accomplishment of this extravagant design. His reputation could hardly have gained in any respect by its execution, for few signs of human vanity are more

Duncan, of a marble bridge. So too Mr. Slide-side (1854) quoted by J.T.N., Guide to the Taj at Agra (Lahore; 1869, p. 15). "A Shekh, who takes care of the Taj, told me that, had the Emperor carried out his design, the tombs were to have been joined by a bridge with a silver railing on each side" (ibid., p. 25).

Would European engineers not have been better able to bridge the Jamna than the Indian engineers of the time, considering too that European engineers seem to have had it all their own way for at least fifty years, from the end of Akbar's reign to the end of Shāh Jahān's? Had Indian engineers ever undertaken before to bridge a river as broad as the Jamna in front of the Tāj?

Carlleyle wrote again about the great colonnade of the Moti Masjid which was erected at the Moti Masjid, Agra. by Shāh Jahān beween 1648 and 1655. "The pillars and the general style of the arched colonnade have....really something very Italian about them, and, but for its lowness or being wanting in height, might almost be compared to the colonnade composed of massive square or cross-shaped marble pillars which may be seen in many of the mediæval churches and other buildings in Italy; and I think this affords a very strong evidence in support of the opinion held by some that an Italian, as well as a French architect, must have been employed by Shāh Jahān. I myself do not believe that this massive Italian-looking marble colonnade could have been the conception of a native of India. The internal hollows of the domes in the ceiling of this colonnade, upon which the arches converge, are very shallow, like the shallow internal domes in the ceilings of Italian buildings, and are not compatible with the thoroughly Mughal Indian bulging out exterior domes raised on a neck which sur-

contemptible than the monument which a monarch raises to his own fame at the expense of his people." Op. cit., London, 1893, p. 144, under Nov. 16, 1794. Follows an interesting note about cornelians from the Sone River.

DUNCAN, Keene's Handbook to Agra, 1909, p. 188.

mount the whole on the roof, and rise from the top of the building."1

But, let us return to the pietra dura of Delhi. No

E. B. Havell's theory about date of Delhi pietra dura inlay untenable.

one seems to doubt the Florentine origin of the *pietra dura* of Delhi, not even Mr. E. B. Havell. What he will not admit, simply because he

does not admit the European planning of the Taj, is Florentine influence on the inlay of the Taj. But, this is showing oneself very fastidious. It would follow in that case that there would have flourished at the same time and in close proximity, under the same Emperor too, whom Italian artists were all along surrounding, two different schools of inlay, one entirely Florentine, the other altogether independent in style and technique, Indian, Persian. Rather than admit a European at the Taj, and two different schools of inlay under Shāh Jahān, Mr. Havell, with a mighty effort, raises the inlay of the Taj to the skies, and rejects the inlay of Delhi to after Aurangzeb, while pronouncing it monstrous, fourth-rate Florentine.2 How simple! And why reject the Delhi inlay till after Aurangzeb? Because, for sooth, the orthodox Aurangzeb would not have tolerated the pictures of animals and birds and the Orpheus of the Diwan-i-Am. Father Catrou disposes of the theory by saying that the European artists disappeared before Aurangzeb's reign.

Why did Mr. Havell want to see such enormous differences between the inlay of the Tāj and that of Delhi?

¹ Cf. Major-General A. Cunningham, Arch. Survey of India, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1874, p. 151. Keene, who revived Veroneo's name at a later date in his Turks in India, 1879, says (ibid., p. 140) that the lovely arcades of the Moti Masjid seem indicative of a European architect. But how could the author of Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N.W. Provinces of India, Vol. VII (Allahabad, 1884), p. 681, imagine there were side-chambers in the Moti Masjid for French worshippers?

[&]quot;An Italian, as well as a French Architect." The French architect in Carlleyle's mind is Austin of Bordeaux, whose only claim as an architect rests on Sleeman's mistake.

² XIX Century Review, 1903, pp. 1044-1047.

Anyone who examines the inlay of the Tāj will be struck by the Renaissance, the Florentine appearance of the designs. Even if the art had reached higher perfection in India than in Italy, there would be nothing astonishing in that. To the Moghul Emperors time and labour were no consideration. As to expense, the greater the cost, the better. Nothing less would satisfy their own opinion of themselves or their craving for world-wide renown.

We do not mean to say that the Italian inlayers exe-

The similarities of Italian and Indian pietra dura inlay argue Italian influence.

Delhi, Lahore and elsewhere. It was applied on such on enormous scale, that they must necessarily have looked

round for helpers. They found them in the natives, and their own task would have consisted chiefly in teaching the subtleties of the craft, drawing the designs, supervising the cutting, choice and blending of the stones and managing the more elaborate pieces. The work at the Diwān-i-Ām would have been their work, and their Orpheus would have given them their chance of signing it.

Reject the influence of Florentine art on Indian pietra

dura inlay, and you explain nothing.

while pietra dura inlay had reached a high degree of perfection in Italy, suddenly an equally perfect, if not more perfect, school of art sprang up in India. It did not develop gradually; it did not come from Europe, it did not come from Persia, nor from the Farther East. It originated of itself. It was autochthonous, and perfect from the start. And the similarity of technique was a mere coincidence, the work of chance. Chance? Is there such a thing as chance? The only wonder about this autochthonous pietra dura is that no treatises of the art have yet been discovered. You can give no reason for the Renaissance style of the work in the Tāj and the

⁾ Cf. V. A. SMITH, History of Art in India and Ceylon. See plate CVII facing p. 441.

Delhi palaces, neither can you account for the picture of Orpheus at Delhi, or the Etruscan vases at Delhi and in the Tāj.¹ How too will you explain that with the advent of Aurangzeb the art collapsed and vanished entirely, as quickly as it had come into existence. "The beauty of this mosaic [of the screen in the Tāj]," wrote Thomas Twining (Nov. 16, 1794), "was the more extraordinary, since the art was no longer known in India. It was not even known for certain where the fine cornelian employed in this work were found." ²

Admit this influence, and all is clear and plausible. Aurangzeb being no patron of arts and no builder, the Italian artists were no longer wanted. They had to go home or to make a living by directing their ingenuity to other avocations. Only goldsmiths and surgeons survived the trial.

Admit this influence, and you may read, perhaps, a new interpretation for Bernier new meaning in Bernier's reflection on the Tāj, viz., that Shāh Jahān wanted to rival the work of Florence. "Everywhere are seen the jasper, and jachen, or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's Chapel at Florence, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall." 3

Is the "Balance of Justice" at Delhi a European or an Asiatic idea? Does it represent only the balance in which the Emperor would be weighed once a year?

² Thomas Twining, Travels in India a hundred years ago, London, 1893, p. 193. Before the words quoted above, he wrote: "The whole [of the screen in the Tāj] is of the finest white marble elaborately worked, its highly-polished surface being inlaid with cornelians in the form of bands and wreaths of flowers. A small rose in one of these wreaths near the foot of the Begum's tomb particularly attracted my attention, and may serve as a specimen of the elaborate and beautiful execution which pervaded the whole work. Though so small that I could cover it with the end of my thumb, it contained sixty pieces of cornelian, but so artfully united that no junction was visible. The various tints and shades of the leaves were represented by different shades of the same stone, or by different species of stones, of which ten were said to be discernible."

³ Bernier, Travels (Constable's edn.), p. 298.

Admit it, and the following passage in Tavernier acquires possibly the same meaning. and Tavernier. "When Shah Jahan commenced the building of this hall [the hall of the 32 pillars or Diwan-i-Khās in the Delhi palace] he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the Chapel of the Grand-Duke in Italy; but, having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, contenting himself with a representation of different works." If, as we might understand Bernier and Tavernier, Shāh Jahān wished to rival the lavish use of pietra dura in the Medicean Chapel, who was to imitate it but those who had seen it and could imitate it?

About the well-known railing round the cenotaph in the Taj Vincent A. Smith writes: Florentine influence on "It may be taken as an unsurpassed the screen in the Taj. example of the art [of tracery] in Shāh Jahān's time. The lines of the repeating pattern in this case are more like Italian Renaissance than Asiatic work." A picture of the geometrical repeat illustrates V. A. Smith's conten-

I TAVERNIER, Travels (Ball's edu.), I, 98-99.

Father Anthony Botelho makes about the Taj a remark almost similar to Tavernier's about Delhi. "A certain handicraftsman (official) told him [Shāh Jahān] that, to make the work more majestic, it was necessary to have all round some layers of such or such a make. The King agreed, and told him to make all round a layer like the one they spoke to him about, and that, when it was finished. he would calculate to what extent the work might go. The layer was made, and when the King asked how much that layer alone had cost, they told him 'a leque,' or one hundred thousand rupees. The King stopped ordering more layers of that kind, because he thought his treasury would be depleted by that work alone." A. Botelho, S.J., Summa rerum memorabilium (1648-54), fol. 20 v. -MS, in my possession.

As this was written in 1670, some sixteen years after Father Botelho had left Mogor, we wonder whether we have not here a somewhat distorted allusion to the magnificent screen-work placed in 1642 round the cenotaph of Mumtaz Mahal. Father Botelho makes no allusion to this screen in his description of the Taj, probably because he had not seen it.

tion, and even Sir John Marshall, though otherwise of Mr. Havell's opinion about the designer of the Tāj, pronounces that attern a case of Italian influence.

Italian influence! History repeats itself. When in 1902, Lord Curzon had the picture of Orpheus brought back to Delhi from the Indian Museum, South Kensington, London, where it had been since the Mutiny, the artist selected for replacing that delicate piece of art over the niche where the peacockthrone had stood was an Italian, Signor A. Menegatti. Similary, to renovate the Tāj gardens, a Frenchman was selected.

What did Signor Menegatti, an expert, a professional, hence more competent than perhaps any who has written on the Indian pietra dura inlay, think of the inlay at Delhi and the Tāj? I repeat what I heard in Delhi in January 1913 from the Italian Capuchin Fathers who knew him well. He said he had not the slightest doubts that the work of the Tāj, Delhi and Florence was one and the same, and he added that, back in his country, he would search for documentary evidence.

The sceptic who wishes to compare the Orpheus of

Delhi with genuine Florentine art need not go to Florence any longer.

Signor A. Menegatti has left in Delhi a specimen of his art and piety combined. The door of the Tabernacle in the Catholic Church near the Delhi Fort exhibits on a ground of white marble two Angels, supported by a cloud, in adoration before a cross shedding rays. It is signed: "A. Menegatti, 1907." The artist worked at it during two years at odd moments. The joints of the stones are scarcely visible. It is a painting in stones.

¹ V. A. SMITH, History of Art in India and Ceylon, p. 437, where see Plate CV and fig. 247 (geometrical repeat).

² "Many of the mosaics in the panels which had not been disturbed were renewed by Signor Menegatti of Florence during the years 1906-9." V. A. Smith in his edn. of Sleeman's Rambles and recollections, op. cit., p. 517 n. 1.

Signor Menegatti even thought he discovered at Delhi articles made of stones from Chalcedony imported from Italy. About the cover of a bowl of chalcedony carved and fluted [?], and originally inlaid with jewels (knob broken), he wrote: "The present cover, the base of which is wanting, is of chalcedony (white agate) and probably of the species which is found in Volterra in Italy, because I find in the collection which I brought with me from Italy some pieces that are very similar to it. The work on the cup has been executed with the castelletto, a tool which resembles a lathe, and in which very small copper-wheels are used. These wheels are sprinkled with hard sand mixed with water, and, being revolved at great velocity, they cut away those parts of the stone which are to be removed. This work may have been executed by a native workman, as I have noticed that natives use, for working hard kinds of stone, small wheels made of lake (?) and grains of flint stone or of ruby. But by this system it is impossible to obtain perfect work, and, as the cup has several imperfections, I infer the workmanship of it to be Indian, but the stone to be from Volterra, as I have said above, because here in India chalcedonies are only to be had in very small fragments, whilst in Italy very large pieces are found." There would seem therefore to have been a mutual interchange of precious stones between Italy and India.

It would be easy to quote travellers of the 19th century who have ascribed to Italians, to Florentines, the pietra dura of Agra and Delhi; but such quotations, however many, would not amount to proof, but to an expression of personal opinion, or, at most, to a faint glimmer of tradition. We have, accordingly, restricted our demonstration to quotations from earlier travellers, who can be regarded as more reliable exponents of tradition. We may, however, make

¹ Cf. Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology, compiled by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Calcutta, 1908, p. 8-9.

an exception in the case of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis, who supplied us at the beginning of this chapter with a valuable piece of information on the projected mission to India of four of Ferdinand I.'s workmen. In 1886, after a visit to India, he expressed himself thus:—

"There still lives among the Indians the tradition, glorious for us, that the most elegant architectural monuments erected during the period of the Mongol power were the work of Italian architects and artists, and that jewelled giant, that sublime marble tracery adorned with Florentine mosaics, the Tāj of Agra, that marvellous creation of the splendour of a love-stricken Prince, in fine, the most perfect sample of Indian art, was the handiwork of an Italian's genius. Such is the common tradition, and it was repeated to me with patriotic pride by Bishop Jacope and the Reverend Capuchin Fathers of Agra. Indeed, our missionaries, however far away from the mother-land, cherish her still in their hearts and try to discover of her, even in India, every vestige."

Even though some eight years earlier the Capuchin Fathers of Agra had been instrumental with Keene in reviving the name of Veroneo from Manrique's scarce Itinerario, they could be considered in 1886 as the most trustworthy heralds of tradition; for, not only had tradition always pointed out the Padres Santos' graveyard as the burial-place of the builder of the Tāj, but they had inherited in an unbroken line from the Jesuit Fathers, whose last representative died only in 1803, all the Christian traditions, obscured it may be, yet substantially vivid and correct, of Agra, Fathpūr Sīkrī, Lahore, Delhi, Faizabad and Lucknow.

The following pages from Richard Bagot's My Italian

Richard Bagot and Lord
Curzon's choice of Signor
Menegatti.

Year belong to the history of Signor
Menegatti's restoration, while they
emphasize Signor Zobi's suggestions

A. DE GUBERNATIS, Peregrinazione Indiane, India Centrale, Firenze, Tipografia edit. di L. Niccolai, 1887 (1886 on the inner title).

about a mission to India of Italian artists under the Medici. We must leave to Mr. Bagot all responsibility for some of his statements.

"One of the traditional handicrafts of Florence, that of working in the precious metals, is still almost an instinct with many of her inhabitants belonging to the working classes. Unluckily these artists, for in some cases they are worthy of the name, find less and less scope for their talents, and the Florentine *orefici* have indeed fallen on evil times. German productions turned out by machinery flood the goldsmiths' shops, to the exclusion of native talent, and the goldsmith himself finds it cheaper to import these articles than to maintain a staff of *orefici*, for whose far more genuine and artistic work there is little or no sale.

"Another Florentine trade, that of working in pietra dura, has almost ceased to exist. Cabinets, paper-weights, tables, and various other objects of the kind, which the sellers will swear by all their gods to be in pietra dura, are nothing of the sort, but clever imitations in soft stone which require little or no skill to work, crack, and become loose in their settings. Many of these imitations, too, are of German origin, and it is extremely difficult to find any genuine Florentine pietra dura work in the bric-à-brac shops.1 Formerly, however, so renowned was the skill of the Florentine artists in pietra dura that, under the Medici rulers, and down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tuscan Government exercised a jealous watch over them, and the most able were retained to work solely for the State. Even at the present day there exists a Government institution in which beautiful specimens of real pietra dura work are made, and the artists engaged there are not permitted to work for other employers.

"In connection with this industry, I had an interest-

If it were shown that about 1610 some of the pietra dura workers of Florence were without work in Italy, we might argue that they found their way to India, where plenty of work and excellent pay would have awaited them.

ing experience some years ago. It is not, I imagine, generally known that the decorations of the famous throne at Delhi of the ancient Mogul emperors were made by Florentine workers in pietra dura specially sent out by the Medici of the day at the instance of the Eastern potentate then ruling over a portion of our Indian Empire. When preparations were being made for the great Durbar held in connection with the visit of his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales, to India, it was brought to the notice of the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, that many of the pietra dura panels adorning the throne, which are of extremely beautiful design and workmanship, had been missing since the days of the Mutiny. Lord Curzon was anxious that these panels should, if possible, be substituted by others of equal worth before the Durbar took place, and he wrote to our ambassador in Rome, asking him if any Florentine expert could be found who would undertake the work of restoration according to the old traditions of the pietra dura art. As I happened to be in Florence at the time, the ambassador asked me if I would try to find a suitable man. The Indian Government offered very handsome terms, and the work was calculated to last for two years, during which period the Florentine artist, if found, was to have at his command a staff of native workmen accustomed to handle precious stones. I at once carried the matter to the Director of the Government pietra dura works in Florence, though, knowing the regulations by which no artist engaged there could accept other employment of the kind, I had small hopes of being able to secure one of those experts. The historical interest of the fact that four centuries ago 2 Florentines had been sent out to Delhi to decorate the throne of the Mogul emperors, and that once again the services of Florentines were sought for

Not the throne, since it has disappeared; but the panels about the *jharoka* or inspection window where the king showed himself. In front of it the throne used to be placed.

² Three centuries ago, at most.

the purpose, caused the Director to seek instructions from headquarters, with the result that the Italian Government at once gave all facilities for the despatch to India of one of the most skilled artists in the Florence factory. A search among the Archives of Florence confirmed the fact of a band of workers in *pietra dura* having been placed at the disposal of the Mogul Emperor of the day by, I think, Cosmo de' Medici. Unluckily, the newspapers got hold of the object of my mission, and I was, of course, besieged by all the dealers in sham *pietra dura* in the city, each anxious to send out his particular 'artist.'

"Naturally, I had no intention of recommending any but a most undoubted expert in the real art, but it amused me to see to what lengths of dishonesty the dealers would go, and I pretended to be taken in by their assurances, concealing from them that I happened to be aware of the difference between real and spurious pietra dura work. I suppose that the artist in the Royal factory had been indiscreet enough to talk about the affair while it was yet under discussion, for the terms offered by the Indian Government were known in every shop in Florence dealing in mosaics. One establishment in particular was so persistent in forcing its claims to possessing the only artist in Florence suitable for the post, and so eager to convince me that the services of the said artist could be secured at less than what one of the employees of the Royal factory would demand that I had the curiosity to examine more closely into the swindle which I felt was underlying so much concern for the restoration of the Mogul throne. Having obtained, not without difficulty,

¹ Cosimo I (de' Medici) died in 1574. His son and successor was Ferdinand I., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, in 1575. We do not see what Cosimo could have had to do in the matter.

How is it that we have not heard of the documents mentioned by Richard Bagot? V. A. Smith had not heard of them. Were these MSS. different from those alluded to by Signor Zobi, and from the extracts published by de Gubernatis which we have translated?

² The panels of the wall, not the throne.

the name and address of the "artist" so highly recommended, I sought out a friend of mine who was also earning his living by his hands, but in another trade. In a few hours my friend brought the "artist" in question to me, and I proceeded to sound him as to how much he had been offered by his principale if he would accept a job in India. I will not state the exact sum, but his principale had informed him that, if he cared to undertake a two years' engagement in India, he would allow him to go, and would, moreover, pay him higher wages during that period, than those which he was already receiving—in fact, not a tenth part of the salary offered by the Indian Government. In course of conversation he informed me that he knew scarcely anything about the real pietra dura process, as he was exclusively employed in the manufacture of the sham article. He was under the impression that this last was what he would be required to work upon in India, and, unlike his principale, had evidently not the slightest idea of the terms the Indian Government had offered. In a word, it was a clever "try on" on the part of the Florentine shop-keeper to foist upon the English ambassador an ordinary worker in sham pietra dura at the salary offered, to pay the said workman a pittance during his engagement, and to put the enormous difference in his own pocket.

"I am glad to say that, notwithstanding several similar intrigues, which I reported both to the ambassador and to Lord Curzon, the skilled expert in pietra dura from the Royal factory was ultimately despatched to Delhi to execute restorations to the Mogul throne which his predecessors in the art had enriched with their decorations four hundred years previously.3 Now, the dealer in mosaic work especially, and in objets d' art generally, who

And yet "the terms offered by the Indian Government were known in every shop in Florence dealing in mosaics."

² Not the throne.

³ Three centuries, at the most.

attempted the little "try on," which, had it succeeded, would have put several thousands of francs into his own pocket during the period of two years, and would have supplied the Indian Government with a work that would have quickly perished in a tropical climate, was not a Florentine, but of Teuton origin."

III—Western and Japanese Paintings taken as Models.

V. A. Smith, in his book on Indian Art, might have laid more stress on the influence exercised on Indian art by Western paintings and artistic importations. A vast number of these found their way to the Moghul Court in the wake of missionaries and merchants. The missionaries were asked more than once by Akbar and Jahāngīr to write to Goa or to their friends in Europe for pictures and paintings, and they would give the warning note that only the best should be sent, because the Emperor and his nobles were good judges. To collect from the Jesuit letters or the accounts of merchants and travellers all the references to these importations would take us too far afield; besides, it bears only indirectly on our subject, because as a rule those who copied these pictures were the Emperor's own painters, Easterners.

Rather than fill many pages with scattered quotations, we shall translate from the Portuguese an extract from the Jesuit letters which by itself will amply prove our contention. In 1608, Jahāngīr's palace at Agra was a regular picture gallery, most of the subjects being Christian.

"In all these conversations, in which the above subjects were mooted, the King manifested always much love towards Christ Our Lord. He would speak with great boldness in favour of the use of images, though they be

RICHARD BAGOT, My Italian Year, 2nd edn., Mills and Boon, London (no year), pp. 93-97. Mr. Bagot strives after effect more than after correctness. He was rightly taken to task by Father H. Thurston, S.J., for some of his Italian stories touching Catholic affairs. Cf. The Month, London, 1912 (Jan.-June, p. 526); 1913 (Jan.-June, p. 521; July-Dec., p. 197).

very unpopular with the Moors. And so, on coming from Lahor, he found his palaces of Agra well decorated and painted over with sundry paintings, which had already been made, and others which were being executed inside as well as outside, in a varanda where he comes to sit daily to be seen by the people. Nearly all these paintings bore on sacred subjects; for, on the ceiling (no alto do forro) and in the middle of it (& no meio delle), was painted an image of Christ Our Lord, very artistically done, with a halo, and a circle of Angels, and on the walls were some saints in miniature, as Saint John the Baptist, [F. 14a] Saint Anthony, Saint Bernardine of Siena, and others, as also some women saints. In another part were some Portuguese, painted in large size, and very well done; and along the wall outside, where is the window near which the King is seated, when he shows himself to the people, there had been previously some life-size paintings of the King's favourites, but these he ordered to efface, and, in their stead, he caused to be painted very artistically some Portuguese soldiers, of large size and well placed, so that they are seen from the whole square. each side of the window there are three of them, and above them, to the right, is painted Christ Our Lord holding the orb in his hand; to the left, the Virgin Our Lady, copied in life-size from the painting of Saint Luke. On the sides of each of these images are others of various saints, placed as if in prayer. And as the window where the King sits is made in the form of a niche and painted all over, his two sons were painted very richly in full-length on the same Above one of his sons is a miniature figure of Christ Our Lord, and a Father of the Society with a book in his hand; above the other is seen the Virgin Our Lady. Within the cavity of the niche are the pictures of Saint Paul, St. Gregory, and St. Ambrose, and it is a matter of much consolation to the Fathers, when they are waiting there upon the King, to recite their rosary together before the image of the Virgin Our Lady and commend them-

selves to Christ Our Lord. Whenever the Moors see these pictures they are astonished, whereas the Fathers return many thanks to God, seeing thus exposed to the public gaze in the palace of an infidel King the images of Christ Our Lord, of the Virgin Our Lady, and of his saints; for, truly, it looks more like the varanda of a pious and Catholic King than that of a Moorish prince. In the interior of the palaces the paintings, which are on the walls of the halls and on the ceiling, represent all of them mysteries of Christ Our Lord, [F. 14b] and some scenes of the acts of the Apostles, taken from their life, which the Fathers had given him; also St. Anne, and Susanna, and various other stories. All this is designed by the King himself, without anyone speaking to him about it From the albums which he has he chooses himself the figures which are to be painted, enjoining on the painters to go and learn from the Fathers what colours they should use for the garments of each figure, and that they should not depart a little from what they tell them. This is a painful eyesore to the Moors: they are so averse to pictures that they do not suffer to be represented those of their own faith whom they look upon as saints, much less those of the Christian faith, which they so much dislike.

"The King ordered also to make a large painting of Christ at the Pillar, in imitation of the pictures in his albums. This the Moors greatly resented, because they reject the whole account of Christ's Passion. He wished, moreover, this large painting to serve as a model for a fabric, entirely woven out of silk, in the form of a tapestry, which he ordered to be made with the same figures of Christ at the Pillar and with an inscription in Persian of the same make. In one of the panels of one of the halls he directed to make, from a design which he had, whole-length

¹ See my article on Fr. Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles in J.A.S.B., Vol. X (N.S.), 1914, pp. 65-84, and Persian Lives of the Apostles from Akbar's Agra Library (a description of Mr. George Ranking's copy) in The Catholic Herald of India, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 479-481.

paintings of the Pope, the Emperor, King Philip, and the Duke of Savoy, whose portraits he possessed. They are all represented on their knees, adoring the Holy Cross, which stands in the middle.

"Father John Alvares, the Assistant for Portugal, sent him from Rome a picture of Our Lady and of the Adoration of the Magi. One cannot imagine how much he valued it, and, because it came into his hands first, before reaching the Fathers, he sent for them as soon as he got it, and, showing it publicly before all the people, he invited one of the Fathers to explain to him the meaning of that mystery. After them, he explained it to all his courtiers, and, all the while holding the same picture in his hands and showing it to all, he explained to them the story of the Nativity of Our Lord and of the Adoration of the Magi, so that he looked like a preacher in the pulpit. then directed the Fathers to have it framed and neatly adorned and placed on a roller, that it might not get torn or damaged when rolling up or unrolling. All around, along the sides, the Fathers had certain designs made in pen and ink, after drawings taken from our books and pictures. He was much pleased with them, and ordered his own portrait to be painted among them, in a place which he chose for the purpose." 2

Though I am in no way a connoisseur, I wish to put on record here some of my own observations about the influence of Chinese or Japanese models on Indian art. These observations amount to very little; but, if they confirm only in a small measure V. A. Smith's presumptions about traces of Japanese or Chinese landscaping and technique in Indian paintings of bird and animal life, they will not prove useless.

l If the printing represented personages then alive (1608), they must have been Pope Paul V (reigned 1605-21), Rudolph II (reigned 1576-1612), Philip III of Spain (reigned 1598-1621), and Charles Emmanuel I, surnamed the Great (b. 1562-d. 1630).

² F. Guerreiro, Relação Annal...de 607. & 608....Lisboa, 1611, f. 13v. f. 15z. Many similar stories could be related for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

During my visit to the Lahore Museum, my attention was drawn to a small book in one of the cases of old MSS. and drawings. The label above it said: "New Testament pictures as drawn for the Emperor Akbar." I strongly suspected the book was some religious treatise written by Father Jerome Xavier, S.J., for King Akbar. The case was locked; a special permission was required to have it opened; the Curator was absent and the guide-books were silent. The next day, a visit to Mr. Hargreaves obtained the required permission. The book bore Akbar's seal and the subject of it was The Life of Our Lord in Persian by Fr. J. Xavier. Date: 1602. Size: 10 inches ×6 inches. It contained 79 leaves with 15 lines per page and was interleaved with 11 pictures. Many pages of the Life of Our Lord are missing, and it looks as if most of the pages belong to another treatise. Here we are concerned only with the pictures.

Fol. 3v. represents a Christian Padre attended by three laymen offering a picture to a King seated on a throne. I thought of St. Francis Xavier in Japan or of Bl. Rudolf Aquaviva arriving at the Court of Fathpūr Sīkrī (1580). What might decide the nature of the subject are some characters, in a script which I could not determine (Hebrew? Armenian?), on the side of the throne. The picture is pasted on a sheet of white paper, and a Persian legend pasted between the two leaves probably explains the subject. I am not a Persian scholar.

Fol. 33v. shows an altar supporting a statue of Our Lady and the Child Jesus. Some Japanese or Chinese Christians are in the act of venerating them. The cast of their features and their pig-tails clearly indicate their nationality.

Fol. 43v. contains again Chinese or Japanese figures. It has two Persian superscriptions pasted between the leaves and part of the empty space in the picture is cut out to admit these legends.

Fol. 47 is also a Japanese scene. Other Pictures are at f. 2v., f. 54v., f. 58v., f. 79v.

I was not over-surprised at my little discovery. I recollected what Fr. J. Xavier says in one of his letters (1598). On one occasion he took for his text a Japanese dagger on the head of which was a Cross and some studs. On another occasion, he presented Akbar with two exquisite pictures from Japan: "one of Christ Our Lord, and the other of the blessed Father Ignatius. These were much admired; but the picture of the blessed Father Ignatius was especially pleasing to the Emperor, as it was new and he had never seen it before. He enquired whom it represented, and, when I had explained this at some length, he asked me to write his life in Persian for the good of the whole kingdom. Meantime, the Prince Salīm [later Jahāngīr] came up, and, seeing the picture, begged that it might be given to him until he could get it copied by a painter."

While examining the beautiful inlay of the Diwān-i-Khās, Delhi, I found that on either side and separate from the floral designs in the lower panels there was at the top a small cloud-like design in the traditional Japanese or Chinese style. I was showing them to a visitor and remarking that these clouds looked Japanese, when someone declared that a gentleman the day before had made a similar observation.

A little further, in the same hall, if I remember well, was a flower-vase painted (?) on the wall, which imitated the bright blue glazed pottery of China. I am not positive, however, that samples of similar Indian pottery do not occur in our Indian Museums as well.

Again, I thought I could discover the Japanese or Chinese technique in several of the paintings in the Museum of the Delhi Fort. A photo of a picture of Jahāngīr's Court from Col. Hanna's collection represents an Ecce Homo and a Madonna and the ground is covered with carpets showing dragons and fanciful birds such as one meets in Chinese and Japanese art.

Had I been able to read Persian, I might have read in

¹ Cf. J.A.S.B., 1896, pp. 74-76.

the Bāṛī-Bhaṭik or Khwāb-gāh (dormitory), among the inscriptions celebrating the beauties of the Delhi Fort, these lines: "The surface of its walls is so elegantly adorned that one might think it is the work of a Chinese painter."

I add here some references to European pictures and works of art brought into the country.

 \overline{Ain} (Blochmann's translation): on painting, pp. 96, 107, 108.

A. Monserrate, S.J., Mongol. Legat. Comm. or Memoirs Asiat. Soc. Beng., No. 9 of Vol. III, pp. 542, 560, 569, 573, 610, 630.

J.A.S.B., 1896, pp. 50, 62, 66, 67, 68, 73-76, 85, 87-89, 91. Allusions to the Christmas Crib, pp. 73, 81, 85. At p. 74 n. 1, there is a useful collection of references to Christian pictures.

Du Jarric, Troisieme partie des choses plus memorables... Bovrdeavs, 1614, pp. 806, 823, mentions an English Jesuit lay-brother at the court of Chandragiri, Madras Presidency, who painted the Three Magi, Our Lady and the Infant Jesus, Our Lord's descent to Limbo, and Our Lady with the Infant Jesus and St. John the Baptist. His name was Alexander. Fr. Besse, S.J., in Cat. Miss. Madur., Trichinopoly, 1914, gives his name as Alexander Fernandez, adding that he was in Chandragiri in 1599, but is no more found after that in the Malabar Catalogues. Another English painter, James Storie, Ralph Fitch's companion, came to Goa in 1584 and appears to have become a Jesuit lay-brother. At any rate, he was employed by the Jesuits of Goa in painting their church; van Linschoten says he did not remain a Jesuit, but married at Goa. Cf. J. HORTON RYLEY, Ralph Fitch, pp. 70, 74, 79.

P. VAN DER AA, Naaukeurige Versameling der merkwaardigste Zee en Land-Reysen...Leyden, 1707, Vol. 23. Robert Coverte (1607–11) mentions a figure in amber and

¹ Saiyid Ahmad Khān in *Journal Asiatique*, 5e série, tome 16 (1860), p. 208, last two lines of the translation.

gold, representing the head of St. John the Baptist, which he presented to Jahāngīr (p. 35). Hawkins (*ibid.*, p. 50) says that Jahāngīr had on his rosary a stone with Our Lord and Our Lady engraven on it. Edw. Dodsworth speaks of English pictures seized at Surate by Mukarrab Khān (*ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 53).

The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī (transl. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge), Vol. II, pp. 161–162: Jahāngīr's picture gallery. No allusion to Christian pictures.

W. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Th. Roe*, pp. 143, 144 n., 147, 213–214, 224–226, 240, 254–256, 258, 300, 386–387, 394, 484. The whole book should be examined attentively, for it is full of allusions to European pictures, and it is probably from Roe that Fr. Catrou has taken his remark about the skill of the Indian painters in imitating European models.

Elliot, History of India, VI. 57, 85, 359-360. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, I. 141, 141 n. 1.

Manrique. *Itinerario*, 1653, pp. 350 (Sikandra); 369 (Asaf Khān's palace, Lahore).

Numerous allusions will be found in Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, the recent editions of which are supplied with excellent indexes; in the Calendars of State Papers, East Indies; and in W. Foster's English Factories in India and Letters received by the E.I.Co. The Dagh Registers van Batavia would yield ample information too, but the collection is not found complete in any of our libraries here.

Goethal's Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, January 1922.

[THE END.]

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PART I

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DOCUMENTS ON SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH INDIA, IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE.

BY SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN.

BROADLY speaking, whilst the Records of the inner administration of the East India Company are to be found at the India Office, the records of its relations with the State, its influence on the foreign policy of the Home Government and the consequent intricate treaty negotiations with different powers (the Dutch in particular) must be sought at the Public Record Office. There, too, the traces of the rival companies and traders may be met with.

The new classification of Records at the Public Record Office is as far as possible a geographical one; but a large proportion of the earlier documents do not admit of such a division.

Save for the important Colonial Series—East Indies (now C.O. 77) we must not hope to find the documents or references relating to the East Indies as a separate section. The enquirer may even be met by a well-meant remark that there is little relating to India at the Public Record Office.

Moreover, the long and bitter rivalry between the English and Dutch East India Companies, their temporary co-operation, and the immense importance attached by both to the spice trade in the Moluccas—also the fact that for a time the headquarters of the English company as well as of the Dutch were in Java (at Bantam and Batavia) all these factors make it undesirable, if not well-nigh impossible, to separate the early documents

2 DOCUMENTS ON 17TH-CENTURY BR. INDIA

relating to the Moluccas and Java in particular, from those more strictly concerning the English Factories on the continent of India.

Throughout the negotiations and treaty preliminaries between England and Holland after the restoration of Charles II., Pulo-run is one of the cardinal points insisted upon on behalf of the East India Company.

In 1662, Lord Treasurer Southampton reported to the King (on Sir Nicholas Crispe's petition concerning the importance of and duties on spices), that the Dutch had the sole trade for many years. "The English cannot import them from Holland because they import them not from the place of their growth; the East India Company themselves having no capacity to do it until they be restored to Poleroon, or gain some of the Spice Islands."

To deal profitably with the history of British India, the connection with Europe cannot be ignored. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the economic and commercial history of the chief European nations and their naval and colonial history are practically inseparable.

The relations of the East India Company with the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, the Danes and other European rivals in the Eastern trade are reflected not only nother records of the Company itself, but in those of the States, and in the foreign relations of the latter, and the inter-relation of all these countries. Whilst, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Portugal is the great colonising power, in the middle of the seventeenth century the history of the Dutch colonies, and especially of the Dutch East India Company is of extreme importance. In 1664, in his Memorial to the States-General, Sir George Downing, the English envoy, could state that the whole of the complaints against Holland were, in a manner, complaints against the East and West India Companies of that country.

Hence, the documents concerning the various

developments and relations must be sought in the great store-house of State Records, not only under the sections dealing exclusively with the colonial correspondence of the East Indies (now C.O. 77), but in the general series of *Domestic State Papers* and in the *State Papers—Foreign*, relating to each country concerned.

The State Administration in England was not divided into definite Departments until the end of the period with which we are dealing. Until 1782, Home affairs were administered by two Secretaries of State, Northern and Southern, but whilst in the eighteenth century it was the Southern Secretary who had charge of the Colonies, in the seventeenth century, the distinction was by no means so clear. The separation even between Domestic and Foreign departments was not absolute. The classification of State Papers as Domestic or Foreign was made in the reign of James I. There is no definite class of State Papers: Colonial, although from 1699 the Colonial Records take the place of such.

The data for the early history of the East Indies must therefore be searched for at the Public Record Office in the comprehensive General series in which they are included, not only as separate volumes in a class, single documents in bound volumes, or loose papers in partly classified bundles, but as individual entries in books or component parts of General Correspondence.

As in the State Papers: Foreign, the despatches of the English ambassadors and agents abroad are of great importance, so in the State Papers: Domestic, the correspondence of the Secretaries of State must be consulted. To Sir Joseph Williamson, Keeper of State Papers, and later Secretary of State, we owe the collection and preservation of the great wealth of documents for the reign of Charles II. To him are due also several systematic collections arranged under subjects containing selected copies of documents in chronological order for the elucidation of particular questions. These may be

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consulted with great advantage, even though the originals of some of the papers may be found scattered elsewhere, (e.g., State Papers: Foreign: Archives, No. 219).

A list of Secretaries of State will be found printed in P.R.O. Lists and Indexes No. XLIII, pp. v-viii, and one in Haydon's Book of Dignities. This and similar lists of ambassadors and officials at home and abroad are especially useful in tracing the continuity of a subject. Their correspondence is often indexed under names alone.

The official Guide to the Various Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, by Mr. Scargill-Bird contains no detailed description of the documents specially relating to the East Indies.

The Search Rooms of the Public Record Office contain in addition to the printed "Calendars" of abstracts of various series a large number of lists and inventories, both printed and manuscript. In 1892 appeared the first of an official series of Lists and Indexes, which, in conjunction with the Calendars will, "in course of time, form a catalogue of the National Archives" (cf. 51st Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records, p. 10). A "List of Lists" compiled in 1906 was placed in the Literary Search Room, but since the date of the Royal Commission on Public Records in 1911, the lists there available have been considerably supplemented and completely re-arranged.

The successive re-arrangements and re-classifications of the archives due in many cases to the incorporation of new material or to the correction of misdescriptions and the consequent alteration of references have, however, made necessary the use of "Keys." A note communicated to the Royal Commission in 1912 by the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records as to the references which have been altered in Official Calendars, Lists or Indexes, includes, amongst others, the following "Calendars in which some part of the references no longer holds good":

5

IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial. Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers.

It also states that "apart from the local records or State Papers which have been calendared, many volumes, rolls or bundles have been used and cited in various works, and the references to these documents are now, in many cases, obsolete."

As regards the Colonial Office Records, the old printed lists have been re-arranged and catalogued in *Lists* and *Indexes*, No. XXXVI.

The present notes are necessarily based chiefly upon the official lists, calendars and Reports, and printed authorities, but have been supplemented by direct examination of selected original documents.

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

The principal series of documents at the Public Record Office relating to British India will be found in the Colonial Office Records—East Indies, now C.O. 77.

No. 36 of the *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, published in 1911, supersedes the List of Colonial Office Records printed in 1896.

The documents now therein listed, though generally known as Colonial Office Records, also comprise such of those derived from the Board of Trade relating to the early committees and councils in charge of trade and plantation affairs, as have not been dispersed or lost.

When it was decided to issue the Colonial Calendars, the books and papers, letters, loose memoranda, etc., were sorted and rebound in chronological order, many volumes of manuscripts already bound being broken up for the purpose. (This last method was subsequently abandoned.)

The papers described as Colonial Correspondence, now Original Correspondence—Secretary of State, were those which accumulated in the offices of the Secretaries of State who administered the Colonies. These papers

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ultimately reached the Colonial Office, and thence the Record Office. In addition there was a collection of office books from various sources, classed as Entry-Books, amongst them those containing papers earlier than the year 1688, which had escaped being broken up. The whole of the records were re-arranged, and as far as possible classified geographically, for the compilation of the new list, No. 36, except in the case of papers already calendared by Mr. Noel Sainsbury. The earlier references therefore became obsolete. To obtain the new reference when only the former is known, the List itself should be consulted: but a Key based thereon, giving new and old references for the main East Indies Class (C.O. 77), is appended. A Key to the Colonial Entry-Books is now printed, with an account of their history in C. S. S. Higham's "The Colonial Entry-Books-a Brief Guide to the Colonial Records in the Public Record Office before 1696."

A brief abstract of every document of the East Indies original correspondence down to the year 1634, is contained in the Calendar of State Papers-Colonial Series-Indies, China and Japan [and Persia], edited by W. Noel Sainsbury. This series is continued in date from 1635, in the unofficial Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, edited by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, with Introductions and Notes by William Foster, c.i.e., which has now reached the year 1663. The latter include documents in the Public Record Office, besides those in the India Office, British Museum, etc., and in the sixth volume a large proportion of papers is contributed by the Public Record Office. Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, begun in 1896 by Mr. Danvers, as a verbatim edition of the early correspondence from 1602-15, was continued by Mr. Foster to the year 1617. Another official series of the India Office, edited by Mr. Foster, was begun in 1902, The English Factories in India. It also includes Record Office documents as well

as "all those either emanating from or directly relating to the English factories in India, which could be found either in the Archives of the India Office, or in the MSS. Department of the British Museum." This series begins with the year 1618 and the volume last published relates to the year 1664.

The papers calendared by Mr. Sainsbury comprise not only those in the Public Record Office, but also many in the British Museum and the India Office, relating to the early voyages for the discovery of a north-east or a north-west passage to India, the establishment of the East India Company, the settling of the different factories in the peninsula of India and the most important islands of the Indian Ocean, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes. the development of English trade and influence in Malacca, Cambodia and Siam, and the opening up of trade with Persia, China and Japan. The difficulties with the Spaniards and Portuguese appear in the first volume, and the violent opposition of the Dutch occupies a prominent position. The abstracts embrace those derived from documents in the Colonial Series, the Domestic Series of Records and extracts from the Holland Correspondence, and that of Spain, Portugal and France. Where a document relating to the East Indies is calendared in both Mr. Sainsbury's Colonial Series and the Calendar of Domestic Papers, the abstract is generally more full in his Colonial Series. Where periods overlap, the Series edited by Mr. Foster which include numerous documents previously unknown to students, are generally to be preferred, but not always for individual purposes. Comparatively few of the Foreign documents at the Public Record Office are embodied, and the more limited scope of the English Factory Series necessarily excludes the continuous and detailed record of the contentions with the Dutch.

Documents relating to the East Indies will also be found in the other Series of Official Calendars interspersed amongst those dealing with other subjects.

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COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE—EAST INDIES.

Now C.O. 77.

- C.O. 77 (Formerly East Indies 4a 1634, old reference Vol. IV. No. 112) is a parchment exemplification of the East India Company's Charter of 20 James I., reciting earlier Letters Patent of 13th James I., concerning the appointment of Chief Commanders and the punishing of capital offences. Provision for the Revocation of the Power. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial—East Indies, 1630-34, No. 526.
- C.O. 757 (1655—1663) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State.

 Contains inter alia (1661/2):
 - E.I. Co.'s demand for delivery of Polo Run by the Dutch. Refusal of the Dutch Agents.
 - E.I. Co.'s Petition to the King re damage received from the Dutch. Arbitration requested before ratification of the Treaty.
 - States-General's Proceedings re Ships Bona Esperanza and Henry
 Bonaventure. Bombay: Complaints of A. de Mello de Castro
 against Earl of Marlborough and Captain Minors. Captain
 Ambrose Browne's Journal (Extracts). Cf. C.O. ⁷⁷/₄₉.
- C.O. 17 (1663-1665) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State.

 Contains inter alia:
 - Bombay: Non-surrender to English (1663, October 31). Complaint made in Portugal as to non-surrender. Letter to Sir Abraham Shipman, enclosing one to Viceroy of Goa.
 - Petition and Memorial of the Inhabitants to King Charles II; an account of hardships suffered [? 1663]. Cf. C.O. $\frac{77}{49}$.
- C.O 17 (1666-1667) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State.

 Comprises original documents (in many instances in duplicate) and copies of letters relating chiefly to:
 - Bombay. The King's possessions there, Fishery Rights and Customs, and disputes with the Portuguese.
 - Sir Gervase Lucas's Reports. His Commission, Instructions and death. Amongst Sir Gervase Lucas's letters may be noted that of 2nd March 1666/7 (C.O. \(\frac{77}{10}\) f. 90) to the King, giving an account "of ye affairs in these parts." After referring to the change of Councils in the E.I. Co., he gives his opinion that "so long as your Majesty continues that Company your affairs in these parts will never answer your great designe and noble interests of advancing Trade . . . As well English as others in these parts are taught to believe

they are a body apart from your Majesties' Authority or Government."

Henry Gary's Reports to the King and various authorities (important). His differences with Humphrey Cooke.

Danger of Dutch attempts.

E.I. Co.'s Proposal to take over Bombay from the Crown.

Annual Revenues under King of Portugal, and of King Charles on Island of Bombain 1667 . . . etc.

Soldiers. Names of 21, and monies due to E.I. Co. for Pay. Diet, etc.

- E.I. Co. Dissensions between E.I. Co.'s servants in India, especially at Fort St. George. Sir Edward Winter and George Foxcroft. Complaints of affronts offered by Mr. Humprey Cooke, Governor of Bombay to the English factory at Surat. Complaints concerning the ship Love sent out by Mr. Andrews.
- Fort St. George, Madras: Full series of documents relating to dissension between Sir Edward Winter and George Foxcroft. (Cf. Love: Vastiges of Old Madras, etc.)
 - Dutch in India and East. Claim to have defeated English and slain Duke of York, Prince Rupert, etc.
 - Captain Henry Young's Petition for particular service done to Lord Bellamont in Persia and the East Indies.
- C.O. ⁷⁷/₄₉ (Formerly C.O. East Indies, 15), described as "1661-1695— Charters, grants, petitions, Orders in Council, Board of Trade correspondence, etc."

This is one of the original leather-bound series of General Office Books of the "Lords of Trade," *i.e.* of the Committee of Trade and Plantations of the Privy Council appointed in 1675. On a stamped panel on the front cover it is described as "Entries relating to the East India Company"; it is thus referred to in the List of Books belonging to the Committee drawn up in 1696 by William Popple, clerk of the new Board of Trade, on taking them over from John Povey.

It is described on an inner title-page as "Journal and Entries Relating to the East India Company," and contains a map on Mercator's projection of the Eastern hemisphere (Africa, the East Indies, New Holland, etc.). The loss of the Original "Map of Bombaim" given by the Portuguese Ambassador on the first "Overture of Bombaim" is referred to—pp. 128, 134.

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An Index of the chief matters contained ends the book. The documents are mostly connected with Bombay, its surrender to Great Britain and difficulties with the Portuguese.

The "Journal" was apparently begun in 1675/6 in connection with these difficulties, but the first 120 pages approximately, contain copies of earlier documents bearing on the subject:

- p. 1-46, Charter of the East India Company [3 April 1661].
 - 47-75. Charter for the Island of Bombay, 27 March 1668.
 - 76-93, Grant of St. Helena to the E.I. Co., 16 Dec. 1673.
 - 93-106, "Coppie of H.M.'s Charter to the E.I. Co." [2nd Charter], 5th October 1676.
 - 108-113. Petition of the E.I. Co. about Bombain. Title: "On the 2nd of March 1675. The Petition of the E.I. Co. setting forth severall hardships received from the Portuguese at Bombain is Read, As also a State of their case as followeth..."
 - 114-121, "Bombain described, how transferred to his Majestie, How afterwards to the Company, what Injuries suffered from the Portugeas, what Address made to the Vice Roy of Goa, what Answer returned by him, what opinion given by the President and Council thereou, And lastly the Sovereignty of the whole Haven and Islands asserted."
 - in November 1663, in Latin and English. [Also the 15th Article.]
 - 129-133, "On the 16th of Jan. 1676 [i.e. 1677] their Lordships take the business of Bombain into their further consideration, and cause the Draught of Sir Abraham Shipman's Commission and Instructions to be read as followeth"...
 - 139-153, Surrender of Bombay. Paper containing the whole Processe of the Surrender as it was made on the 27th February 1664/5. Translation of documents out of the Portuguese certified by Lucas Emans, Notary Public.
 - 158-163, Report about the Jurisdiction and Dependencies of Bombain by Sir Robert Southwell to their Lordships [including the description and expense of Maim Bandora].
 - 167-187, Representation of the Governor, etc., of the E.I. Co. to the Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations [with Inventory of Contents], dated 12 Feb. 1676 [1677]. Account of their possession of Bombay, etc. Capitulation forced on Cook by Autonio de Mello: Ports

Rights. Forts—Charge and Expense of Forts, etc., etc., 12 special points submitted, etc. The notes by J. Williamson about Bombain S.P. Dom. Chas. II. 366, p. 305, abstracted in Calendar of S.P. Dom. Charles II. 1676/77, p. 552, under the same date, are evidently based on this document.

- pp. 188-189, Petition of the Governor, etc., of the E.I. Co. to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantation. Further abuses of the Portuguese. Refusal of Portuguese to grant passes to "Jauneks" for Gombroon.
 - 190-195, Privy Council, 23 Feb. 1676/7. Report of the Lords of the Committee ... on the complaints from the E.I. Co. touching injuries received by them at Bombain from the Portuguese dated 12th February 1676/7. [Apparently not calendared in Cal. S.P. Domestic—Charles II., nor in the Acts of the Privy Council.]
 - 195-199, King's letter to Don Lodovico de Mendoça Ffurtado. Vice-Roy and Captain-General of India, in pursuance of Orders of Feb. 23rd 1676/7 (Latin). 10th March 1676/7.
 - 200-229, Alvaro Pires de Tavora's complaint against the E.I. Co.
 - 238-246, for injuries at Bombay. His case, and a series of documents, Orders, etc., relating thereto. Orders in Council referring him for Redress to the Courts of Judicature at Bombain. [Not all calendared; but Cf. Sir J. W. Williamson's Notes of Arguments before the Privy Council in the Case of Alvaro Perez [sic]. State Papers Domestic, Charles II. 366 in State Papers Domestic, Calendar Charles II 1677/78, p. 190]. His submission to the E.I. Co. and restoration to his Estate.
 - 230-234, Customs and Tolls of Bombay. Order in Council, 26 Oct. 1677. Containing—Report from the Lords of the Committee to the King in Council.
 - 234-237, King's Letter to the Prince Regent of Portugal about the Customs (Latin).
 - 246, Secretary Conventry's Letter to [Gerald Aungier] the E.I. Co.'s President of Surat on behalf of A. P. de Tavora. 13 March 1677/8.
 - N.B. There is a long interval of time between this and the following entries in a new hand, which seem to have been made after the date to which they refer, possibly *circa* 1690.
 - 247, Report of the Attorney General, R. Sawyer, to the King concerning Interlopers and the E.I. Co.'s Petition. 16 Nov. 1682.
 - 248-9, Order and Report from the Lords of Committee for Trade

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and Plantations of 13 Nov 1680 re Pepper. [Duplicate Document . . . In Margin vide Petit and Lib. Trade, Vol. 1, p. 221.]

pp. 249-256, "Minutes of the Council. 18 Sept. 1690." Permits for the ships of the E.I. Co. to sail 1690-1694.

251-252, Saltpetre, Price and Purchase from E.I. Co. 253.

256-257, Elihu Yale's (late President of Fort St. George) Petition 258-259. to come to England referred to the Committee of Trade and Plantation. Minutes of the Committee upon hearing Mr. Yale and the E.I. Co. 2nd March 1694/5.

KEY TO COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE: EAST INDIES.

(From the Official Lists and Keys.)

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15	1661-1695	C.O. 77	Charters, grants,	peti-
			tions, Orders in C Board of Trade pondence, etc.	ouncil,
16 now	1689–1744 divided into two 1689–1725	16, 17	Miscellaneous (Corres-

COLONIAL ENTRY-BOOKS.

C.O. $\frac{77}{49}$ has been referred to as an Entry-Book, and as dealing exclusively with affairs relating to the East Indies. It has under the new topographical arrangement been assigned to class C.O. 77; but other so-called Colonial Entry-Books will be found to contain, amongst other matters, documents relating to the Indies.

A large number of the Entry-Books formed part of the collection belonging to the Lords of Trade. This was passed on by them to the Board of Trade which succeeded them in 1895. Arbitrarily divided in former arrangements of records at the Public Record Office between the Colonial and the Board of Trade sections, the collection no longer exists as a series.

Most of the books of the different Councils and Committees for Foreign Plantations and Trade before 1670, have been lost, some having at one time been in private hands: the few remaining are derived from many different sources.

A Standing Committee of the Privy Council to deal with Plantation affairs, was appointed in 1660, and in the same year, and co-existent, a Council of Plantations, and a Council of Trade (Cf. C.O. 389/1).

In 1670 the Council for Foreign Plantations was established. The King's Instructions to the Commissioners (July, 1670), will be found in C.O. 389/4. In 1672, the King extended the powers and membership of the Council, instructing the Attorney General to prepare a

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Bill under the Great Seal appointing a "Standing Council . . . for all the affairs concerning the Navigation, Commerce or Trade as well Domestique as Forreigne" . . . and for all Foreign Colonies and Plantations, excepting Tangiers (See C.O. 389/4). In 1675 complete control over Plantation affairs was restored to a Standing Committee of the Privy Council commissioned as Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, but generally known as "Lords of Trade." Sir Robert Southwell was the first Secretary. The Journal and Entries of their dealings with the East India Company are contained in C.O. $\frac{77}{49}$ (q. v. ante).

In 1696 the Board of Trade was established, and a large number of the records of the Lords of Trade were handed over to it by John Povey on their behalf. The list of these drawn up by William Popple, and a brief history of the Entry-Books will be found in Mr. Higham's Colonial Entry-Books, the history of the various controlling bodies, in C. M. Andrews' British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675 (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1905).

Amongst the Colonial Entry-Books still extant to be found amongst the Colonial Records, the following may be instanced in addition to C.O. $\frac{77}{49}$.

C.O. $\frac{324}{3}$. A small leather-bound note book, formerly listed as a *Colonial Entry Book*, *Plantations*, *General*, 98. It bears the stamp of the Colonial Office, and was at one time No. 77, Plantations. This was Sir Joseph Williamson's private note book, when Secretary of State. *Colonial Calendar*, 1675–6, pp. 154–163, contains a full resumé. We here extract from the original, the entries relating to India, in abstract only.

The book is begun from both ends, pages 1-12 being blank except for a few miscellaneous notes. A new paging in pencil then begins.

p. 3, contains an incomplete List of Contents.
65, Bombaim.
2 [? March] 1675/6.
E. Indies Pet [ition].

Ye Port and Island of Bombaim Sovereignty and Property in this by ye King's Grants they complain . . .

p. 66, Notes relating to "Bombaim" and Portuguese (2 pages).

67, Caranjah and Tanna. "N.B. Ye opposite shores to Tanna and Caranjah are in [the hands?] of ye R[aos] princes, not ye Portuguese." Suggestion that the King should propose to the Portuguese to yield the other islands, etc., "which would oblidge ye Portuguese to quit those dominions."

At the opposite end of the Book is written: Plantacoñs—For. Dominions. 30 pp. of notes + 1 page of notes on p. 45.

C.O. 389 (formerly C.O. East Indies, Vol. 14, 1660-64, at one time "P. 11, T. 174"). This is the only surviving entry-book of the Council for Trade of 1660. The titlepage inside the leather cover indicates its provenance: "Att his Majesties Councel for Trade: att Mercers Hall London: 1660."

A copy of the Patent for a Councell of Trade 7 Nov. 12 Chas. II. [i.e. 1660] is at the beginning of the Book before the paging begins. (See Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. II., Nov. 7, 1660.)

f. 8, East India Company's Petition to the King (1660) relating to Polo-Roone, the founding of a factory there by King James's consent, "untill by the violent intrusion of the Netherlands East India Company the Petitioners were totally deprived thereof." . . . Resolve "by the Permission of God and your Majestie to possess and plant the said Island of Polo-Roone with all possible speed" . . .

Petition to his Majesty "to graunt his Majesty's Royall Commission under your Greate Seale impowering them to possess and plant the said Island for the use of their said Company, and to substitute and commission thereunto such persons as from time to time shall be found needful by your Petitioners both as to military and civill power for the performance of so hopefull a designe"... (Copy 1½ pp. in all), followed by Council of Trade Minute 27 Nov. 1660. Resolution of Council of Trade on Petition recommending that the matter contained in it be granted.

f. 10, "Exportation of Gold and Silver in forreigne Coine and Bullion. The Opinion and humble advice of His Majesty's

Councell for Trade" (14 pp.). Cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. 12 Dec. 1660.

- f. II-I3, "Reasons and Arguments for the free exportation of Gold and Silver in forreigne Coine and Bullion.' Four reasons given, the fourth makes particular reference to the East Indies (6 pp.).
- f. 23,

 E.I. Co.'s Petition to the Councell for Trade. (Copy.)

 "Freedom of Trade to be granted to the E.I. Co. at the Spanish plantations on the Manillas, Phillipines and Molucco Islands in East India." Petition of Councell to recommend to His Majesty that "in the Articles now to be made with the Spanish Embassador it may be provided that this Company may have like freedom of Trade to all ye said Spanish plantations and factories in East India, as to any port or place of the said King his Dominions in Europe (I p.).
- f. 24-26, E.I. Co.'s Petition. History of Spice Trade. Narrative of the "Rise and Proffitts, impediments and losses of the East India trade and great damages and wrongs from the Dutch, and Petition that before the present Treaty of Alliance with the Embassador of the United Provinces be concluded your Petitioners may have their demands of damage done them by the Netherlands East India Company adjusted and fully satisfied" (7 requests). 1660/1 (5½ pp.). The original of this is in East Indies Vol. 5, 3 Jan. 1660/1.
- f. 27-29. Report of the Councell of Trade to the King on the above Petition, with Reasons and answers for advice given for Protection of the E.I. Co.'s trade (5½ pp).
- f. 75-76, "Instructions for y° Councill of Trade." (12 numbered Paragraphs, 3½ pp.) A duplicate is calendared [? Cal. S.P. Dom.] 1660, Nov. 7.

C.O. 389/4 (formerly C.E.B. 93). It is labelled on cover: "Colonial Entry Book—Plantations General 1663–1664"; but it comprises three Letter-Books now bound in one, removed from *Trade Papers*, Nos. 125, 127, 128.

The former T.P. 126 being the Out-letter book of Secretary Arlington 1662-1665; and T.P. 127, that for the year 1670-1674.

The former B.T. Trade Papers 128, is the Out-letter book of Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson for 1674–1678.

Each of these Letter Books had its independent

paging marked in ink, but they are now re-numbered in pencil, No. 126 being continuously paged; No. 127, after an interval of blank pages, begins a new numbering of leaves, (pages 42 and 43 being wrongly bound between 57 and 58), and the new paging of "No. 128" is continuous with that of "No. 127." There is no table of contents.

Former T.P. No. 126. "Bombaim affairs therein": pp. 40-41, To Sir Abraham Shipman at Angediva. 26 Nov. 1663.

"Season of year not permitting to His Majesty to send succour he proposeth to do so in due time . . . His Majesty's support in making his complaints in ye Court of Portugal" . . . with enclosure of "a new power from His Majesty for ye taking possession of ye same place and Island" . . . (2 pp.).

43, To Sir George Oxenden, President of the E.I. Co. at Surat. Secretary's letter recommending good offices to Sir Abraham Shipman. (Enclosing one to Sir Abraham Shipman) (1 p.).

44, King's letter to Sir George Oxenden to same effect. 26 Nov. 1663. (1 p.).

To Mr. Gary, Merchant of Goa. 26 Nov. 1663.

Secretary's letter transmitting His Majesty's recommendation of all good services to Sir Abraham Shipman (1 p.).

49-50, To Sir Abraham Shipman. 14 March 1663/4.

Recapitulating letter of 26 Nov... with addition suggesting that with the succour received he may "make a shift to subsist well enough till upon a new representation of your condition His Majesty can take new resolutions"... (nearly 2 pp.).

51, Postscript to the above, enclosing Bill of Exchange for 14,550 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$...

52-54, Alderman Blackwell's Bill for 14,550 pieces of \$\frac{s}{s}\$ and letters of advice to Sir G. Oxenden relating thereto. March 12 and 14, 1663/4.

55, To Sir G. Willoughby.

Permission to return 1663/4.

Former Trade Papers No. 127:-

pp. 1-2, King's Letter to the "Pengram Sultan of Jambee" concerning the trade of "Our East India Company unto whom we have solely committed... the management of the trade of Our Kingdom to all the parts of the East Indies, and Correspondence with all the princes there"...

Refers to 1,000 parcels of pepper taken from the E.I. Co.

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and asks for orders, and care that no other injury shall in future be done to them. 31 Jan. [22nd] 1670.

pp. 3-5, King's Instructions to Commissioners for Foreign Plantations. [July 1670]... "Coppies of all previous Commissions and Instructions to Government, etc., to be procured, transcribed and entered in a book provided for the purpose, etc."

Nine numbered "Heads," possibly more given or intended, as there is no date or signature to the document (5 pp.),

as there is no date or signature to the document (5 pp.), followed by several blank pages.

70-74, King's Letter. Warrant to Attorney General to prepare Bill "to pass the Royall Signature and Great Seale in these words . . [appointing Standing Council] for all affaires concerning the Navigation Commerce or Trade as well Domestique as Forraigne of these our Kingdomes and our said Forraigne Colonies and Plantations respectively . . . or which may at any time hereafter come into our hands . . . (Tangier onely exceted) and whether held immediately or by any other by vertue of Charters, etc. . . ."

With full powers to the said Council. Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury to be President, Thomas Lord Culpeper Vice President; John Evelyn a member. (9½ pp.). 103 to 108 blank.

Former Trade Paper No. 128, 1674-1678: begins with new continuous paging on p. 109.

- pp. 127, 129, 136, 137-8, 141, Secretary Sir J. Williamson's repeated requests to ambassadors in Germany and envoys in the Mediterranean to send news and specified information relating to their respective countries and neighbouring lands.
 - Refers to the letter sent to the E. I. Co. giving an account of the murder of their Agent White, Mr. Willoughby and Mr. North. "Hopes that impartiall justice will be done upon the Authors thereof," and requests protection for the present Agent Robert Parker. Thanks for a present of pepper. A return of 150 "Barills of Powder" being sent (2 pp.).

158-161, Blank.

- 161-173, Transferred from America and West Indies: Once Plantations Gen. No. 488, relate only to America, West Indies and Tangiers.
- CO. 389/6 (former C.E.B. 95). This, formerly Board of Trade, Trade Papers 129, was the Out-Letter Book of

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IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

Secretaries Arlington and Coventry, 1674-80. It contains nothing relating to the East Indies.

STATE PAPERS: DOMESTIC.

The Calendar of State Papers—East Indies, etc., containing documents culled from various classes and sources, ends with the year 1634.

The State Papers-Domestic, contain the records of the Home Administration, and scattered amongst them are many relating to the East India Company. The Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, No. XI, III (1914), forms the "List of volumes of State Papers relating to Great Britain and Ireland including the Records of the Home Office 1782-1837, preserved in the Public Record Office," and supersedes List No. III., published in 1894. The new list now includes the series of Letters and Papers. Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII., also the Records of the Home Office, and the Signet Office to the year 1837 inclusive. In the new arrangement of papers, the designation of many described previously as Home Office's Papers has been corrected, although this has entailed the "scrapping" of printed references in the Calendars of S.P. Dom. for the reign of William and Mary.

In addition to the Records of each reign, loose papers, letters and drafts, grouped under the name of the sovereign, there are large classes arranged under subjects or according to the nature of the Records, such as Docquets, Naval, etc., and Various. The large and important series of *Entry Books* comprises several groups. The large "Unclassified" group begins in Vol. I (1661–62), with the letters both Domestic and Foreign, of Secretary Sir E. Nicholas, whose letters are also contained in No. 10.

The same "Unclassified" group contains King's Letters, and also Petitions. No. 39 (1672-73) contains Secretary's Letters, and documents relating to the War

with Holland. A large number relate to Warrants and Passes.

The Criminal Entry-Books (Correspondence and Warrants) contain no records within the period with which we deal. The same may be noted of the Treasury Accounts.

The Domestic Entry-Books (Secretaries' Letter Books) now form from 1685–1782 a consecutive series embodying the two concurrent series of Letter Books which belonged to the two Secretaries of State who, up to the latter date, administered Home Affairs. From 1661 to 1685 their Letter Books will be found in the Unclassified Series, Nos. 1, 10, 17, 39, 43, 56, 62, 64, 68.

King's Letters were only classed as a special series after 1688. Early Royal letters must be sought in the General Series. Soon after the Restoration we find Entry Books of King's Letters (one "Secret") though not in unbroken sequence. State Papers, Domestic—Entry Books. Nos. 3, 10, 24, 31, 42 (Unclassified) contain Royal letters for the period 1661–1679, and Nos. 162 and 163 the Letter Book for the years 1689–1676.

Drafts or Copies of King's letters will also be found in State Papers, Foreign, e.g., in S.P. For. Holland, 170. That of King Charles II. to the States General rethe Ships Bonaventure and Bon Esperance,—others in the C.O. Records.

Royal letters from foreign princes are included until 1689 in the General Correspondence of State Papers, Foreign.

Petitions "previously bound in alphabetical orders in 3 separate series, amounting together to 35 volumes," were from the year 1671 incorporated in the Domestic Series. Entry-Books of Petitions are listed under State Papers Dom. Chas. I. Nos. 323, 403 (1636–40); State Papers Dom. Entry-Books, Nos. 13, 18, 33, 37, 46, 55, 61, 71 (1666–88); and Nos. 235–238 (1688–1702). A book of Petitions and Miscellanea (Committee of Trade), S.P. Dom. Jas. II., No. 5.

Navy Board papers after 1673 have been placed amongst the Admiralty Records.

The printed Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, are nearly complete from the reign of Edward VI. (1547), to 1703. The year 1688, that of the Revolution, was originally intended to be the limit to the work. The still uncalendared intervals comprise the years 1683 to 1689, and from 1697 (Will. III.) to 1702. The word "Domestic" was chosen to designate the papers in the State Paper Office forming the correspondence of Home Affairs: the word "Calendar" was intended to express their chronological arrangement. The methods followed, however, are not uniform throughout. The principle adopted in the earlier volumes was "that of indicating rather than describing the contents of the papers," so that abstracts are short and often incomplete. In the preparation of the volume for 1591-94 of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it had already been found advisable to give more full descriptions.

For the reign of Charles I., the mass of papers was very considerable, including as they did, many of a private character. In the first volume for this reign, the references to the East Indies (already frequent from the last years of Elizabeth) become fairly numerous.

The Papers of the Interregnum required special treatment. The first volume of Calendars of the regular series for this period deals principally with the records of the Council of State. Although the portions of the Order Books relating to colonial affairs have been omitted, we find references to a special "Committee on the East India business," and in it and the subsequent volumes the East India Company, its trade, its ships, the purchase from it of saltpetre for the manufacture of gunpowder, a proposed loan, etc., are mentioned.

The Papers relating to the reign of Charles II. (now calendared on the more extended plan) were immensely increased in bulk by the incorporation, with the Domestic

Series, of whole series of documents either recently transferred to the State Paper Office, or re-arranged. These classes included undated Papers, Petitions, Legal, Parliamentary and other Miscellanea, Board of Trade papers, Papers relating to the Navy, Papers transferred from the Foreign Series, etc. A very large number of entries from bound volumes, selected as "domestic," were embodied and placed in their chronological positions (amongst them many from the Papers of the Levant Company).

With the volume for the year 1671, it was decided to calendar the whole contents of the *Entry-Books*, thus including also those entries which relate to Foreign and Colonial affairs. Mention is made not only of the East India Company, but of the Dutch and French East India Companies and their ships.

From June 1673 Navy Board papers, previously classed as Domestic papers, were restored to the Admiralty records.

The Calendars and Lists and Indexes should themselves be consulted, not only for further details, but for the exact references to particular volumes. The following notes serve as suggestions only.

State Papers: Domestic-Interregnum.

The history of the colonies during this period still requires investigation. No copy of Cromwell's charter to the East India Company is known to exist. It was probably deliberately destroyed, thus sharing the fate of the original Parliamentary records of the Interregnum. Of the Acts and Ordinances from 1649–1660, the Record Office possesses only printed or manuscript copies. The MSS. Index of State Papers, Miscellaneous, in the Search Room, contains much additional matter. S.P. Dom., Supplementry, 101, 103 refer to prizes in the Admiralty Court, etc.

State Papers: Domestic—Charles II.

1665-66. The Papers and Entry-Books contain many documents relating to the sale of the Dutch East India

prize ships and advances of money by the East India Company to the King on the prize goods.

1665. S.P. Dom. Chas. II. 449/77. Contains the draft contract between the E.I. Co. and the Navy Commissioners (1682) for the use of two ships to bring home from Angediva the survivors of the King's forces.

1670. S.P. Dom. Chas. II. 273/156. Mentions a report of the French King's resolve to trade to the East Indies.

1674. S.P. Dom., Precedents I. f. 7. Provides for the annulment of Letters Patent of 1643 granted to the inhabitants of Cornwall which might hazard the loss of English East Indian trade, the latter "being carried on by forts and factories" required special provision. (Cf. Calendar S.P. Dom. Chas II. 1673-75, p. 291.)

1675. S.P. Dom. Entry-Book 43, p. 16. Two articles given in by the Dutch ambassador as the utmost he can yield in the matter of trade in the East Indies.

1677-78. S.P. Dom. Chas. II. 396/171. Notes by Sir J. Williamson about the origin and history of the East

India Company.

of which is in progress of printing) contain inter alia much interesting information as to the E.I. Co.'s affairs derived not only from the Entry-Books, but from two series of News Letters to Newcastle correspondents, from the Papers of Admiralty. Greenwich Hospital, 2, e.g., great fear for safety of East India ships which recently sailed. Value of drugs, pepper and silk at E.I. Co.'s sale. Arrival and reception of the King of Bantam's embassy. French King's declaration concerning East India trade. King Charles's promise of support to the E.I. Co. Difference between the "Turkey Company," and the E.I. Co. and H.M.'s attitude towards a new charter.

A large number of Sir Joseph Williamson's Note-Books and his Journals for 1667 to March 1669 are amongst the Domestic Papers of this reign. S.P. Dom. Chas. II. 396,

No. 171—contains notes by Sir J. Williamson about the origin and history of the E.I. Co.

State Papers Dom. Chas. II. Nos. 420-450 are still uncalendared. A large number of these are undated.

Amongst the parchments and pamphlets of Case F (1660-77) is a list of goods from India containing many strange designations.

State Papers: Domestic-Jas. II.

Nos. 1, 3, 4 (1685–88). Contain Letters and Papers.
No. 5. Petitions and Miscellanea (Committee of Trade).

State Papers: Domestic-William and Mary.

There are two separate Collections for this period—the one known as King William's Chest, from their origin in his private cabinet, the second as S.P. Dom. William and Mary. The papers of the former collection begin in 1670 and continue to 1698 and later; the letters and Papers of the second cover the period 1689—1702.

It is essential to consult the new List and Index and the Key to the references of this period, many of the latter having been altered since the Calendars of the William and Mary series were begun.

The Calendar of State Papers—William and Mary, and that of William III. have now reached the year 1697—the volume for which is in progress. The letters preserved in King William's Chest are extremely important as regards foreign affairs in general, and those also of the Earl of Portland (written in French, whilst on a mission to Holland); but their contents being outside the scope of the Domestic Calendars, they are barely touched upon therein.

S.P. Dom.—King William's Chest 14, No. 42 contains an important Report by Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper to the King, on the Charter and Reconstruction of the E.I. Co., 12 Sept. 1693. (Cal. S.P. Dom., William and Mary 1693, 323-324.)

- S.P. Dom., William and Mary 1, No. 56. Proceedings in the House of Commons, and reference to a Committee of the House, of a Petition of Charles Price and others respecting the seizure of their ship Andaluzia, first in India, and again in England, by the East India Company; also of one from John and Thomas Temple for the sinking of their ship, the Bristol. The said Committee to consider the whole affairs of the E.I. Co.
- S.P. Dom., William and Mary 2, No. 89. A printed abstract of the case of Samuel White against the oppressions of the E.I. Co.
- S.P. Dom., William and Mary 7 and 8 for the year 1697 and S.P. Dom., Entry-Book 275, contain many references to the dangers of trade with the East owing to the war with France; the conveying of ships; the public transports of joy on the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick and the hope of "very brisk trade" on the cessation of hostilities at sea. Arrival of a fleet with a cargo of East India goods worth 6,000,000 pieces of eight; and arrival of 15 Dutch East Indiamen.
- S.P. Dom., Entry-Book 275, p. 315. Petition of E.I. Co. against pirates in India and their encouragement by the Governor of New York. Proceedings of the Lords Justices, thereon, 5 Oct. 1697.

STATE PAPERS: FOREIGN.

The State Papers relating to Foreign Affairs at the Public Record Office up to the year 1577 are all arranged in a single chronological series. From the year 1578 (date of the foundation of the State Paper Office by Queen Elizabeth) they are classified separately under countries, the general correspondence from English ambassadors and agents abroad being placed, where possible, with the papers of their place of origin.

These records are un-calendared from 1585 to 1702.

Public Record Office List and Indexes, Vol. XIX (1904)

forms the List of State Papers, Foreign, preserved in the Public Record Office.

The chief classes included are:

Foreign Entry-Books, containing copies or extracts of Out-Letters.

Foreign Ministers in England. This series only begins in 1689, the letters are Memorials from foreign envoys previous to that date being included in the General Correspondence.

News Letters, i.e., "unsigned despatches, copies of foreign gazettes and news-sheets" sent by agents abroad, classed under place of origin.

The news contained in them is by no means restricted to the country whence they are sent. Those from Paris and the Hague are of particular interest for our purpose. Sir J. Williamson was not only an industrious collector of foreign news, but in 1674-5, he issued repeated instructions to the Mediterranean agents to forward news, etc. of their respective countries and neighbouring ones, specifying the information required.

Royal Letters. Up to the year 1688 drafts of King's letters to foreign rulers, as well as the letters of foreign princes, will be found in the General Correspondence of State Papers: Foreign, under their respective countries. From 1689 the separate collections classed as Royal Letters include little beyond an exchange of courtesies.

Treaty Papers and Treaties form two important classes, supplemented by the Archives of British Legations abroad. Treaty correspondence with Secretaries of State is comprised in the General series, not in these classes.

The State Papers: Foreign relating to Portugal, Spain, France and Holland all need to be consulted for various periods. Nor should it be forgotten that Denmark had her share in early colonisation, and that Bergen in Norway was one of the havens of refuge of the E.I. Co.'s ships.

State Papers Foreign: France.

The history of early French expeditions to the Indies is authoritatively traced in Charles de la Roncière's Histoire de la Marine française. Volume IV. discusses the colonial programme of Henri IV. and the attempts to carry it out, down to the year 1622. References are given to the Calendars of State Papers, Colonial and Domestic, for the periods treated, but the original documents of the Public Record Office do not appear to have been examined. No work of equal authority for the early French attempts in Eastern colonization exists in English.

Colbert's colonial policy, the foundation of the French East India Company in 1664, and the first settlement in Pondicherry are dealt with in Vol. V. The authorities quoted therein are almost exclusively French and foreign; but the records of the Public Record Office also contain evidence of Louis XIV.'s determination to have a share in the East Indian Trade.

The Public Record Office possesses a series of copies (sent to England by Chauran) of the letters which Abraham van Wicquefort wrote from Holland to Paris, 1661–2. Louis XIV acted as Mediator between England and Holland in the treaty negotiations of 1665/6, and considerable light is thrown on English-Dutch relations by the letters of Van Beuningen, the Dutch envoy in Paris.

The records from 1688 to 1697 show traces of the difficulties encountered by Indian trade through war with France

State Papers Foreign: Holland.

Are of supreme interest for this period, and the material is very extensive. The despatches of the English envoys at The Hague are of great importance, in particular those of Sir George Downing, appointed Resident at the Hague by Cromwell, re-appointed at the Restoration, and after the Dutch war sent again as ambassador from 1671 to 1672.

His correspondence is, unfortunately, scattered, his

letters to Clarendon and Secretary Nicholas being chiefly in the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries. A few of his letters to Nicholas for the year 1662 are to be found at the Public Record Office; those to Arlington from 1663-66 are nearly complete in the S.P. Foreign: Holland Correspondence. Verbatim extracts are printed in Dr. Nicolaas Japikse's De Verwikkelingen tusschen de Rupublick en Engeland van 1660-65 (Leiden, Thesis. 1900), which deals with differences between the Dutch and English from 1660-65, leading up to the second Dutch war.

For the years 1661-65 the Public Record Office also contains a long series of letter-reports from Holland to the English Government from their Dutch correspondent Van Ruiven, under the *nom de plume* of Bacquoy.

State Papers Foreign: Holland, Vols. 60–220 contain the Letters and Papers for the years 1600–1699. Undated documents for the years 1660–1685 are under No. 219. Nos. 221–223 (1689–97) contain the correspondence of Matthew Prior, Dr. W. Aglionby, Lord Dursley, Earl of Athlone, Lord Villiers, Abraham Kirk and Sir Joseph Williamson.

The following documents serve to illustrate the contents of this class:

S.P. For. Holland, Vol. 170 (1664):-

- p. 3, Charles Gringand to J. Williamson. I April 1664 (old style). Though Sir George Downing requested the States-General to give satisfaction as to the list of damages and other English pretensions, they left town without doing anything.
 - 6-7, Sir George Downing. I April 1664. His talk with De Witt re list of damages, the 15th Article of late Treaty: business of the Hopewell, Leopard, Charles and James . . . (4 pp.)
 - 14. Spanish Ambassador (Gamaria), 8 April 1664. Promise of Spanish King's joint aid with the States against Mediterranean pirates.
 - 16, 18, 20, 22, Four copies of French Report of Occurrences.

 14 and 15 April 1664, between Sir George Downing and Duke of Holstein. A question of precedence.
 - 31, 52, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. His own account of the above.

- pp. 35-37, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 8 April 1664. Inter alia, Dutch nettled at the House of Commons discussion concerning question of obstructing Dutch trade . . . f. 37, East Indies affairs discussed with De Witt. (5½ pp.)
 - 54-57, Sir G. Downing to the same. 15 April 1664. f. 55, Business of the Treaty for the East India and African trade. Towns of Amsterdam. Rotterdam and Horne deputed by the States of Holland to deal therewith.
 - 58, Charles Gringand to J. Williamson. 15 April 1664. "Here is still great talk of a warre . . ."
 - 60, R. Duke (The Hague) to J. Williamson. 15 April 1664...
 "East India Actions are fallen 28 p cent att Amsterdam..."
 (1 p.)
 - 76-78, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 22 April 1664. Again the question of precedence with the Duke of Holstein's Coach, the Courtesies due to Ambassadors, Residents, etc.
 - 81, R. [? C.] Duke to J. Williamson. 22 April 1660. "The King of France has brought 4 ships at Amsterdam . . . It is said also that he is sending a fleet of saile to Magadascar to settle a colony there, it being a fitt place for him to pirate in, it being a place going to and from the East Indies." (I p.)
 - 92-93. Sir G. Downing. 29 April 1664. *Inter alia* p. 93 " a private conference with 2 or 3 of the principall of them whereby to trye how neere we can come to understand each other both as to the satisfaction for what is past and a reglement for the future in the East Indies and upon the Coast of Africa."
 - 96, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 29 April 1664. "East India Actions are fallen this week to 409 so that you see what opinion ye people here have of a warre with England." (2 pp.)
 - 99, R. Duke to J. Williamson. 29 April 1664. East India affairs at Hague, Amsterdam, etc.
 - 111-116, Sir George Downing to Sir H. Bennet (with enclosures).
 6 May 1664. States of Holland satisfied with H.M.'s answer to Parliament. Discussion of damages, etc. with De Witt. List of damages to be ready in a few days. Disagreement as to Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure.
 - 117, R. Duke to J. Williamson 6 May 1664. Dutch satisfaction. List of damages. (1 p.)
 - 119, Memorial of Sir G. Downing to States-General of United Provinces, 7 May 1664, demanding speedy justice and reparation for injuries . . . Particularly deals with East India Company,

- and precautions for the protection of English trade in future. (2.pp.)
- pp. 122-127, "Mons. Bacquoy," 10 May 1664. General Dutch news. Indignation of States-General at English demands. (11 pp.) Endorsed "Matters prefatory to ye warre with England."
 - 130-132, Mons. Bacquoy. 12 May 1664 and 13 May, containing Extracts of Resolutions of the States-General.
 - 144, C. Gringand to J. Williamson. 13 May 1664. General news.
 - 145, R. Duke to J. Williamson. 13 May 1664. "East India business. The States-General appointed 24 Commissioners to consider ye business of *Bona Esperanza*, etc. in particular."
 - 148, Translated "Extract out of ye Register of the Resolutions of the H. M. the States-General" 13 May 1664. Deliberation "to desire ye Lords of Holland to give order in their Province that the English may have expedition of Justice."

 (1/2 p.)
 - 149, Sir George Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 13 May 1664. Dissatisfaction in the provinces of Low Countries other than Holland "Why then," say they "should we engage ourselves to spend our monies to maintain ye insolences and violences of the East India Company . . ."
 - 152-155, Mr. Bacquoy. 17 May 1664. Reports news concerning English and Dutch.
 - Downing's conferences with the Deputies of the States General on the 25th of same month, re ships Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure. (p. 159-)
 - 163-165, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 20 May 1664.
 Reports meeting with Deputies of States-General re ships Bona
 Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure, and the meaning of the
 words "litem inceptam prosequi" in the 15th Article of the
 late Treaty; also a subsequent conference. Full discussion.
 An important document. (4½ pp.)
 - 167, Notes [? of Sir J. Williamson].
 - 168-172, Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet, 20 May 1664. Further report. Poleroon also mentioned.
 - 170, (Inserted in the above) Chas. Gringand, 20 May 1664.
 Reports Sir G. Downing's meeting and the Resolutions of the
 States-General: also concerning the words "litem inceptam
 prosequi."
 - 173, Translated "Extract of Resolutions of H.M. Lords States-General of the United Provinces" 27 May 1664. Lists of

damages caused to Dutch and English to be exchanged. No other pretensions to be produced by either side after the exchange of lists.

- pp. 179-186, Mr. Bacquoy. Report 25 May 1664, re Dutch E.I. Co.. with copies of their letters to the States General and one of Secretary Cuneus. (Important.)
 - 187-188, States-General to King Charles II., 4 June 1664, about the ships Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure (4 pp.).
 - 196, Mr. Bacquoy. 31 May 1664. Concerning the ships Bonaventure and the Esperanza. (6 pp.)
 - 205 to end, King's letter to States-General, re ships Henry Bonaventure and Bona Esperanza, May 1664. Draft.
- S.P. Foreign—Holland, Vol. 178 (1665/6). Of the numerous papers in Dutch, the important ones in relation to East Indian affairs are the despatches from Paris of Van Beuningen, relating to treaty negotiations and the English and Dutch rival claims for reparations, Poleroon, etc. and the conditions proposed by France as Mediator.
- S.P. Foreign—Holland, Vol. 179 (1666/7). Out of 84 papers in Dutch, only 7 or 8 relate to East Indian affairs: but as before, Van Beuningen's are important.

The General correspondence of each country forms a distinct class under its own name, but these classes do not embrace the whole of the records relating to the country.

The Foreign Entry-Books constitute a very important series of 271 volumes comprising Secretary's Letter Books, King's Letters, Précis Books, etc.

Vols. 17-19 include France (1669-89) Secretary's Letter Books;

Vols. 60-70, Holland (1672-1703), Vol. 65 (1674) containing the Journal of the Marine Treaty with Holland.

Vols 164-200 of the Miscellaneous section include from 1603-1700 King's and Secretaries' Letter-Books dealing with more than one country, and including France, Holland, Denmark, Spain and Portugal. Vols. 176-180 are the Journal of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, 1667-78.

Vol. 239, contains Instructions to Ambassadors, 1676-79.

S.P. Foreign: Foreign Ministers in England as a separate class beginning in 1689, contain little relating to our period. Volumes I, Denmark (1684-1780); 37,

Portugal (1684–1710) and 60, Sweden (1683–1709) have papers before that date. All earlier correspondence is embodied in the General Series.

Foreign Ministers, 21, Holland (1689–1712) contains nothing relating to the East Indies within the period. The papers before 1700 are connected with Admiralty appeals and seizures of ships not engaged in Eastern trade.

S.P. Foreign: News Letters. As we are reminded by a note in the List, "News-letters are classified as far as possible according to their place of origin, but often contain despatches from other quarters."

Vols. 1-7, comprise Flanders, 1572-1711;

Vols. 9-23, France, 1580 1702;

Vols. 70-86, Italy, three series from Genoa, Rome and Venice covering the whole 17th century. Nos. 87-89 comprise Italian gazettes, 1664 to 1684.

Vols. 90-92, Spain and Portugal, 1580 1731;

Vols. 95 98, miscellaneous advices.

Vols. 45-63 contain a long series for Holland from 1584 to 1706, and No. 122 Copies and Despatches sent by Dutch agents abroad to The Hague, 1662-68.

Royal Letters as a distinct class have already been referred to. In some instances entries before the dividing year 1689 will be found here.

State Papers Foreign-Treaty Papers.

Vols. 36-50 concern Holland 1593-1623-1684-1716;

Vols. 8-15 relate to 17th century France;

Vols 57-58 to Portugal, from about 1640 to 1777;

Vols. 64-66 to Spain, from 1597-1719;

Amongst the Treaty Papers—Miscellaneous, we may mention those relating to Breda, Vol. 73 (1667); Cologne, 75 and 76 (1673). See also for the Cologne Treaty Archives 219-238, and State Papers Foreign, Germany (States) No. 60, which includes negotiations at Cologne, 1673-74. The Grand Alliance (Holland, Empire and England) 1689-1702, in Vol. 104. for Ryswick, (1697), see Archives, 257.

S.P. Foreign—Treaties. Reference should be made to List and Indexes XIX. for the details of Treaties with Denmark, France, Portugal and other countries.

Of the long series of treaties with Holland the following are amongst the most important: No. 300 (1654) Treaty of Peace and Alliance between the Commonwealth of England and the States-General; 306 (1668) Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between Great Britain and the States-General; 313 (1674) Marine treaty between Great Britain and the States-General; 315 (1675) Articles between Great Britain and the States-General for preventing disputes between the British and Dutch East India Companies, and Ratification; 316 (1675), Declaration as to 9th Article of late Treaty. 317 (1677) Treaty between Great Britian and the States-General: 325 (1689) Naval Agreement, and 328 (1689) treaty between the same powers for a renewal of former treaties, and 329 (1689) respecting naval captures.

Of treaties with Portugal that under No. 386 (1656) is the ratification of the Treaty with the Commonwealth of 1654.

No. 545 (Marriages) 1661, contains the ratification by Portugal of the Treaty of Marriage between Charles II. and the Infanta with the secret article for the surrender of Bombay.

Of treaties with Spain, Nos. 465 (1630), 466 (1667) may be instanced.

Copies and extracts of treaties (1639–1709) will be found under F.O. 95: Miscellaneous—Treaty Papers (Cf. Foreign Office Records, List 41).

State Papers Foreign-Archives (of British Legations).

Vols. 7-18 (1631-1641) contain Gerbier's Entry Books.

Vol. 26 France (1698) contains the Earl of Portland's *Journal*.

The series from Holland is again of great interest:

Vols. 92 and 93 (Holland) 1607-10 contain Sir Ralph Winwood's Entry Books;

Vols. 94, 95, 96 (1616-18) Sir Dudley Carleton's Entry Book and Note Book;

Vol. 97 (1624-25), the Earl of Oxford's;

Vol. 98 (1653), Negotiations with the Dutch Deputies;

Vol. 99 (1654), Proceedings at the treaty negotiations between the English and Dutch Commissioners;

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- Vol. 100 (1667-71), Papers relating to the Triple Alliance, and 101 (1672) the Entry Book of Lord Arlington and the Duke of Buckingham.
- Vols. 107-218 contain the important series of documents of the Levant Company from 1580, including the Charters from Jas. I. and Chas. II.
- Vols. 209-257 include the Treaty Papers of Sir J. Williamson's Collection (219-232 relating to the Cologne Treaty), and that of Sir Leoline Jenkins (233-238 Cologne, 239-256, Nimeguen); 257 (1697) Sir J. Williamson's Journal relating to the Treaty of Ryswick.

For the Letters and Papers of Mr. Davaux, 1672-99, see F.O. 95, Nos. 543-77.

State Papers Foreign Archives. Vol. 219. One of Sir Joseph Williamson's special Entry Books, relates specially to East Indian Affairs. Inside the cover in his own handwriting is the following note: "England and Holland. The Two E. Indy Companys. Copys of Papers put into my hands and otherwise layed by me together in order to ye Treaty at Cologne. 1673. J.W." This volume apparently contains arranged in chronological order, all the Petitions, Correspondence, etc. relating to the disputes between the two Companies, English and Dutch, from 3 April 1668 to Oct. or Nov. 1669. The "Discussions of the Various Articles" are annotated. Table of contents at end of volume.

- pp. 1-3, E.I. Co.'s Petition to the King touching "things impracticable and doubtful in ye Treaty Marine," 3 April 1668. "Order of H.M. in Counsel on said Petition" (same date).
 - 3-7, "Memorial presented to ye Lords of ye Councell, for Trade and reported to His Majesty in Councill, April 10th 1668." Impracticability of 8th Article especially in India "where there is no Admiralty in being, nor any Marine Officers..."

 (4½ pp.)
 - 90-91, "Memorial delivered to Lord Arlington, and Mr. Secretary Trevor, 2d July 1669, with the Articles drawn up together as ye Companie's final proposals . . ."

91-97. The Final Articles delivered with the foregoing Memorial.

(5½ pp.)

The volume includes letters from Van Beuningen and Sir

W. Temple: Two Memorials concerning Macassar, 10th and 13th May 1669; and Dutch Articles transmitted by Sir W. Temple.

The Transcripts of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the Foreign Archives in Venice, etc., at the Record Office, and the calendars of similar papers should also be consulted. The Calendar for the collections in Venice and the libraries of north Italy has reached the year 1636. The last volume contains several references to the affairs of the English and Dutch Companies.

The List of Foreign Office Records to 1837 (P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, XLI., 1914), is a continuation of the List of State Papers, Foreign, No. XIX, 1904. The Class Foreign Office, Miscellaneous, i.e., F.O. 95, includes some collections dating from the seventeenth century, to which reference has already been made under Treaty Papers.

STATE PAPERS: MISCELLANEOUS.

(Domestic and Foreign.)

This large supplementary collection (a manuscript list of which is on the shelves of the Literary Search Room) includes many documents of great interest in bundles still uncalendared, as well as bound volumes. They include a large number of note-books and papers from Sir. J. Williamson's Collection, and Admiralty and Admiralty Court Papers for the Interregnum and the reign of Chas. II.

S.P. Miscellaneous, Nos. 97, 98 and 243 form an important collection of intercepted Dutch papers sent from Batavia in 1672. The contents of the three large bundles (now scattered between the three) fall into two related series. By far the largest consists of full legal documents and correspondence, and the appeal to the "Bewinthebbers" of the Dutch E.I. Co. by Daniel Wichselhuijssen, Ordinary Councillor of Justice, in his prolonged litigation with Pieter Anthonis Overtwater,

President of the Dutch E.I. Co. in Batavia, and Christian Poleman, whom he accused of private trade.

The legal documents (some of which are in duplicate) are dated from 1667-72, and comprise amongst the evidence, letters or interrogatories of Daniel Six, Monsieur Bogaart, etc.

In parcel "No. 13" of Bundle 243, is a very long report signed Daniel Wichselhuijssen, to the Dutch E.I. Co. in Holland concerning "Matters to the Company's advantage in the East Indies": 192 points annotated in the margin and several special enclosures, labelled from Liber A. to Liber H. Liber E. relates to private trade. "Pallia-cut, Bengal, Surat" are included. Liber H. includes "Proof that India cannot be kept except by a chartered company," and refers to the English and French.

Bundle 243 also includes the original despatches addressed by the President and Council at Batavia, 31 July, 1672, to the "Bewinthebbers" of Amsterdam, Zeelandt and Delft respectively, two in the original wrappers, as sent by the English ship the Advance via Bantam and England. (The copies addressed to the Chambers of Enckhuijsen, Rotterdam and Hoorn are in Bundle 98.) Every copy bears the original signatures of the Governor General Joan Maetsuyker and seven members of the Council. The copy addressed to Amsterdam contains the List of Documents to Zeelandt. Of the seven entries, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 7 are missing. No. 1, is the original letter above referred to, dated 31 July, 1672. No. 5, of which the only copy is now paged 1-12, contains certified copies of protests between the [Dutch] and the officers of the French fleet near "Trincquemale".... No. 6, of which one copy also is present, contains copies of resolutions concerning the French in and near Ceylon. The English Company is referred to.

No. 1, the "Original Despatch" is a general report and includes paragraphs relating to "Macassar," Banda,

Amboina, Ternate, Timor, "Bima," Palembang, Banca, "Jambij," Siam, "Tonquin," Japan, Malacca, West coast of Sumatra, Bengal (p. 77). Coromandel (pp. 78–79), Ceylon (79–85), "Tutucuryn" (85), Malabar (85–86), "Wingurla" (86, refers to Portuguese in Goa), Surat (88–89, with reference also to the French), Persia (90–91), the Cape of Good Hope (91), and Batavia (92–94).

The same bundle, 243, also includes a letter from P. A. Overtwater, President in Batavia, 31 July, 1672, with the original seal.

RECORDS OF PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL.

Privy Council.

The Proceedings of the Privy Council and the Orders in Council are recorded, though not always completely, in the Registers which contain the Proceedings before the Sovereign in Council, from the year 1598, and also those before Committees of the Council. The volumes from 1604 to May 1613 were destroyed by fire in 1618.

P.C. 2. Nos. 27–32 include James I., Vols. 1–6; Nos. 33 to 53, Charles I., Vols. 1–18, August 1645; Nos. 54 to 70, Charles II., Vols. 1–17; Nos. 71 and 72, James II., Vols. 1 and 2; and Nos. 73 to 78, William III., Vols. 1–6.

The Privy Council Registers had been printed complete to the year 1604 in the Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1542–1604, edited by Sir J. R. Dasent. A new series has been begun of which two volumes have been published, relating to the years 1613–16 and 1616.

The separate *Colonial Series* of Calendars (the first volume of which appeared in 1909), comprises selected extracts and refers chiefly to the American Colonies.

- Vol. I. (1613-1680) of the Acts of the Privy Council—Colonial Series, contains very little relating to the East Indies;
- Vol. II. (1680-1720) contains reference to the suppression of piracy in the East Indies in 1696-98;
- Vol. VI. (1676-1783) (Unbound Papers). Contains a petition of

the E.I. Co. (1696) and a Memorial, respecting the prevention of illegal trade by ships from the East Indies.

ACTS AND ORDINANCES OF THE INTERREGNUM.

Of the Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum from 1649 to 1660, the Record Office possesses only manuscript or printed copies, and the originals are not amongst the Records of Parliament, but appear to have been deliberately destroyed. A collected edition of the Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660 was edited by C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait for the Statute Law Committee in 1911.

Of the two references to India the most important is to be found in the provisions of the Act of October, 1651 (which has been called the First Navigation Act), and the special proviso exempting "East-India Commodities loaden in the Shipping of this Nation."

In the Act of 9 Sept., 1652, calling home seamen serving abroad, seamen serving in the East Indies were allowed time for their return.

LEGAL RECORDS.

Besides the Chancery Records, practically all the judicial records are technically in the custody of the Master of the Rolls. A summary of those of the various courts is contained in *Appendix II*. (5) to the 1st Report of the Royal Commission Public Records.

Although the local jurisdiction of the courts established in the Settlements was emphasised at an early date, many questions relating to the East India Company or to its servants will be found in the records of the higher Courts.

A large proportion of the Chancery Proceedings have already been indexed: comparatively few of the Exchequer Records have been calendared.

CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Chancery—(Equity Records) comprise Bills petitioning for redress where none could be obtained under Common Law, and Answers to these Bills.

39

IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

The Bills and Answers in Chancery for the so-called 'Bridges Division' for the period 1613–1714, comprising over 61,000 files, have now all been numbered and indexed under the plaintiffs' surnames. Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, Nos. 39, 42, 44 and 45, form an Index to these Chancery Proceedings. In Vol. II., D.–H. (No. 42) will be found a number of entries referring to proceedings relating to money, in which the Governor, etc., of the East India Company appear as plaintiffs, and the following as defendants:—

			Bundle No.
Ballard, John, and another (answer)		1695	157/26
Blake, William, and another		1670	57/16
" " " "		1671	585/40
Carter, Jerome (answer)		1649	399/104
Chambers, Sir Thomas and others		1668	52/20
,, ,, ,, (answer)		1669	54/35
Chappell, Roger		1666	420/92
" " (answer)		1667	585/38
Clobery, Sir John, Kt., and Dame Anne	e his		
wife		1670	59/15
Cooke, Sir Thomas, Kt., and others		1695	168/57
" " " "		1696	290/48
" " " "		1697	157/57
,, ,, ,, (answer)		1698	141/25
Dandy, Henry, and others		1694	157/4
Dunkin, Michael		1677	475/18
Firebrace, Sir Basil, and another		1697	129/8
,, ,, ,, (answer)		1697	293/16
Herne, Sir Joseph, Kt. (answer)	5.0	1698	364/44
Ken, John	• •	1668	53/24
,, ,, (answer)		1668	585/40
Knipe, Edward, and another	•(•	1649	399/105
Lewis, Simon, and another		1678	475/19
Littleton, Edward, and others		1683	475/21
Mainstone, William		1675	475/17
,, ,, (auswer)		1676	585/43
Perry, John		1695	157/7
Sambrooke, Samuel, and Mary, widow		1682	475/20
Stanton, Thomas, and others	••	1667	585/42
Wood, Edward, and others		1661	420/91

Amongst those who were bold enough to appear as plaintiffs against the Governor, etc., of the East India Company, may be mentioned—John Gourney in 1675, (489/65), Urban Hall and others in 1696 (367/39), Mary Hallett, widow, in 1669 (610/55); and between 1703 and 1710, Edward Denham, John Frampton, and David Edwards.

ADMIRALTY COURT RECORDS.

No printed list of Admiralty Court Records is amongst those of the Public Record Office. There are, however, a few 17th century Indexes and Calendars.

Select Pleas in the Admiralty Courts to the year 1602 have been edited by Mr. R. G. Marsden in the Selden Society's Publications. Extracts from the books and records of the High Court of Admiralty and the Court of the Judges Delegates, 1584–1839, etc., are contained in his work Report of Cases determined by the High Court of Admiralty, issued in 1885. In 1899 A Digest of Cases relating to Shipping, Admiralty and Insurance Law, from the reign of Elizabeth, to the end of 1897, was also published by him.

Admiralty Secretary's Out-letters relating to Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts and Business, from 1689 to 1702, will be found amongst the Admiralty Records, under Admiralty Secretary's Out-letters, Nos. 1045–1048.

Accounts of receivers of prizes (1664-77) will be found under Audit Office Accounts. A. O. 3-3 (1) and (2).

The List of Admiralty Records in the Public Record Office, Vol. I., are printed in Lists and Indexes, No. 18 (1904).

Admiralty—Greenwich Hospital, 2, contains an interesting series of *News-letters* to two Newcastle correspondents, with frequent references to East Indian matters.

NAVY BOARD RECORDS.

Papers of the Navy Commissioners or Navy Board were included in the Domestic State Papers throughout

the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and for the reign of Charles II. until June 15th, 1673, date of the Duke of York's resignation of the office of Lord High Admiral, and were calendared as such. Navy Board Papers after that date have now been placed amongst the records of the Admiralty in the Public Record Office.

For In-letters before 1822 see *Indexes* from the Admiralty, 1660–1822, Nos. 1–131. For In-letters 1688–1815 see *Admiralty Secretary's Out-letters*.

EXCHEQUER K.R.—PORT BOOKS.

These documents, as disclosed in the evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Records, are invaluable for the study of colonial settlement and expansion, the identification of names of ships, the growth of export and import trade, and are of assistance in the genealogy of shipmasters. Their historical value is increased by the non-survival, as a class, of the original Customs Accounts "Exchequer Accounts (K.R.) Customs" from the time of Elizabeth.

The Port Books were issued yearly to all customers under an order of Queen Elizabeth giving very elaborate instructions for a new procedure. The parchment books were issued "in tin boxes under the Exchequer Seal and were known as 'the Queen's Books' because of the great importance in which they were held. In these books were to be entered, on the information of the merchants importing goods into London, the name of the ship and of its master, whence freighted, the bulk and number of parcels of merchandise, their nature and other particulars." (First Rept. Roy. Com. Public Records, Vol. I., Pt. II, App. IV., 14.)

Exchequer, K. R.—Port Books, I, relate to the Port of London and comprise 160 Bundles (Bundles II to 160 covering the period 1600-1696), each Bundle, with very few exceptions, embracing several numbers or volumes. It is therefore essential to consult the MSS. List in the Search Room to find the volume desired.

References to the E.I. Co.'s. ships and goods to and from the East Indies are numerous. *Port Book, London* 52/1, 1667/8, may be given as an instance.

BOARD OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

A typed MSS. List of the Records is on the shelves of the Search Room at the P.R.O. The Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports from 1696 to Christmas 1702 are to be found under the reference Customs 2, 1–10; the Ledgers of Imports and Exports for Michaelmas 1697 to 1701, under Customs 3, 1–5.

Accounts of Farmers and Commissioners of Customs for 1638–1641 will be found under *Audit Office*, *Various Accounts* (*Customs*), *A.O.* 3, No. 297, those for 1672 under No. 303 (9). No. 304 (7) contains Fines for uncustomed goods for the years 1667–68.

The Treasury Records, Customs, England and General, comprise, under the reference T. 38, 349, charges of account in divers ports temp. Elizabeth; 340. Abstract of yearly receipts 1679–1761; 347—Yearly accounts of various duties, 1691–1700. See Lists and Indexes XLVI.

TREASURY.

The Records of the Treasury are listed in Public Record Office Lists and Indexes. No. XLVI. "Lists of the Records of the Treasury, the Paymaster General's Office, the Exchequer and Audit Department and the Board of Trade, to 1837, preserved in the Public Record Office (1921)."

The introduction contains a description of the various series and a table showing where correspondence with various offices may be found when the titles of the series do not sufficiently indicate this. India before 1832 is in the General Series under the reference T. 27 which contains 16 volumes for the years 1668–1702.

The earlier history of the Treasury is contained in the Introduction to the Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1729–1730.

T. I (1557–1837) Treasury Board Papers, are the In-letters of the Treasurer with occasional minutes and reports; T. 27 Treasury: Out-letters, General.

The Treasury Books and Papers have been calendared in two different series: The Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. I. (1557-1667) to Vol. VI. (1720-1728), edited by Joseph Redington and comprising In-letters; and the Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, edited by Dr. W. A. Shaw, Vol. I, 1729-30, etc. The latter is outside the Period with which we deal; but his Calendar of Treasury Books, begun in 1904 and still in progress, commencing with Vol. I., Charles II., 1660, has now reached Vol. IX. for the year 1692. This series contains for the Period 1660-72 only documents in the Public Record Office, from 1672-1678, also papers outside it. The Records included in Vol. VIII. are described as "Letters Patent, Privy Seals, Royal Sign Manuals and Warrants, Treasury Warrants, Commissions, Orders, Letters, Memorials, Reports and other Entries: all not of the nature of Treasury Minutes."

A gap in the Treasury Minutes at the Public Record Office extended from 1672–1696, and for the period 1672–78 the missing volumes were either in the possession of the Duke of Leeds (descendant of Lord Treasurer Danby) or at the British Museum. Leave to incorporate these documents was therefore obtained.

Reference to the excellent indexes of the volumes of this series will disclose a very great number of entries relating to the East India Company and connected subjects.

Amongst Treasury Records we may mention the following:—

- T. ^{2.7}/₁₆ (1698-1702) contains several entries relating to the E.I. The Semi-Official papers of Lord North forming the series of
- T 49 Miscellanea—East India Papers, only begin with the year 1702.
- T. 48/21 (7) Loose documents in a large bundle of the Lowndes Miscellaneous papers comprises several documents of interest.

"Draft Letters Patent constituting the [East India] Company by writ of Privy Seal." (Endorsed East India Company 1698). Pigott, 5th September, 10 Will. annotated in pencil: "There are 2 drafts, the 2nd imperfect. The first I think with marginal notes by Lowndes. The 2nd is apparently the corrected draft with marginal guides." (Printed, 24 pp.)

The constitution of the Dutch East India Company [undated ? 1698]. A very clear account in English. (I p. and a few lines.)

Letter from Court of Directors of the E.I. Co. to William Lowndes *re* appointment of Mr. Walker as Lieutenant in their service on William Lowndes' recommendation.

H.M.'s order to Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to sell H.M.'s Stock in the Old East India Company, $\frac{15}{26}$ August 1701.

Warrant for Privy Seal for sale of shares in East India Company. (Undated draft.)

Attorney General (Ed. Ward) on the rights of the Crown re the E.I. Co.'s Petition, 5 William and Mary. Refers to Charter of Chas. II., 3rd April. 13 Chas. II. (Copy, 43 pp.) relates to Interlopers and the share of the Crown in Seizures; with a Schedule of "some shipps and vessells with their tack, apparell, freight, and goods seized upon by the E.I. Co. since the year of Our Lord 1680," by Capt. Andrews, Capt. Tyrell and others. Mention is also made of "All the Stores of the Interlopers at Suratt" under the charge of Mr. Banister and others.

Heads for Articles of Agreement between the two East India Companies (i.e., Old and New)...1701. (MSS. Draft, $3\frac{1}{2}$ pp.)

Fair copy of the same under 46 heads, "proposed to be inserted in a Tripartite Indenture to be firmed under the Great Seale of England and the Common Seales of the two Companies." $(4\frac{1}{2} \text{ pp.})$

Tripartite Indentures of Union between the two East India Companies (Old and New) 1701. (Draft, 68 pp.)

Reference is made to doubts raised as to the validity of former charters, financial agreements with the State, etc.

Quinquepartite Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the two East India Companies (i.e., the Old and New). (Printed, 17 pp.) 22nd July 1702. Bombay held as of the Manor of East Greenwich in Free and Common Socage on yearly payment of £10. Recites rights and possessions of the Old East India Company.

ACCOUNTS.

Declared Accounts-Audit Office.

(Cf. P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, II.)

Bundle 1540. Lotteries, Annuities, etc. Roll, 31 July 1698-1700; refers to Monies raised by lottery for the payment of annuities, and for settling the East Indian trade.

Bundle 1948. Pepper, Roll 1, 1 Oct. 1640, 31 March 1641, contains accounts of pepper purchased from the East India Company.

Trade, etc.

s:
Roll.
2
3
I

Public Record Office documents and Calendars are included in the long list of records examined and discussed in Professor William Robert Scott's authoritative work: The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720, 3 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1910–12.

Details of the classes of Record Office documents consulted are given in the full list of *Authorities*—MSS., Collections of Papers, Official Publications, Books, Articles

and Pamphlets, prefixed to Volume I. The financial history of the East India Company and of its joint stock rivals is fully treated.

APPENDIX.

Published Calendars of Records and Uncalendared intervals:—

, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Fire	st Year.	Last Year.			
Calendar of State Papers, East Indies	;		1634 (end)			
Letters Received by E.I. Co. fro	m					
Servants in East			1617 (end)			
English Factories in India		1671	1660			
Calendar of Court Minutes, etc.		1635	1663			
Calendar of State Papers, Domestic						
(Edw. VIChas. I.)		1547	1649			
Calendar of State Papers, Dom., Con	m-					
monwealth		1649	1660			
Calendar of State Papers, Don	n.,					
Charles II		1660	1682 in pro-			
			gress.			
Calendar of State Papers (Uncalendar	red					
to William and Mary 1689)						
Calendar of State Papers (Uncalendar						
to William and Mary)	• •	1689	1697 in pro-			
			gress.			
Calendar of State Papers, Foreign		1558	1585			
Calendar of State Papers (Uncalendar	red					
to Anne 1702)						
Calendar of Treasury Books (W.	A.					
Shaw, edit.)		1660	1692 in pro-			
			gress			
Calendar of Treasury Books and Pap	ers	1587	1728			
Acts of the Privy Council		1542	1616			
Colonial Series		1613	1720			
Unbound Papers		1676	1783			

PLACE-NAMES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

BY PAUL WHALLEY, Retired Bengal Civil Service.

CHAPTER II.

Part 3.

There are still some names which lie close on the border-land of composites, and are in fact, grammatically speaking compound words, like Panwari, a betel garden, but having an independent signification of their own in the current tongue they are really, in their character of place-names, simple and not compound. They may be called quasi-composites.

Others formed by the juxtaposition of two place names, like Kora-Jahanabad, or the name of a place and the name of a man, like Rasulpur-Ghaus, may be termed for distinction's sake double names.

Lastly there is a class in which the fundamental word, or base, which in ordinary compounds stands last, appears as a prefix. Examples of this class are Nagla Mohan and Bans Bareli. In some districts they are very numerous.

It will be convenient to sweep together here this heterogeneous material and dispose of it before proceeding to the subject of derivation.

We take first quasi-composites, or compound words which have been adopted in place-names without modification or with a mere pleonastic suffix, Panwari, Dasasamedh, Auldan, Shahdara, Gangotri, and Jamnotri.

The simplest instance is :-

PAN-WARI .. Hamirpur .. 330.

The Gazetteer (Vol. I., p. 569) says "tradition ascribes the name to one Pandwari who is said to have expelled the Kols and Bhils in 900 A.D." But we have no faith in this tradition. The word Panwari means a betel garden (vide Cr. s.v. Panvari) and is compounded of Pan, Skr. Parna, the betel plant, and Bari, an enclosure which becomes – wari as noticed under Ambari (306).

The next name

DASASAMEDH .. Benares .. 331 is compounded of Skr. Dasha ten and Ashyamedha horse-sacrifice, perhaps the sacrifice of ten horses, as it is rendered in Whitworth's Glossary, though Dasha may be otherwise interpreted, e.g. in the word Dasgatra it gives the meaning of a ceremony performed on the tenth day after a death.

It is possible that the name Dasasamedh is commemorative of a sacrifice actually performed at or near the spot. Now and then we come across place-names that seem to mark the site of a religious ceremony. A rather doubtful instance is found in

which may be a corruption of Baldan, Skr. Balidana, which means an oblation, sometimes of flowers and rice, but more generally of a living victim. A notice of it will be found in Sir M. Williams' "Brahmanism and Hinduism," pp. 25 and 293. There is a village called Baldan in Banda; but Auldan may also be a corruption of Aonla-dand, a name that occurs elsewhere, or Aul may be Avilah, a sheepfold.

Another curious and difficult name is

Shahdara according to Fallon's dictionary, (s.v. Shah), is a word meaning "a village on the river in front of the King's palace," but what authority there is for the word and how it came to have the meaning assigned to it I do not know.

The Gazetteer tells us (Vol. III. p. 426) that this town was founded by Shah Jahan and called "royal gate" by him. On the analogy of Shah-rah, highway, we might admit Shah-dar, royal gate, but in that case is the Hindi suffix 'a' admissible?

We certainly have the word Sedara, explained by Cr. as a house with three openings and derived by him from P. sih, three and dar, door, and it is conceivable that Shahdara may have been formed on the same model. But the analogy of other place-names points in a different direction. In Muradabad there is another Shahdara, but in Muzaffarnagar we find the name in the form Shah-dera and as Sheh-dera in Bulandshahur. Another fact to be noticed is that the pronunciation of Shahdara wavers between the lingual and dental D. The former is found in the Nagari column of the Government list, the latter in the Persian. Crooke's Glossary shows the same alternation in the word DERA, a tent, a halting place, a temporary habitation. This word is a common base of place names in the Panjab, usually in the form of a prefix as Dera Ghazi Khan. Its etymology is not given in the dictionaries, but it is in fact the western form of the base TAHR or THER already investigated under Asothar 301. The Persian words der, derina, have the same origin and whatever the derivation of the English word tarry, the meaning is closely akin. See further under Dehra (355).

I have classed this word with quasi-composites on the strength of the etymology given by the Gazetteer but it is a very questionable example.

Next we have a pair of names designating the sources of the rivers Ganges and Jamuna.

GANGOTRI .. Garhwal .. 334 JAMNOTRI .. Garhwal .. 335

Gang-otar is the avatar or descent of the Ganga or Ganges and Gang-otar-i the place from which it descends. Jamnotri is of similar formation.

Intermediate between these quasi-composites and what we have called double names, come a class of adjectival compounds of which we have already had examples in Uncha-ganw, the village on a height, and Baraganw, the big village.

The number of adjectives thus employed as characteristics is very limited. Next to Uncha, Bara, Naia, or Naua, the one we meet oftenest is Kal, Kala, Kali of which our list gives several examples. In the interpretation of these names, Kala, Kali, is commonly understood in its every-day sense of black, or else referred to the goddess Kali. But there are many names in which neither explanation can be accepted. Kalinagar in Pilibhit can hardly mean the village dedicated to Kali, for the worship of Kali was introduced into the district within the memory of men still living, and the village name is older. Nor is there any intelligible reason for rendering it "black town." It appears that Kala was formerly used, like the kindred Persian word Kalan, with the meaning of great, and this is evidently its sense in Kalinagar. It is still so used in certain Hindi phrases, Kale kos, a great distance, Kala pani, the great water or ocean, Kala chor, a great thief, Kal juari, a great gambler. So Kali Lar is the great belt of Tal trees in the Tarai forest (v.s. Sisolar 280). This sense of great seems to predominate where it is used in compound place-names and such names are very frequent. Besides Kalinagar in Pilibhit we have Kalinagra and Kalapur and Kalabagh in Bareilly, Kalakund, the great pool, and Kalather, the great camp, in Budaun, Kalabojh, the great thicket, in Etawah, and Karobojh, an echo of the same name, in Pilibhit; Kalaganw and Kala Khera are found in several districts; a seemingly modern instance, Kala Mazra, in Muzaffarnagar, and a curious one, Kali-laith, the great grain market, in Moradabad. There are very few of these instances in which Kala can be believed to mean black, and none in which the name can rationally be referred to the goddess Kali. It may

very likely be otherwise with Kali-ganj. The goddess is probably commemorated in Kali-ganj and other places in the Lower Provinces where the worship of the goddess flourishes. Perhaps also Calicut (Kali-kot) in Malabar may have been correctly interpreted as the fort of the goddess Kali, but it has yet to be shown that there are places in the North-West Provinces which have been named after her.

Further there are some place-names in Merwara, given in Mr. Whiteway's list compounded with the word Kala, in which the meaning of great seems more appropriate than that which he has adopted. To take one instance out of several, it is surely more reasonable to translate Kalaguman as a great village, (Guman i.e. Gawan, Ganw), like Kalaganw in Dehra Dun and Kargawan in Jhansi, than to follow a legend that wrests the name into "Kala the proud."

While on this subject we may refer to two other placenames in which Kal seems to be used in the sense of Great, Kalkatta in the Tarai District, and Kalkata in Nepal near the junction of the Pilibhit and Shajahanpur districts, a place well known to sportsmen. Kaţa is not here the Skr. KATAH as in Avikatah, a flock of sheep, but another termination which we find in place-names along the front border, notably in Bankata. Bankata is translated in the old forest grants into hybrid Persian as Jangal-burid and therefore means forest felling or forest clearing. Professor Grasberger assigns the same meaning to the Greek place names Koptos and Koptis, observing that they correspond to the German Schlag, as in Adel-schlag, Buchschlagen, (Studien zu den griechischen Ortsmamen p. 232). If Kața then means a felling or clearing, there seems no doubt that Kal-kata means the great clearing. Whether the name of the City of Calcutta on the banks of the Hughli has this meaning I do not pretend to say. It is not the received interpretation, and this is perhaps the first time it has been suggested.

The first example of Kala on our list is

KALT KUMAUN .. Kumaun .. 336

Mr. Crooke tells us in his Glossary that Kumuno in the dialect of the Hill Districts is cultivated land, so that Kali Kumaun would mean the great cultivated tract, or rather we may suppose that Kamaun was adopted as a place-name before Kali was prefixed to it, in which case it is more correct to translate simply, Great Kumaun.

The next name

AL BHAIRON .. Benares .. 337 appears to mark a place where Siva is worshipped under the title of Bhairon, and Skr. Kala being an epithet of Durga, perhaps Kal-Bhairon stands for Durga-Siva, meaning a place where Durga and Siva are worshipped together.

It has been remarked that where the Indian deities, male and female, are mentioned in couples, the name of the female divinity as a rule stands first.

Otherwise if Kal is an adjective qualifying Bhairon, it may mean the great Bhairon in contra-distinction to inferior divinities worshipped under this name (cf. Gr. 1456).

There is another name on our list, at once interesting and difficult, which appears to be a compound in which Kal in some sense or other is an element. That is

KAL-INJAR .. Banda .. 338

Kalinjar is a very ancient and famous place in the Banda District, and not long since was a military stronghold. It is mentioned in the Mahabharat, and Gazetteer remarks that long before the erection of the fort, the hill was devoted to Hindu worship. It does not appear that any one has yet fathomed the secret of this name. That need not prevent us from trying to mark out the limiting conditions of the problem.

The Skr. form is KALANJARA. It occurs in the Vedas and is therefore very old. It is found as a place-name eight times in all, seven times in the N.W.P. and once in

Merwara. In two of these instances it is known to be connected with hills and religious worship. The other six instances seem to be modern adoptions.

The Gazetteer (Vol. 1. p. 446) gives a foot-note on the name as follows:

"Kalanjara according to Wilson, the name of a rock in Bundelkhand; also an assembly of religious mendicants. Kalinjar is one of the places where such assemblies meet, being enumerated in the Vedas among the Tapasyasthanas or spots adapted to the practice of austere devotions."

"Kalanjara with the meaning of he who sees time itself decay is a title of Siva."

Modern Sanskrit dictionaries gives the same series of meanings omitting the fanciful explanation of Kalanjara as a title of Siva. The rock had its name before Siva or his worship were heard of, and Siva was doubtless called Kalanjara, as Durga is called Bindhachal (276) from being believed to dwell on the mountain so named. Durga is also called Kalanjari, and her other name of Parvati means mountaineer.

A similar transition of meaning must be assumed in the application of the name of Kalanjara to an assembly of religious mendicants; and it can hardly be questioned that the first and earliest of the known uses of the word is that of the name of a hill. Kalinjar in Merwara is now the name of a village and of a tank, and I extract the following account from Mr. Whiteway's "Place Names in Merwara" (Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal 1886, Vol. L.V. p. 148.)

"There is a very old tank embankment here, and over the village a high hill with a shrine near the top. "The story connected with them is that a Rani of Jaipur, having no son, visited an ascetic who lived on the hill, and through his influence got her desire. The embankment was built as a thank-offering."

It may be inferred that the name originally belonged

to the hill, and was afterwards transferred to the village and tank.

The other six instances of the name are :-

I.	KALINJAR	village	in	Tahsil	Aliganj	District	Etalı.
2.	KALINJRA	,,_	,,	,,	Jaunpur	,,	Jaunpur.
3.	KALINJARA	,,	,,	,,	Sikandra 1	Rao ,,	Aligarh.
4.	KALINJERI	,,	••	,,	Iglas	,,	Aligarh.
5.	KALINJARI	,,	,,	,,	Meerut	,,	Meerut.
6.	KALINJARI	,,	,,	,,	Bagpat	-,,	Meerut.

These names, if not what are technically called adoptions, that is names not originating in the place but borrowed, are probably commemorative of Siva as Kalinjara, and of Parbati as Kalinjari, and consequently throw no light on the name of the rock.

The limiting conditions of the etymology which we proposed to fix must therefore be sought in the two names from Bandelkhand and Merwara. In both instances the name is that of a hill, and in one certainly the name is as old as the Vedas. It follows that its origin is to be found, if at all, in the language and ideas of the early Aryans, and that it is presumably a descriptive name.

A Sanskrit name which seems to be parallel to Kalanjara is Kalinda, the mountain where the Jamna was believed to rise. Both names probably imply dark blue hills like Nilgiri. It is not likely that the religious associations of the two Kalinjars gave rise to the names. At any rate if there is any religious significance in the names it is not to be looked for in any modern cult but must go back to the early Aryan nature worship, of which the influence still lingers in the sanctity attributed to the great rivers, the primeval forests and the purple or snow-clad hills.

Kaladhungi in the Persian column is printed with cerebral DH and in the Nagari with cerebral D unaspirated. The former is probably correct, for we find villages called Kaldhunga and Kaladhunga in Garhwal and Kaldhunga and Kaldhunga.

The place Kaladhungi is situate at the foot of the hills on the road from Moradabad to Naini Tal, not far from some disused iron works. The word Dhun in Kumaun signifies the ore of metals, and there are a number of villages in the hills bearing the name Dhung, Dhunga and Dhungi, names which we do not find in the plains. Kaladhun or Kaladhung may mean black ore, iron ore, and then Kaladhungi might mean iron smelting works. Iron is called Kalayasam, or black metal in Sanskrit. The common Hindi word for iron, Loha, means red, and was possibly first applied to copper. So thinks Schrader. On the origin of the names of metals see Max Muller, Lecture II, 231–234, and Schrader, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte, 267–9 and 297–9.

PACHHIM SARIRA .. Allahabad .. 340

Pachhim Sarira is West Sarira. In the same district are the villages of Pachhim Nara and Purab Nara, east and west Nara, and there is also, as we might expect, a Purab Sarira, answering to Pachhim Sarira, but in the Directory it is not easy to find, being alphabetically misplaced among the Puras.

SARIRA may mean a place where the mortal remains of Buddha were preserved, the word Sarira, literally body, having been so used by the disciples of the Buddhistic faith. The following passages from Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World" will show the use of the word and the notions attached to it.

(I) "Tradition says that in this Stupa", (viz. in Kapisa) "there is a considerable quantity of relics of Tathagata, consisting of his bones and flesh, and that wonderful miracles are wrought thereby. At one time from within the Stupa there arose suddenly a smoke, which was quickly followed by a fierce flame of fire. On this occasion the people said the Stupa was consumed. They gazed for a long time till the fire was expended and the smoke disappeared, when they beheld a Sarira like a white pearl gem, which moved with a circular motion

around the surmounting pole of the Stupa." (Vol. I. p. 66.)

- (2) "In the little convent is a stupa of stone about fifty feet high, where are preserved the Sariras of the bequeathed body of an Arhat." (Vol. I. p. 161.)
- (3) "When Tathagata died, men and devas divided the Sariras for the world's sake, the hair and nails alone remaining untouched by fire." (Vol. II. p. 39.)

We pass on to names of a later period connected with Musulman rule:—

CHAUMAHLA .. Bareilly .. 341

It is not altogether misplaced here among adjectival compounds being formed from Char four, the technical word Mahal and suffix A. This suffix, otherwise pleonastic, is often used, as in this case, to bind together the two elements of a compound name. [See examples under Chillatara (357).]

Mahal is a word with an interesting history in the Musulman administration of India. It is used for a department of revenue, as in the phrase Abkari Mahal, department of Excise; for a sub-division of a district with reference to Revenue payments, as in Bombay; and commonly in the North-West to denote an estate, of which the unity depends not on geographical coherence of the parts, but on their assessment under one name in the registers of land revenue. In Jhansi there is a village called RUND PANCH-MAHLA, presumably from its containing five such revenue units, and to distinguish it from two other villages named RUND. We might be tempted to assign a similar meaning to CHAUMAHLA. But the historical explanation is different. In Gaz. III. 747, we find that "on the fall of the Rohillas Faizulla Khan founded the modern Chaumahla from portions of the four parganas (MUHAL) Sarsawan, Richha, Kabar and Rudrapur." If this is true CHAUMAHLA was first the name of a unit of area, before it became the name of a town, and MAHAL in this name bears the signification above noticed as still current

in Bombay. Chaumahla in the Tarai probably has the simpler meaning of the village divided into four Mahals, or revenue paying units, according to the common use of the word in the N.W.P.

Among adjectival compounds we may also reckon Huzur Tahsil .. Agra ... 342
Huzur Tahsil .. Benares ... 343

Huzur-Tahsii, is a compound formed of Arabic elements on a Hindu model, like Raj-Ghat, (279) where the first element is a noun or name used as an adjective. It may be translated, headquarters-revenue-collection. In ordinary revenue parlance Huzur-Tahsil denotes the privilege accorded to certain villages to pay revenue into the chief treasury of the district, instead of the treasury of the sub-collectorate in which they are situate, and the whole compound is then used adjectively to characterise such villages.

But in the two instances in question the name, no doubt, denoted the place where the revenue collector of a past day, Amil or Tahsildar or whatever he night be, held his office. The word Tahsil in Arabic means nothing more than the act of acquiring or receiving; but when applied to the collection of revenue, it came by a natural transition of meaning to denote first the sums collected, and secondly the place of collection, so that Tahsil has become the equivalent of Tahsildar, the place where the Tahsildar or Sub-collector conducts his business, and also the area of his jurisdiction.

By a natural sequence we pass to another name similar in formation to Huzur Tahsil, except that the qualifying word is placed last in order after the Persian fashion. This is

DIHAT AMANAT .. Benares ... 344

It means villages in trust or assigned for security; very likely some small villages sequestrated for arrears of revenue and afterwards amalgamated under one name. Dihat is the plural of the Persian Dih, village, a word of

8

the same origin as the Hindi DIH (271-2) and AMANAT from AMN is Arabic for protection or guardianship.

The list of quasi-composites closes here. The next name is a true double-name, and it is taken first of the series in order to associate it with the two foregoing names. Like them it is of foreign origin, and is an imprint left on Hindi toponymy, by Musulman administration.

HAWELI JAUNPUR .. Jaunpur .. 345

HAWELI is an irregular formation from the Arabic root Hāwālā, he encompassed, which has supplied the Hindustani language with several familiar words, such as Tahvīl, Hawāla, Hawālāt, Hawāldār.

HAWELI is commonly used for a house, or, more exactly, the enclosure surrounding a house, or a number of houses. In this sense it figures occasionally in place names. For instance in the Farrukhabad district we find Haweli Chhadami, Haweli Risal Singh, and Haweli Zamindaran, all Naglas or hamlets, where the prefix Haweli seems to mean nothing more than house, and to mark the place of residence of the village proprietors. In the name Haweli Jaunpur, however, it appears to be used in a special technical sense now obsolete. It is mentioned in Gaz. VII. p. 137 that cultivated lands appropriated to the maintenance of a garrison were known as Haweli. Thus Haweli Jaunpur may be taken to mean, "lands assigned for the support of a stationary guard in the jurisdiction of Jaunpur."

The next two are probably double-names in disguise. The first of them is very ancient and curious.

KANAUJ .. Farrukhabad .. 346

Kanauj is mentioned by Ptolemy as Kanogiza, and occurs in ancient inscriptions and elsewhere in the form Kanya Kubja, or humpbacked damsel, and there is a story in the Ramayana accounting for the name, which tells us that the daughters of the founder were disfigured by the curse of a hermit to whose suit they turned a deaf

ear. The same legend is related in a somewhat different form by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, (Beal 1. 207) but cannot of course be taken seriously. It is hard now to assign the true meaning to the name. Kanya probably meant simply new. The word does not occur, but is inferred from the comparative Kaniyas and the Greek Kainos for Kainyos, (vide Brugmann II. sec. 135). Kubja may be referred to Kupa well. Kupya, abounding in wells, is easily transformable to Kubja. The name is specially interesting from the fact that it seems to be the earliest known instance of transfiguration by popular etymology in place-names. There are later instances in Kana Kaua, the one-eyed crow, in the Mainpuri district, and Diya Bati, lamp and wick, in Basti, but they are not numerous in India.

The other name is simpler, and the explanation of its origin given by the Gazetteer may be accepted.

KULPAHAR .. Hamirpur .. 347

The town is said by the Gazetteer (Vol. I. p. 504) to be situated in the united villages of Kulhua and Pahariya. Kulhua is a dialectic form of Kolhu an oil-press or sugar-mill. The word is better known in the last sense, but it is more likely to mean an oil-press in this instance, because the town lies south of the Jamna where little or no sugar is produced. Pahariya, if rightly spelt with a cerebral R, should mean the village on or by the hill or, on the high bank of a river, but it is not unlikely that Pahariya took its name from a man called Pahar, and the R was cerebralised after the origin of the name had been forgotten.

There are a certain number of double-names which arise, like Kulpahar, from the amalgamation of two villages, and a few in which, as in Kulpahar, the two names are welded into one, but in the majority there is a simple juxtaposition of two names, and the second name does not imply the absorption of a village. It is simply added, as a sort of surname for the sake of precision, and

is the name of a better-known neighbouring village, or very often of the village in which the proprietors reside.

For instance in-

FATEHPUR SIKRI ... Agra (v.s. 12) ... 348
the name is to be interpreted Fatehpur near Sikri, or
Fatehpur belonging to residents of Sikri. The second
name is required to distinguish it from Fatehpur Anandipur and Fatehpur Kotla, both in the Agra district.

The name Fatehpur has already been noticed (v.s. 12). Briggs' Ferishta, vide p. 234, date 1571 A.D.: "The King (Akbar) considering the village of Sikri a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there ordered the foundations of a city to be laid which after the conquest of Guzerat, he called Fatehpur," again, p. 250. The Great Mosque in Fatehpur was finished in 1576. Sikri is a common designation of deserted village sites, meaning, as we gather from Gr. 793, 1262, a place of broken tiles. Sikri as a place-name, is found chiefly in the districts bordering on the Ganges in the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions, and again in the trans-Jamna districts, especially Banda and Jalaun. Elsewhere it is rare.

To return to double-names. In some the second element is the name of a man, the proprietor or founder or purchaser, or some one otherwise connected with the village. Such a name is—

which may be translated Rasulpur which belongs to Ghaus. There are a dozen villages in Basti called Rasulpur, and the name therefore had ceased to be adequately distinctive, and another had to be added to it. The great majority of double-names are due to this cause. It was the same necessity that produced surnames of men in Europe.

Another name of this class, if we have correctly diagnosed it, is

MAU AIMA .. Allahabad .. 350

Mau always written in Persian and Nagari as a dissyllable, is a common village name. Its origin is separately discussed in a subsequent chapter with the conclusion that two words of different origin and meaning, both serving as bases in place-names have merged in the common form Mau. In the present instance, however, there can be little doubt that Mau stands for Mahu or Mahuwa, the tree *Bassia latifolia*. Not far from Mau Aima, Mahuwa tree Aima, we find a curiously analogous name, Amma Aima, or Mangoe tree Aima, a name that is repeated in Azamgarh.

But what is Aima? The same district which gives us Mau Aima and Amma Aima contains also two villages called Aimapur, and there is an Aima Sarai in Budaon and a Katra Aima in Cawnpore, and there are six villages named Aima in Mainpuri. I can only say that $-M\bar{A}$, as shown in the grants, is a common termination of mediæval names, and guess that AIMA may perhaps mean the same as AJGARA, a goat-pen. More likely Aima is a mispronunciation possibly for Ahmad

In the three names following-

KARIYAT DOST		Jaunpur		351
KARIYAT MENDHA	١	Jaunpur	- V	352
KARIYAT SIKHAR		Mirzapur		353

Kariyat is written in the Government list with an Arabic guttural K which is probably a mistake. All three towns seem to take their names from the Kariyat, *Justitia Panniculata*. All the same they may be adoptions, as there is a town of this name close to Merv, on the Oxus (Boulangier's "Voyage á Merv," p. 150).

The first is distinguished by the Musulman name Dost, the name probably of the owner.

The second Kariyat needs a little unravelling. We may take it as certain that it has no connection with Mend a field boundary, but is a corruption of Mandha a hut, and Kariyat Mendha means Kariyat where the huts are. Compare the word Menda as given in Crooke's

agricultural glossary. In its first meaning of boundary, it is identical with Mend, but in its second meaning of the field watchman's platform it is really the same as Manda or Manda or Marha, a hut.

SIKHAR is perhaps a name, (vide Shikarpur 112) perhaps the Skr. word SIKHARA meaning a crest or summit and, as a place-name, a village on an eminence, or perhaps the same as SIKRI, v. 348.

There is another class of double names in which the second name characterises the tract in which the village is situate. These resemble such English names as Harrow-on-the-Hill, Stow-on-the-Wold, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, only that in Hindi the relation is conveyed by simple juxtaposition of the names without a connecting particle. Of this class are,

JAUNSAR BAWAR	 Dehra Dun	 354
DEHRA DUN	 Dehra Dun	355

Jaunsar is Jaun's sar (v.s. for Jaun, Jaunpur 105). Sar is commonly used in the sense of Gausar, cowshed, though it often means simply house as in Nansar grandfather's house, or even place as in Pansar, watering place, (H. 66). Bawar is the same as Babar, Skr. Vyāvara also called Bhabar, a kind of grass; and the name Jaunsar Bawar means Jaun's cattle-shed or house in the Babar pasture-land.

DEHRA DUN is Dehra-in-the-Valley.

The most obvious derivation of Dehra is from Dehar or Dehal, Skr. Dehall, a threshold, previously noticed under Dih (269–272). The forms Dehl and Dehri are still current in the sense of a threshold in the Western Districts (Cr.) though the word in general use is Deorhi. There are however fourteen examples of the names Dehra and Dehri in the Moradabad district, which makes it probably that the name may have been introduced from the Punjab and is identical with Dera as in Dera Ghazi Khan. This has been already mooted under Shahldara (333) and it is worthy of remark that we find the

name Shahdera alternating with Shahdehra, just as we find Thahar and Tahr as prefixes alternating with Tera. If this conjecture is correct Dehra means simply camp or halting place. In the Persian column of names it is spelt without the aspirate, viz. Dera, as in the name Dera Dun.

Dun, a valley or hollow, Skr. Drona, (or in this particular sense Droni), is a word still preserved in ordinary speech in Don, a trough for raising water for irrigation (Cr.) and in Dona, a cup or dish. The alternation of meaning is similar to that of the English word basin, which means both a dish and a hollow containing water, or the area drained by a river.

A remarkable but scanty set of double names is that in which two tree names are combined, represented by PAK-BARA, in Moradabad, the place where the PAKAR and BAR (or BARGAD) trees grow together, AMAMHUA in Azamgarh, the Mango and Mahuwa trees, EMLIMAHUA in Azamgarh, the tamarind and Mahuwa trees, JAMKHAJUR the Jamun and date palm in Bareilly and JAT-IMLI, the Bargad and tamarind in Etah, Jatih being a Skr. name for the Bargad. Where three trees, the BAR, PIPAL and PAKAR are found together the clump is called HARSAN-KALA, (Cr.) i.e. HARA SRINKHALA, the chain of Hara or Shiva, and is looked on as particularly sacred. Hence perhaps the otherwise incomprehensible name of HASAN-KALI-PUR in Etah. Shiva's association with trees has been noticed by Sir M. Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, (p. 446 n). He is called BATESAR or VATESHVARA, lord of the Bargad tree.

Two tree names combined to form a place-name usually take a common suffix. Where each name has a separate suffix as in Tendua Asnahra, the ebony tree and the Asna tree, in the Basti district, the inference is that each name is or was the name of a separate village. Such is known to be the case in the name just quoted, although one of the villages has now ceased to exist.

We have no example of this class of names in the Government list, unless it is

CHILLATARA .. Banda .. 356 .. CHIL or CHILLA is the local name for a DHAK tree, Butea frondosa, (Gaz. I. 570), but the last element is dubious. It may mean a palm tree or it may stand for TANDA, a temporary station; I am inclined to think the latter.

Some of the names printed as double-names in the Government list but really compounds have already been noticed. They are enumerated here. Mufti ke Purwa (117) Shahr Sawad (252) Kheta Sarai (254), Moghal Sarai (255), Mirau ki Sarai (256), Sarai Akil (257) Sarai Muhiuddin (258) Sarai Girdhari (259) Sarai Aghat (260) Kankar Khera (270) Dohari Ghat (281) Siras Ghat (282) Noh Jhil (289) Naini Tal (290) Bhim Tal (291) Khurpa Tal (293), Naukuchia Tal (294) Suraha Tal (295).

There are also some true double names of which only half the name has come under notice. Fatehpur Sikri has already been dealt with (12 and .349). The rest may be finally disposed of at once.

This Akbarpur is so called because it is situated in the Police jurisdiction of Aunchha thana. There are eight villages of the name of Akbarpur in the Mainpuri district and each of them has a distinctive eponym. Aunchha is spelt by error or oversight Auncha in the Roman column of the Government list, but the consonant has the aspirated form in the Persian and Hindi column. In the same district there is another village of this name, Aunchha Islamabad, belonging to Tahsil Bhongaon. The name appears to be derived from Skr. Varshah or Varkhah, division, part, as in Bharatavarsha, an ancient name for India.

ALIPUR PATTI .. Mainpuri (v.s 4) .. 358
was doubtless so called to distinguish it from another
Alipur in the vicinity known as Alipur Khera. There is
no village in the same Tahsil named Patti, and we may

therefore conclude that the cognomen denotes something characteristic of the village. Patti, division, from Skr. Pat, to cleave, rend, divide, used in relation to property, means a share or division of an estate, and an estate may consist of a number of villages. Alipur Patti was probably so called because it was one of the shares, or a chief part of one of the shares, into which an estate was divided. Patti in ordinary language means a strip of cloth, and the conception of dividing an estate by tearing into strips seems to have been repeated in the word Char (vide prefixes infra).

HASANPUR MAGHAR .. Basti (v.s. 15) .. 350

This name has been omitted from the village directory of Basti. It is not found either under Maghar or Hasanpur. It is, I suppose, the Maghar in Tahsil Khalilabad where the poet and teacher Kabir is believed to have died and where he has both a Musulman and a Hindu shrine. MAGHAR, derived from MAGH, the month, January, February, plus suffix AR or ARA, means in the east districts, "rice fields ploughed in Magh for a fresh crop." (Cr. s.v.) Still further east "land left fallow for sugarcane from the previous spring harvest is called MAGHAR,"--(Gr. 798) and again "lands constantly ploughed for cane or any other crop from Asarh to Magh are called MAGHAR in Saran, Patna and South Munger, MAGHRA in Gaya and MAGHUA in South Bhagalpur," (Gr. 805). Once more-"MAGHAR JOTAB is, north of the Ganges and in Patna and Gaya the ploughing in the month of MAGH of lands intended to be sown at the next rainy season." (Gr. 818).

Although this is the only instance of Maghar as a village name in the N.W.P. the derivation suggested by the above quotations is not improbable. Analogous names such as Pandri, "land left fallow for sugar-cane from the previous spring harvest," (Cr. s.v.) are of frequent occurrence. That the word Maghar is not now current in the Basti district in the sense in which it is used in Gaya, viz:

land under preparation for sugar-cane, is no good argument against the derivation, for in the same district we find many names derived from words that are no longer understood there. Pandri, which we have just quoted, is a case in point. It occurs as a village name in Basti, but it is a western word and the word used locally with the same meaning is Palihar. The occurrence of such names, having their origin in dialects not locally current, may be explained by the flux and reflux of emigration or conquest in former years.

Mungra Badshahpur. Jaunpur (v.s. 7) MUNGRA and BADSHAHPUR are separate villages, and the joint name means Mungra near or belonging to Badshah-PUR. We cannot try to analyse the name MUNGRA, without recalling the well-known town in Bengal called Mun-GER, Anglice Monghyr, a place teeming with traditions of Buddhism. The name probably belonged in the first instance to the hill that overhangs the town, and this has suggested the etymology of Muni Giri or Saint's hill. But in the Mahabharata it is mentioned as Moda Giri (Sir A. Cunningham, 'Anc. Geog.' p. 476) and it appears from a note in Beal's Records, (Vol. II. p. 186) that it was once called Mudgala-Giri. The Skr. Mudgarah, Hindi Mung and Mungar, means a club or mallet, and the hill might have been so named from a fancied resemblance in shape to this weapon. But there are other analogous names which point to another interpretation. We find Mungesar in Azamgarh, Mugesapur in Cawnpore, Mognath in Ballia, Mugarsan in Allahabad and Mungardih in Jaunpur. The significance of the terminations esar, es, nath; has already been dwelt on. The last element in Mugasan may be "sain," lord, master. From these names we may fairly conclude that some saint or deified hero was worshipped under the name of Mung, Mungar MUDGARA. Was it the great Arhat, Mudgalaputra, the right hand of Buddha?

NEORIVA HUSAINPUR . Bareilly (v.s. 17) .. 361

is a straggling town, famous as a rice-mart, built partly on the lands of the two villages Neoriya and Husainpur in what is now the district of Pilibhit. Neoriya, locally spelt and pronounced Nyuriya, stands for Niwariya or Nibariya. We find the name in the form Nibarya in Hamirpur. Nibariya is compounded of Nim and Bari, like Am-Bari, (v.s. 306) and means a grove of Nim trees. (Cr. s.v. Nibaria). The Nim tree is Melia azadirachta Skr. Nimbah. One does not often see a grove of these trees, but Hindus like to have one or two about the village to supply them with tooth-brushes.

The name Neoriya occurs, three times in the Pilibhit district. The normal form is Niwari, which occurs, constantly from Meerut in the west to Basti in the East and also south of the Jamna in Jalaun and Lalitpur.

MIRANPUR KATRA .. Shahjahanpur (v.s.25) .. 362

Katra here means market. In this sense it is used sometimes as a suffix, as in the present case, sometimes as a prefix, as in Katra Aima, Katra Rahmat Khan and sometimes as an independent name. It is found as a place-name all over the country, but is most prevalent in the districts of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Farrukhabad.

The derivation of Katra, a market, is not very clear. Fallon, whose derivations are often wild, takes it from Skr. Kratralaya, buying place, apparently a word of his own invention. I would rather suppose it comes from Skr. Karvatam, also spelt Kharvatam, a market town.

MIRZAPUR CHAUHARI .. Allahabad (v.s.28) .. 363

This village seems to have been named, like Alipur Patti, from a characteristic feature of its constitution. It is Mirzapur of the four Hars. Hār (from Har, a plough) has been explained as one of concentric circles of soil in a village. The definition is correct in a technical sense. The word is so employed by officials who settle the land revenue and their subordinates, but in ordinary parlance Hars are not usually circles or concentrics, nor

do they necessarily imply a difference in soil. One might almost say they are any permanent divisions of village lands for the purposes of cultivation whether due to circumstances or made for convenience. UPAR HAR or Upper Har is a term usually applied to the lands farthest from the village site. The opposite expression TALE HAR, TARI HAR, Lower Har, is used in villages along the banks of the Jamna to designate the block of cultivated land which lies in the river valley below the bluffs. Again in villages having a portion of high land, unsuited to rice, and reserved to Rabi or spring crops, this portion is commonly termed the Rabi Har. In a village named Chauhari we may assume that from an agricultural point of view the lands are distinguished into four separate blocks, but whether the division results from difference in soil or position or tenure, cannot be gathered from the name.

SAYYIDPUR BHITARI .. Ghazipur (v.s. 34) .. 364

SAYYIDPUR gives its name to a Tahsil in which there are no less than eight villages of the name of Bhitari. It must have obtained its surname from one of these, either on account of its vicinity or because the proprietors lived there. The name Bhitari is not uncommon, but it appears to bear different significations, and local knowledge is necessary to determine which of them is applicable to the villages in question. The name may come from Bhitar within, and denote villages within some old line of demarcation; or it may be from Bhit, a mound, or wall, (v.s. sub voce Pilibhit, 273) or from Bahta, a dwelling, which also occurs in the form Bheta.

SAYYID RAJA .. Benares .. 365

is a village name composed apparently of two inconsistent titles. The explanation of it is that Sayyid is the name of the village, and is equivalent to Sayyidpur or Sayyidabad. There is nothing uncommon in finding a simple name or title of a man standing as a village name, the

base having dropped away. SAYYID RAJA is the village of Sayyid, belonging to the Raja (of Benares).

AURANGABAD NAGAR .. Basti (v.s. 202) .. 366

It is probable that the place was originally known as NAGAR, and after it had been re-christened AURANGABAD, the old name was re-annexed to distinguish it from another AURANGABAD in a neighbouring tahsil.

KORA JAHANABAD .. Fatehpur (v.s. 210) .. 367

The name belongs to two towns originally and still to some extent distinct. Kora is Kottah, fort, but it stands on the list in another place as a name by itself and need not therefore be discussed here.

PREFIXES.

We come finally to the class of compound names in which the usual sequence of the parts is reversed. The base is placed first and the characteristic follows it.

Some bases are always suffixal, but most can be employed also as prefixes, though not always in the same form. Abad for example when employed as a prefix is always Abadi. Some again are unchangeable in form but changeable in position. Among the latter may be reckoned Kot as in—

KOT SALBAHAN .. Budaun .. 368

Kot as a suffix has already been discussed and there is no peculiarity in its use as a prefix that need detain us. The fort of Salivahana would be interesting to antiquarians, if it were in any way connected with the Salivahana who gave his name to an era. But that is hardly likely. It is an old fashioned name that is now extinct, but may once have been common enough. There is a village called Salbahanpur in the district of Bulandshahr and another in Etah.

Thana retains this form as a prefix, but when it becomes a suffix changes to Thana with short medial A, as in Bharthana (326) or to Than and also rarely

to Tan as in Multan for Mulasthana. As a prefix we have it in

Thana Bhavan .. Muzaffarnagar .. 369

Thana means a station, sometimes a police-station, sometimes a cattle-station, in this case no doubt the latter. The word has already been explained and derived (v.s. Bharthana 326).

Bhavan has several meanings, a dwelling, a temple . (v. Bhonganw 262) an underground pit. In the present instance however judging from the Thana which precedes it, it is none of these but a man's name, and Thana Bhavan means the cattle-station of Bhavan, say, of Bhavan Pati, the modern Bhopat. So in Muttra we have a village named Thana Amar Singh.

The two prefixes Kot and Thana are rather rare and none of the commoner prefixes are represented in the Government list, except Sarai. We have had Sarai as a prefix in Sarai Akii, 257, Sarai Girdhari 259 and others, and a suffix in Kheta Sarai 254 and Mughai, Sarai. We have seen Than as a suffix in Asothar but the list gives us no examples of it as a prefix although it is tolerably common, chiefly in the forms Thahar and Thiriya, as Thahar Ram Lai, in Agra and Thiriya Rudar Singh in Bareilly.

Prefixes however play too important a part in Hindi onomatology to be summarily dismissed, and we may overstep the limit of the list to take cognizance of those that are most prevalent, and their local distribution.

The distribution of prefixes is of importance and it will be seen that with the exception of Sarai and Tanda they prevail over definable areas, and are elsewhere replaced by others of different form and origin. It is not difficult to explain why Sarai and Tanda should be exceptions to the rule. The Sarai was a Musulman institution, and the name appears wherever high roads were constructed by the Musulman Government. Tanda was a name specially appropriated to the camps of the

Banjaras who constituted the commissariat department of the Musulman armies. The name therefore attached itself to their grain depots, and to the places along the borders of civilisation to the North where they retired in time of peace.

Pur and Nagar are not found in this shape as prefixes. In their place we have Pura and Nagla, already explained, (v.s. 117 ff.) the latter found chiefly in Rohilkhand and the Upper and Central Duab, and the former in the Central and Lower Duab and eastwards to the borders of Bengal. The areas covered by these two prefixes overlap in the Agra Division. Neither of them extends Northward into the Hill Districts, nor are they found, except in a few scattered instances, south of the Jamna river.

NAGLA. The prefix NAGLA with its collateral forms NAGRA, NANGLA, NANGLI, NAGALIA and NAGARIA occurs in nearly three thousand place-names in the North-West Provinces. Of these over two thousand are in the Agra Division and the rest in the Divisions of Meerut and Rohilkhand. To the South-East of Farrukhabad this prefix disappears altogether. The Allahabad, Benares and Jhansi divisions present no instance of it.

The forms Nangla and Nangli are peculiar to the Bijnor district.

NAGRA is rare. It is most frequent in Shahjahanpur, where it alternates with NAGLA.

The feminine forms NAGALIA and NAGARIA number about a hundred in all. Both occur in Aligarh and west of Rohilkhand. But in East Rohilkhand and the Agra Division we find only Nagaria. We may say therefore that as a general rule the L is retained in Nagla but gives place to R in NAGARIA.

Pura.—The prefix Pura occurs nearly two thousand times. It replaces NAGLA in the Allahabad division where there are over a thousand Puras, most of them in the Allahabad district, and it extends thence westward into

the Agra Division, and eastward into that of Benares. It is not found in the Rohilkhand or Meerut divisions, except in a couple of stray instances in Aligarh, and only very rarely to the south of Jamna.

This class of names loves to cluster round the great cities and that perhaps is the reason why the prefix Pura reappears as far west as Agra, after skipping Mainpuri.

The most numerous examples are in Allahabad, Agra, Farrukhabad and Cawnpore in the order named. In Cawnpore and the adjoining district of Etawah this prefix takes the form of Purwa and in the extreme East, as in Basti, it is written and pronounced Pure.

The feminine form Puri is rarely found as a prefix.

CHAK .-- After NAGLA and PURA the commonest prefix is CHAK. It is almost confined to the Eastern districts, and the Allahabad and Benares divisions, but there are a few examples here and there further west, even as far as Bijnor. The district in which it chiefly prevails is Ghazipur. There are in all nearly 1500 examples of its use as a prefix. CHAK is defined in Mr. Crooke's agricultural glossary as a collection of fields of similar quality and value and is there derived from Skr. CHAKRA. The definition gives the modern technical meaning but in popular and earlier usage it meant simply a sub-division of land. It is a Musulman expression and is found in five cases out of six in connection with Musulman names and in Musulman properties. It is very nearly equivalent to the Hindu Patti, and I am inclined to assign to it the same original meaning, viz. strip or shred (v. 359) and to connect it with the Persian word CHAK torn or split rather than with Skr. CHAKRA. A similar name SHIKK, was given in Mughal times to a sub-division of a subah. (see Gaz. Vocabulary at the end of vol. on Aligarh.) There are a few other Persian and Arabic words which are often used as prefixes, which may be enumerated here. These are-

MILK or MILAK, ARAZI, ZAMIN, ABADI and MAZRA. The first two generally imply a subordinate property ori-

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ginating in a grant of land, and like Chak, are found in most cases in conjunction with a Musulman name. Of milk there are about 250 examples but it is very local being scarcely found beyond the districts of Moradabad and Bareilly in Rohilkhand. There are a few instances in the Allahabad district. The terms Arazi, and Zamin belong exclusively to the Eastern district. The Arazis number about 150, of which nearly half are in Ghazipur and Ballia. The use of the word may be best gathered from such names as Arazi Marwat land assigned to the family of a retainer killed in fight, Arazi Sankalp land assigned to Brahmans for religious purposes, Arazi Taufir, lit. land in excess, not measured with estate.

ZAMIN.—The term ZAMIN occurs mainly in Azamgarh, occasionally in Benares and Jaunpur. It is generally united to a village name, as ZAMIN KISHANPUR and seems to mean a semi-detached portion of village. NAGLA is often used in the same way in the West.

ABADI.—ABADI is a prefix similarly employed in Sahāranpur and is almost peculiar to that district which has 63 instances.

MAZRA.—MAZRA, an equivalent word (v. 117 ff.), though a common revenue term, is not a common prefix to place-names except in Aligarh, which counts 31 out of the 46 instances.

Bas.—The strictly Hindu prefixes corresponding to Abadi and Mazra are Bas and Gauntia. These also have a limited local range. Out of 70 examples of the prefix Bas 42 come from the Agra district, and out of 62 examples of Gauntia 41 belong to Bareilly, and the rest with two exceptions are in the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand. Gauntia from Skr. Gramatika.

Bas sometimes assumes the form Bans, especially in the compound Nayabans or new settlement, which occurs as a prefix some dozen times, chiefly in Aligarh. This suggests the question whether Bans Bareli was really so called, as has been supposed, from the bamboos which

flourish in profusion in its environs or whether it is not an instance of the prefix BAS, colony or dwelling which is so common in Agra.

NIWADA.—NAYABANS or new colony is equivalent to the Persian Nauabad and the word Nauabad disputes or divides with the Hindi word Nivas, dwelling, the honor of having given birth to a very popular village name which is also frequently employed as a prefix, viz., Nawada. Nawada is a prefix to about 180 names in the Cawnpore district, and it occurs also in every district in the Rohilkhand division although there the feminine form Nawadia seems to be preferred.

SARAI.—We have already referred to the use of Sarai as a prefix. That of course is not local. Like the suffix of the same form and meaning it is found everywhere along the course of the main roads but is most frequent in Jaunpur and Allahabad. In the Eastern districts it is apt to degenerate into the form Sarya or Sariyan, and it is then often doubtful whether it is not a diminutive of Sar, a cowshed.

Tanda.—Tanda a word appropriated to the settlements of the Banjaras, the great grain carriers of mediæval India, is a widely diffused prefix in the districts along the foot of the Himalayas, Saharanpur, Bijnor, Moradabad, Bareilly, the Tarai and Shahjahanpur.

It is found also three times in Etawah.

KHERA.—Of the remaining common prefixes the least restricted in its range is KHERA. It is common in Aligarh, Muzaffarnagar, Agra and Budaon but disappears as we go eastward. The feminine forms KHERI and KHIRIYA are not unusual.

GARHI.—GARHI and BURJ, warlike sounding words, are used as prefixes to numerous names in Agra and Muttra. GARHI usually a fort, has numerous significations; as a prefix it probably means in most instances a village surrounded by a ditch, like KHAIN-KHERA.

BURJ.—BURJ means a stack of chaff with a thatch on

it. Mr. Crooke identifies this word with Burj a bastion. But bastion is a late meaning acquired in Persia and imported thence. In both meanings the word is ultimately traceable to Skr. Vrjanam, an enclosure. So Bonga, a stack of chaff to the cognate Skr. Vargah.

MANDIYAN.—MANDIYAN or MADIYAN or MARIYAN or MARHI, meaning a hut or a collection of huts, is a very frequent prefix in Farrukhabad and Moradabad.

BEHTA.—Behta, a dwelling or farm, occurs in Shahjahanpur and Budaon. (v.s. BAHAT 273-4.)

THAHAR.—THAHAR (v. Asothar 301), also found as THER and THIRIYA and TERA, occurs in Agra, Bareilly and Farrukhabad.

KATRA.—KATRA, a market (v. 363), chiefly in Farrukhabad and Cawnpore.

GAURA.—GAURA, a cattle-pen, in Cawnpore and Basti.

BELA.—BELA, a sugar factory, in Allahabad, Azamgarh and Basti, with a stray instance in Shahjahanpur.

TOLA.—TOLA is peculiar to Ballia and Hamirpur.

PATTI.—The words PATTI and SIR are also found occasionally as prefixes.

Agra is remarkable for its quaint prefixes including BAS and BURJ and THAHAR, but Garhwal has a still quainter series all to itself, Ghorh and Gwarh and Irha and Jakh, mostly of uncouth form, and some of them difficult to interpret.

A list of the usual prefixes showing the frequency of their occurrence and the district in which they chiefly prevail, is subjoined. The numbers given only pretend to approximate accuracy.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

PART III.

Table of prefixes showing area of prevalence and frequency of occurrence.

1. NAGLA 2769 Rohilkhand and Upper and Central Duab, as far east as Farrukhabad.

2.	PURA			1721 Eastern districts and lower and
				central Duab as far west as Agra.
3.	Снак			1438 Ghazipur 370, Azamgarh 287,
				Fatehpur, 200 Allahabad 130,
	GARHI			Jaunpur 70, and others.
4.	GARHI		• •	404 Agra, 150, Muttra 100, Far-
	0			rukhabad 39 and others.
5.	SARAI			331 Allahabad 70, Jaunpur 50,
				Ghazipur 33 and others.
6.	NAWADA and	NAWADIA		257 Cawnpore 180, Etawah 6, Jaun-
				pur 5, and the rest mostly in
				ROHILKHAND.
7.	MILAK			251 Moradabad 200, Bareilly 20, the
				rest scattered.
8.	KHERA			172 Aligarh 35, Muzaffarnagar 16, and
				western districts generally.
0	TOLA			
	ARAZI		• •	160 Ballia 152 and Hamirpur 8.
10.	TIRALI	in a die		149 Ghazipur 45, Ballia 23, and East-
	Marrows			ern districts.
11.	MANDIYAN	••	• •	95 Farrukhabad 50, Moradabad 33,
	7			Tarai 9, Shahjahanpur 3.
12.	ZAMIN			88 Azamgarh 68, Benares 15, Jaun-
~ ~	1			pur 5.
	ABADI	••	• •	70 Saharanpur 63, the rest scattered.
14.	BAS.	••	• •	70 Agra 42, Basti 13, Muttra 7 and
	m			others.
15.	TANDA		• •	65 Saharanpur 29, Bareilly 12 and
-6	0			others.
10.	GAUNTIA		• •	62 Bareilly 41, Shahjahanpur 16 and
				others.
	GAURA			53 Basti 15, Cawnpore 9, and others.
18.	MAZRA			46 Aligarh 31, Moradabad 8 and
				others. [others.
	KATRA		• •	45 Cawnpore 19, Farrukhabad 15, and
	BELA			27 Basti II, Allahabad 7 and others.
21.	THAHAR, TH	ER or TERA		24 Bareilly 12, Agra 7, Farrukhabad
				5.
	Burj			21 Agra 13, Muttra 8.
	PATTI	••		17 Allahabad 8, Benares 4, and others.
-	ВЕНТА			14 Budaun 10, Shahjahanpur 4.
25.	NAYABANS			12 Aligarh 7, Etah 3, Saharanpur 1,
				Bulandshahr I.
26.	SIR			10 Aligarh 4, Budaun 3, Bijnor 3.

CHAPTER II.

Part 4.

We have now passed in review about half the place names comprised in the official list, and have reached a point where we can pause and measure the distance we have traversed and take bearings for our onward course.

We began by dividing place-names broadly into compounds and derivatives, meaning by the former term those names which are separable into two distinctly recognisable elements. These compounds we have again divided according to the nature of their bases or terminations into three families, municipal, rural and religious. We have then glanced at a closely allied class, that of double names, and lastly we have enumerated the principal prefixes, i.e. bases which can be prefixed to the descriptive element of names, mostly giving them the appearance of double-names.

The reason for adopting this sequence, that is to say, the reason for beginning with recognizable compounds and for postponing rural and religious to municipal, is that compounds in general and the latter family in particular bring us first in contact with the more modern and therefore most intelligible names and we approach by easy stages those that are older and more difficult to unriddle. It is the plan which a student starting without a guide naturally follows. He takes the modern names first, and digs down through the upper crust to reach the lower and more ancient strata. Here and there bits of ancient layers jut out on the surface, and so we have chanced on names like Kalanjara which takes us back thousands of years and which we are unable satisfactorily to analyse: but on the whole we have made steady progress from the transparent modern names to the old and obscure ones and at the same time from what the Germans call Culture names back to Nature names.

It has been said that the history of a people impresses

itself upon its onomatology, and it would be an interesting task to illustrate this by following place-names down the path of history. If we reverse the process, taking the modern names first, it is because the nature of the material at our disposal compels us to do so. We must mount up from the present to the past, because otherwise the past would be unintelligible.

The names we have hitherto considered belong with a few exceptions to the period that has elapsed since the Musulman subjugation of India. The names that remain to be examined belong chiefly to the earlier periods. Only a few are modern.

The bulk of the names we have met with consists of a base with a characteristic, generally a man's name as Azamgarh, the fort of Azam, sometimes the name of a tree as Siras-ghat, the ford by the siras tree. When the original characteristic has been found insufficient to distinguish the place, and a third element has been superadded, as in Rasulpur Gaus, we have called them doublenames. Technically they form a sub-class as differentiate or excrescent forms.

But in the names we have yet to treat of we shall find a much more important sub-class, that of mutilated or elliptical names, in which the base has been dropped or suppressed or deformed, leaving a characteristic with or without a suffix or with a base which has glided into suffix form. Such names constitute the mass of the names which we have yet to consider.

The test whether a word like Aonla or Baldeo standing by itself is a simple or elliptical name is, can it be construed as a generic term? If not it is elliptical and has lost its base. In the case of some names, especially tree names like Aonla, which are only generic in a botanical sense, it may be doubted whether there is practically any ellipse whatever. At any rate it is not likely that the first person who used the tree-name Aonla to designate a place was conscious of the ellipse or could have supplied

it. And it is much the same with personal names like Baldeo. However it is convenient to take the strictly logical point of view and treat such names as elliptical.

It follows from the above that the primary classification of names must be by bases, and the subordinate by characteristics, and elliptical names in which the base is lost or defaced beyond recognition must be treated as a group by themselves.

Recognizable composites then fall into easily definable classes, and each base or set of bases has more or less a special set of characteristics to which it allies itself.

We have divided the bases roughly into municipal, rural and religious, a sufficient division for the few names with which we have to deal.

The municipal names, as we have seen, take in the vast majority of instances personal names as their characteristics, the most remarkable exception being Sawadshahr 252, in which the characteristic embodies an abstract idea. Sawadshahr belongs to the latest development of culture names, and is only surpassed by modern European names like Sophiensglück, Karlsruhe, Landstrost, in which the base itself puts on the semblance of an abstract idea. Ancient names are nearly always objective, and the number ranked in the subjective category is steadily dwindling as investigation proceeds. Even the Makariai nesoi have ceased to be the happy islands, and makariai is held by Professor Grasberger to have a concrete signification.

Rural names take a much greater variety of characteristics; men's names as Chitarkut, Sherkot, tribal names as Koranta, Bharthana, tree names very often as Ambahta, Amsot, Ambari, Talgram, Siras-ghat, Sisolar, Neoriya, Chillatara, soil names as Kankar Khera, Markundi, Markuan; adjectives of size and colour as Baraganw, Kali Kumaun, Loha Ghat and perhaps Noh Jhil, honorific terms used as adjectives, as Rajghat, Ranipokhar, Ranikhet; terms connected with agriculture, Chirganw, Chiriyakot; the marking out and division of

land, Chaudhari, Athganw; and manufacturing industry, Bilsanda. Whatever peculiarities of a place impressed the inhabitants, whatever engaged their labours and whatever helped or retarded their efforts for improvement is mirrored in the names of their villages. Förstemann says a settler manifests a four-fold activity, viz., in clearing, planting, building and demarcating, and this is the circle of ideas to which new settlements owe their names. But later on the circle widens.

Religious place-names as a rule take the name of a divinity for their characteristic, as Hardwar, or some adjective implying sanctity as Deoban, or some object of veneration as Vrinda, the sacred Ocymun, in Brindaban.

So much for classification and the general material of names. But in order to classify them as proposed it is necessary to separate their elements and these are often obscured by phonetic changes. General phonetic rules are of course applicable to Hindi, but like other languages it has idiosyncrasies of its own. One of these is the way it rids itself of conjunct consonants on all possible occasions. The commonest way of effecting this is by eliding the first consonant, and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus Dharm becomes Dhān (101) and Karn Kān (64), so also Mudgala or Mudgara becomes Mūgar and, by nasalisation, Mūngar (361).

On the same principle an aspirated consonant, especially DH, is often replaced by a simple H. Thus Sadharan becomes Saharan (108) Lodha becomes Loha, as possibly in Nagla Loha quoted under Noh Jhil (289). Also Madhuka, the *Bassia latifolia*, becomes Mahua, Mahu, and lastly Mau (351), earlier Mavuka. We find Mavuka written in Sanskrit for Madhuka in one of the Chandella grants (*The Indian Antiquary*, July 1887, p. 205).

More rarely the aspirated letter is disaspirated: so Thana becomes tan or tana, admittedly in Multan for Mulasthana.

. Equally important for the accurate analysis of place-

names is the study of old case endings, but these we must leave until the grammarians have better cleared the ground.

We cannot go further than linguistic students have prepared the way. There are many obsolete forms imbedded in place-names the elucidation of which is only possible for those who have fathomed the grammatical mysteries of the Prakrits. But grammarians need not disdain to help us, and may even find their own profit and something in doing so, for place names hold faster to ancient forms than words of ordinary speech, and dialectical variations can be better seen in village names which live among the peasants and cannot leave their homes than in old authors whose native simplicity of speech was impaired by perusal of other writings, and often by sojourn in other lands.

It may be asked, if so much depends upon grammar, should not place-names be left to those who have made grammar a special study. The answer is plain. The object of the enquiry is ethnological and historical and not grammatical. The elements of place-names often lie faroff the road of philological students, and their import and significance can no more be determined by grammar than the functions of the physical organs can be learnt from the anatomy of a skeleton. A variety of special knowledge must be concentrated on the subject before it can be thoroughly illuminated. One can throw a light on it from one side and one from another. Therefore we need make no apology if we seem at times to trespass too rashly on the domains of Sanskritists, archæologists and comparative grammarians.

It is chiefly in measuring the range of ideas that underlie the geographical nomenclature of northern India and the character of the vocabulary which supplied its material that we hope to contribute something to this branch of study, but in pursuing the search of the said ideas and vocabulary we are compelled at times to wander on paths not strictly within our province.

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85 KALI KUMAUN 267 HATHGANW 336 KALINJAR 304 338 HAWALBAGH .. KAMALGANJ HAWELI JAUNPUR 164 345 KAMARUDDINNAGAR HAZRATPUR .. 17 137 HUSAINGANI 160 KANAUJ 346 HUSAINPUR 18 KANKARKHERA 270 HUSAINPUR (NEORIYA) ... 361 KANPUR .. 64 HUZUR TAHSIL KARIYAT DOST 342 35 I HUZUR TAHSIL KARIYAT MENDHA 343 352 KARIYAT SIKHAR IMRATPUR .. 57 353 KARNPRAYAG IRADATNAGAR 135 313 KASGANI ISLAMNAGAR 136 194 161 KASHIPUR ... ISMAILGANT .. 65 KAURIYAGANJ . Iq ITIMADPUR 195 58 KEDARNATH TAGAMANPUR 327 200 KHAIRAGARH JAHANABAD 24 I 210 TAHANABAD KHAIRAGARH 242 211 TAHANGIRABAD KHAIRNAGAR 138 59 KHALILABAD TAINTIPUR 215 60 TAITPUR . . KHANJAHANPUR . . 23 TALALABAD 212 KHARAKPUR 66 JALALABAD 213 KHETASARAI 254 JAI, AI, ABAD 214 KHUDAGANI 165 JALALPUR 20 KHUDAGANI 166 KHURPATAL 296 TALALPUR 21 JALALPUR 22 KILPURI 124 TALESAR KIRATPUR 67 322 104 68 JALHUPUR KISHNPUR KOPAGANI 196 TAMNOTRI . . 335 TASPUR 61 KORANTADIH 27 I . . KOTDWARA ... 316 JASWANTNAGAR 145 KOT SALBAHAN 368 TAUNPUR = 2 105 JAUNPUR (HAWELI) KULPAHAR 345 347 JAUNSAR BAWAR KUMAUN (KALI) 336 354 JAWALAPUR 62 KYDGANJ 190 JOSHIMATH 315 LAKHANIHIR 291 JWALAPUR V. JAWALAPUR LAKHNESAR 323 KADIRGANJ 162 LALITPUR 69 KAIMGANI 163 LALPURA IIG KALADHUNGI 339 LOHAGHAT 283 KALBHAIRON ... MACHHLISHAHR 250 337 KALIANPUR . . 63 MADHOGARH 244

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86 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

MAGHAR (HASANPUR)		360	MUZAFFARABAD	• •	221
MAHABAN		306	MUZAFFARNAGAR		142
MAHARAJGANJ		187	Nabiganj		170
MAINPURI		125	NAGAL	•	152
MAKANPUR		70	NAGAL		153
Makrandnagar		151	NAGAR		126
MALIKPUR	4.1	24	NAGAR (AURANGABAD)		366
MALWATAL		295	NAGARA		127
MANGALPUR		71	NAGARIA		128
MANIKPUR		72	NAINI TAL		293
MANJHANPUR		106	NAJAFGARH		240
MANPUR		73	NAJIBABAD		222
MANSURGANJ	4	167	NATHUPUR		75
MANSURNAGAR		139	NAUKUCHIATAL		297
MARKUAN		300	NAWABGANJ		171
MARKUNDI		289	Nawabganj		172
MAU AIMA		350	NAWABGANJ		173
MENDHA (KARIYAT)		352	Nawabganj		174
MAINGANJ		168	Nawabganj		175
MIRANPUR		25	NEORIYA HUSAINPUR		361
MIRANPUR		26	NIZAMABAD	٠	223
MIRANPUR (KATRA)		362	Nонјни		292
MIRAN KI SARAI		256	NURPUR		32
MIRGANJ		169	PACHHIM SARIRA		340
MIRZAPUR		27	PAHLADPUR		76
MIRZAPUR		28	PANAHAT		286
MIRZAPUR		29	Panwari		330
MIRZAPUR CHAUDHURI		363	PARAMNAGAR		146
MOGHALPUR V. MUGHAI	PUR		PARICHHATGARH		245
MOHANPUR		74	PATTI (ALIPUR)		358
MUBARIKPUR		31	PHULPUR		77
MUFTI KE PURWA		116	PHULPUR		78
MUGHALPUR		30	Ридвнит		275
MUGHAL SARAI		255	PITHORAGARH	•••	247
MUHAMMADABAD		216	Pur		115
MUHAMMADABAD		217	Puranpur		79
MUHAMMADABAD		218	RAJA (SAYYID)		365
MUNGRA BADSHAHPUR		260	RAJAPUR		80
MURADABAD		219	RAJGHAT		28 t
MURADNAGAR		140	RAJGHAT		282
MUSANAGAR		141	RAJPUR		81
MUSTAFABAD		220	RAJPURA	• •	120
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RAMNAGAR		147	Shahpur		38
RAMNAGAR		148	SHAHR SAWAD		252
RAMPUR		82	SHAHZADPUR		39
RAMPURA		121	SHAMSABAD		227
RANIBAGH		305	SHARIFPUR		40
RANIKHET		303	SHERKOT		279
RANIPOKHRI		290	SHIKARPUR		III
RANIPUR		107	SHIKOHABAD		228
RASULABAD		224	SHIUPUR		89
RASULPUR GHAUS		349	SHIURAJPUR		86
RATANPUR		83	SHIURAJPUR		87
ROBERTSGANJ		191	SHIURAJPUR		88
RUDARPUR		84	SHOREPUR		112
RUDARPUR		85	SHUKARTAR		299
RUDRPRAYAG	* *	314	SIKANDARABAD		229
SADABAD		225	SIKANDARPUR		41
SAHARANPUR		108	SIKHAR (KARIYAT)		353
SAHISPUR		109	SIKRI (FATEHPUR)		348
SAKALDIHA		272	SINGIRAMPUR	1.5	113
SAKATPUR		IIO	SIRASGHAT		285
SAKTESGARH		246	SIRHPURA		122
SALBAHAN (KOT)		368	SISOLAR		280
SALIMPUR		33	SITAPUR		90
SALIMPUR	3	34	SRINAGAR		149
SARAI AGHAT		260	SRINAGAR		150
SARAI AKIL		257	SULTANIPUR		43
SARAI GIRDHARI		259	SULTANPUR		42
SARAI MUHIUDDIN		258	SUMERPUR	1	91
SARNATH		328	SURAHATAL		298
SARSAGANJ		197	TAHSIL (HUZUR)	34	12-3
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SAYYID RAJA	3	365	THANA BHAVAN	1	369
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SHAHBAZNAGAR		144	TILPUR		92
SHAHDARA	3	333	WAZIRGANJ		177
SHAHGANJ		176	YAKUTGANJ		178
SHAHJAHANPUR		36	ZAFARABAD		230
SHAHJAHANPUR		37	ZAHURABAD	***	231

STONE ELEPHANT AT AJMERE.

[Professor P. B. Joshi's article on "The Stone Elephant at Ajmere," in the last number of the *Journal*, has attracted attention at the hands of European Orientalists, and Mr. Henry Beveridge, the *doyen* of Indian historians, has supplied us with a series of illuminating notes on the points raised by the article. Strange as it may seem, very few people in Ajmere seem to know the existence of this remarkable work, while the historian and the archæologists have remained supinely indifferent to its value.

Extracts from Mr. Beveridge's notes are given below, together with Mr. Joshi's replies, and the tahsildar's report.

We hope some enterprising investigator will throw further light on this fascinating theme.—Shafaat Ahmad Khan.]

- (A). Letter dated 1st September, 1922, from Mr. H. Beveridge to the Editor.
- "* * * * I have also read with much pleasure the article on Jahangir's Stone Elephant in the number for May. Somehow I missed seeing this figure when I was in Ajmer.

But it seems to me that Mr. P. B. Joshi's article needs revision. I do not understand his rendering of the Pandit's reply at page 108. What is the word 'Bagat'? Is this not a mistake for 'waqt' ("",)?

I do not think that Jahangir had ever to do with the putting up of the figure at Ajmer, and the words 'Jahangir Badshah kai bagat sai' seem to imply that the inscription was put after, and probably long after Jahangir's death. I suppose the Guru or some other Hindu put the inscription.

Jahangir, as we know from the Tuzuk, had a rock or stone cut in the shape of a sitting elephant. This was in A.H. 1016 or A.D. 1607-08. The rock or stone which was apparently in the Kabul river and near Jalalabad has

disappeared and it seems to me that some unknown person had the stone removed to Ajmer and put up the inscription about Jahangir. 'Hathi-Bhata' seems to be a Hindusthani or local rendering of the word 'The Sitting Elephant.' But if so 'Bhata' should be 'Baithana' (sic).

Har Bilas Sarda's book has a reference at page 128–29 to the 'Hathi-Bhata' but he does not clear up my difficulties.

Did Jahangir ever come to Ajmer before A.H. 1022–23, when he stayed three years? Probably Jahangir is wrong about the time when he had the stone in the Kabul river made into an elephant. If he had ever put up the stone elephant at or near Ajmer he would have told us so."

(B). Note dated 18th January, 1923, by Mr. Joshi.

"I have made further enquiries about the Stone Elephant at Ajmer, but have unfortunately not been able to get any information that would throw fresh light on the subject. Through the courtesy of Mr. C. C. Watson, C.I.E., I.C.S., the Commissioner of Ajmer, I have been able to consult the official records and also get the help of the tahsildar of Ajmer in my work; but the results of my labours have not been very satisfactory. What little I have been able to collect I give below for the information of Mr. Beveridge, to whom I am indebted for the interest he has taken in my article.

Mr. Beveridge's remarks on my interpretations of the words 'Bhātā' and 'Bagat' are, I am afraid, not correct. 'Bhātā' is a Marwari (The Rajasthani language spoken in these parts) word meaning 'stone,' so that 'Hāthī-Bhātā' really means the 'elephant-stone' or more properly the 'stone-elephant.' The word has nothing to do with the Hindusthani Baitha (بينها عَمَة). Urdu writers call the statue (نيل سنگ), feel-sung. Similarly the word 'Bagat' in the Pandit's reply (page 108 of the Journal) is the Marwari equivalent of the Hindustani 'waqt' (قيل منه) and

'Jahāngīr Bādshāh kai bagat sai' can only mean 'from the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr.' I do not see how we can take the sentence to imply that the inscription or the elephant was put long after Jahāngīr's time.

There is again absolutely no likelihood of the Jalalabad Elephant, which has disappeared, being removed to Ajmer. In fact the Ajmer statue is not an isolated piece of stone, but is cut out of an outcrop of a rock. Then, again, the inscriptions on the two statues are different. Jahāngīr speaks of the Jalalabad Elephant in the 'Tuzuk' (Vol. I, 103–4) and the hemistich cut upon its breast gives Hijri 1016 as the date of its construction. The hemistich on the Ajmer statue, however, works the date to 1022 Hijri, the year when Jahāngīr first came to Ajmer and took his abode in the "Auspicious Palace" of Akbar (Tuzuk, Vol. II, 253–54). Before this Jahāngīr came to Ajmer as Prince Salim in charge of the operations against Maharana Pratap.

There is, I might mention, no mistake about deciphering the inscription which although not very clear is legible enough and reads as follows:—

To avoid all possibility of doubt I enclose an impression of the original. The statue, as I said in my original article, is besmeared with vermilion and it is consequently impossible to get a clearer impression, but it is easy to see that it refers clearly to Jahāngīr, and gives 1022 Hijri as the date of its construction. The story of the circumstances that led to the construction of the elephant is given differently by the tahsildar of Ajmer, who has copied it from the life of the Faqir I mentioned in my article. In Annexure A I give extracts from the tahsildar's report, from which it will appear that the saint who drew the attention of the Emperor was named Sri Hari Purush, who is worshipped by a large number of people in these parts. One of the followers of the saint, Achal

Das Shri Ram Agrawal, has published his life in Hindi verse. The book can be had from the author (No. 2, Kalvadevi Road, Bombay). It starts with the story given by the tahsildar, but as it does not refer to any historical work it has no value for our present purpose beyond the fact that it corroborates the popular story.

The Pandit in charge of the temple makes over Rs. 50 a month from the rent of the houses round the temple, and although no legal documents are now available to justify his title to the property, it will not be wrong to suppose that his predecessors were allowed the occupancy right of the locality at the time of the first Government settlement after due examination of the records.

The Hindi historian of Jodhpur, Rai Debi Prashad, has made the following reference to the Ajmer statue in a foot-note on page 84 of his Hindi Jahangir-Namah—

"ऐसा ही एक बड़ा हाथी अजमेर में भी जहांगीर वादणाह का मदार दर्वांजे के बाहर एक मन्दिर में है जिसको हाथी भाटा कहते हैं।"

I wrote to him in the hope of getting some information on the subject, but was disappointed to hear that he had nothing new to say. "I have," says he, in his reply to my enquiry, "been seeing the statue these seventy years and there is no doubt that it belongs to Jahangir's time. Lately the locality has been greatly improved, but some years ago the only thing in that place was the stone statue under a peepul tree, etc., etc." The Rai Sahib refers me to Muhammad Akbar Jan, the author of Ahsan-us-siar, a history of Ajmer, published in the year 1300 Hijri (45 years ago). At page 102 of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the (int) with the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the said book the writer speaks of the property of the prop

شہر اجمیر کے شرقی گوشہ میں بیروں شہر پذاہ اکبری محل معروف به میگزیں کے قریب جو سرّک حوالی شہر کی ہے عیں سرّک کے کنارے باریوں کے کمیت میں زیر درخت پیپل ایک پتہر کا هاتهی عوام هذدو اسکو " بہرونجی کہتے هیں " اور اپذی حاجات دُنیوی اس سے مانگتے هیں بذا هوا ہے یہ هاتهی سذگ خارہ کا ہے اسکے سونڈ اور کان کسی شخص نے زمانہ

سابق میں تور دالے هیں نشان باقی ہے هاتھی پر سیندور اور تیل انھی عامی لوگون کا لگایا هوا ہے البتہ سب نشان هاتھ پائون وغیرہ کے سب درست موجود هیں - اور پشت اسکی جون کی تون بیٹھے هوی هاتھی کی انداز پر بنی هوی هے اصل اسکی صوف اسقدر ہے کہ اس کھیت میں پہلے تو کئی فت اُونچا یہ پتھر اُسی نواح کے پہاڑ کا ہے جو زمین سے نکلا هوا تھا اسکو تراش کر جہانگیر بادشاہ کے عہد میں کہ اسوقت سنہ ۱۳۲۱ ایکھزار بائیس تھا یہ هاتھی بنایا گیا۔ چنانچه هاتھی کے پہلوے راست پر یہ شعر بعط نستعلیق کندہ ہے *

تاریخ فیل جنگ شد از حکمت اله این کوه پاره فیل جهانگیر بادشاه مصرعه ثانی اسکی پوری تاریخ هی هرچند یهه پتبر کا هاتبی کچهه عمده چیز فهین مگر چونکه یه ایک یادگار هے ذکر اس کا درج کتاب کیا گیا - فقط *

This, I believe, is about all that I can add to my previous article. I am of the opinion that the elephant belongs to Jahāngīr's time. There is no substantial reason to believe that some Hindu, as Mr. Beveridge thinks, put the inscription there. The only possible motive for such an action would have been a desire to give religious sanctity to the statue, but this object could certainly not be gained by engraving a Persian couplet on the elephant and making a Muhammadan ruler its author. Even granting that the disciples of Shri Hari Purush at a later date put the elephant there in order to give authenticity to the story of the saint's miracle, it is difficult to imagine why they should have remained satisfied with a hemistich of the usual type rather than give a longer account of the incident.

In the absence of anything definite we have, I think, to rely on the probabilities of the case; and these, to my mind, are greatly in favour of our accepting the current story as at least partly correct, and putting the elephant to Jahāngīr. For, in the first place, Jahāngīr took delight in having stones carved into animals of sorts (instances—the Jalalabad statue and the antelope statue). Secondly, the Ajmer inscription is of the type Jahāngīr used else-

where. Thirdly, there was a faqir, Hari Purush by name, whom we can trace back in the records of his disciples to the time of Jahāngīr. Fourthly, Jahāngīr believed in the power of the Hindu faqirs and was not loath to respect such as he thought deserved respect. I might here refer to his visits to Jadrup Swami (Tuzuk, Vol. I, pages 355–59). And last though not the least, the descendants of Hari Purush are recognized by Government as the rightful owners of the Hāthī-Bhātā locality. They must have produced documents to verify their rights to the property when they claimed it from the British Government soon after 1815; and although these documents are not forthcoming now, it will be unjust to the settlement officers to assume that they accepted the Pandit's right without a proper scrutiny of the records.

The only point that needs clearing up is Jahāngīr's silence on the subject. It is, however, too much to expect that Jahāngīr should have made a mention of the incident and the erection of a stone elephant at Ajmer in the Tuzuk. There are many things which appear important to us but which have not been touched upon by the Emperor. Thus although we may well express our surprise at the fact that the author of the Tuzuk is silent about the Ajmer elephant, we are not, for that solitary reason, justified in rejecting the evidence of such a clear inscription to the effect that the statue dates back to 1022 Hijri and is the work of Jahāngīr."

ANNEXURE A.

Extract from the report by Tahsildar, Ajmer, dated 11th November, 1922.

"The temple Pandit cannot prove how he acquired the temple and the land attached thereto. But from other sources, I have been able to ascertain that the Pandit's claim to the property dates back to the time of Emperor Jahangir. In that time a great Faqir by name

Sri Hari Purush visited Ajmer and established his 'Dhuni' on a piece of ground where the temple of Hathi Bhata now stands (just behind the Moghal Palace). When people heard of the arrival of the saint they collected in large numbers to pay him their respects. The Moghal Emperor was then at Ajmer and an elephant of his Majesty's 'Khas-Sawari' went mad, and after killing many people rushed towards the Fagir who was surrounded by a large number of pious disciples. The approach of the elephant naturally dispersed the disciples, but in spite of repeated requests to run away the Fagir never moved an When the elephant reached him the Mahatma touched the mad animal on the head; who thereon bowed his head and stood quiet near him. When the news of this miracle reached the Moghal Emperor he came out to meet the saint at the 'Dhuni.' His Majesty enquired about the past history of the elephant and the saint said that the elephant was in his former life a millionaire but very miserly and this resulted in his re-birth as an animal. The saint then said that the animal had finished his lease of life and was about to breathe his last. All faces were turned towards the elephant and in an instant the huge animal dropped down dead.

The Emperor thereon gave orders that a statue of the elephant be cut at the spot and left in charge of the saint and his disciples."

(C). Letter dated 10th March, 1923, from Mr. H. Beveridge to the Editor.

"I am much obliged to you for your letter and enclosures of the 6th instant. I am also much obliged to Mr. Joshi and the Tahsildar for the trouble taken in the matter of the stone elephant.

satisfactory than 'stone elephant.' The first supplies a useful description of the figure.

Whether 'Baitha' or 'baith' be good Bengali or Ajmeri I do not know, but I know that when a Mahawat wants an animal to sit he says 'Baith' or 'Baitho.' How exactly the word is spelt I do not know. I also still think that there is some connection between Jahangir's elephant in the Jalalabad river (now gone) and the Ajmer one. Perhaps Jahangir forgot what took place or his orders were not fully carried out. Possibly more information might be obtained from the spurious or incorrect edition of the Tuzuk used by Major Price. It certainly is incorrect in several places, but it contains information which may be correct and which is not to be found in Syed Ahmad's Manuscript.

The Tahsildar's story about one of Jahangir's elephants going mad at Ajmer is interesting, for it seems to refer to an incident mentioned by Jahangir or Abul Fazl that an elephant which was so gentle that it would not hurt an ant suddenly went mad and killed fourteen people. I cannot at this moment give the reference. Jahangir also tells us about two elephants going mad because they had been bitten by a mad jackal.

It is curious how little known the Ajmer elephant seems to be. My friend Mr. Whiteway was, I believe, for several years at Ajmer as settlement officer and I thought he would be sure to know about it. But when I wrote to him I found that he had no recollection about the elephant.

I am doubtful too if it is mentioned in the list of antiquities or curiosities which Government is supposed to be interested in preserving."

(D). Letter dated the 16th April, 1923, from Mr. Joshi to the Editor.

"I return with many thanks my note on the Ajmer elephant along with Mr. Beveridge's letter of the 10th

STONE ELEPHANT AT AJMERE.

March. I read the letter with much interest but I do not find anything in it that could justify our establishing a connection between the Jalalabad and the Ajmer elephants.

The interpretation of the word as Baitha or Bhata cannot help us in clearing up the main point. The statue is cut out of an outcrop of the rock and I cannot by any stretch of fancy conceive that an entire rock was bodily moved from Jalalabad to Ajmer.

When the date on the elephant coincides with the date of Jahāngīr's arrival at Ajmer, it is I think rather far-fetched to reason that the Emperor forgot the date when he put the statue at Jalalabad. In fact the Emperor Jahāngīr mentions the Punjab statue while describing his visit to the north and unless we are prepared to accuse Jahangir of a total ignorance of chronological sequence, we are not justified in maintaining that the author of the Tuzuk mentioned the stone elephant in connection with the events that took place quite six years before the erection of the statue (visit to Jalalabad A.H. 1016, date on the Ajmer elephant A.H. 1022).

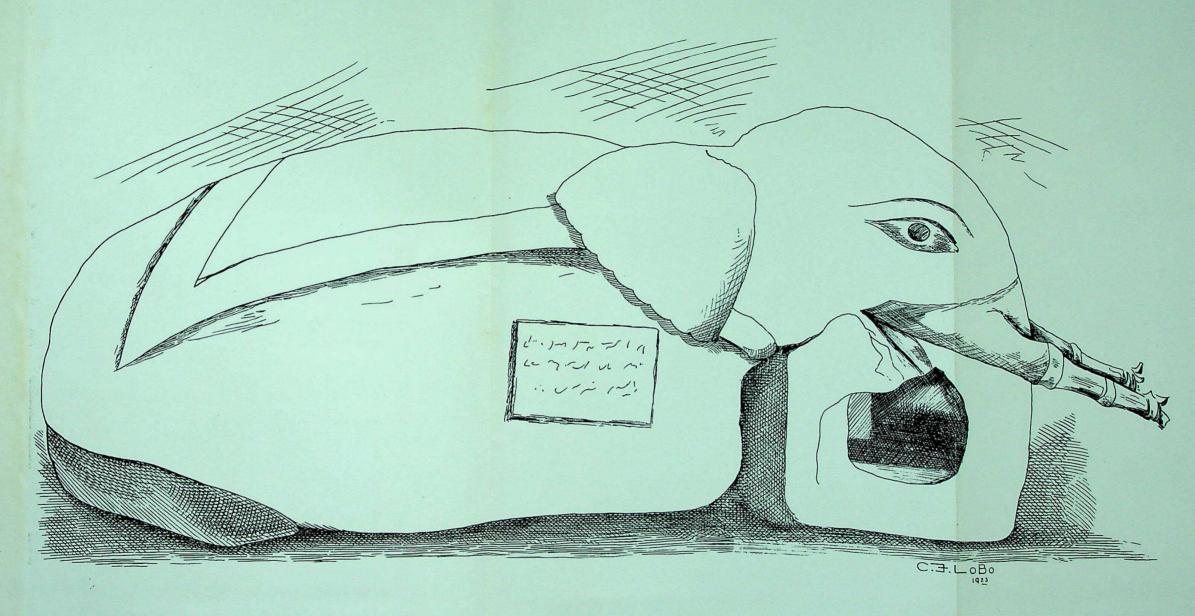
It is interesting to find Mr. Beveridge referring to Price's Tuzuk; but I might mention that in order to be quite sure on the subject I read that book as well as the Nawal Kishore Edition of the Tuzuk and was not able to discover any mention of the stone statue in either."

Government College, Ajmer.

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P. B. Joshi.





Jahāngīr's Stone Elephant at Ajmer. The Hāthī Bhātā.

[By the courtesy of the artist. Mr. C. F. Lobo, of the B.B. & C.I. Ry., Loco. Shops, Ajmer.]

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

(From the Account of I-tsing, 672-88 A.D.)

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CEVENTH century India has been described by two distinguished Chinese travellers. I-tsing set foot on Indian soil in A.D. 672 within a few years after Hiuen Tsang had left it (645 A.D.). It was this fact which probably determined the lines and scope of I-tsing's account of India so as not to render it superfluous after Hiuen Tsang's copious account immediately preceding it. Accordingly, we miss in it the wealth of details, the range and variety of information, which make of Hiuen Tsang's record a sort of a Gazetteer for India of those spacious times. And yet, in covering the ground not trod in Hiuen Tsang's account, the account of I-tsing necessarily forms a valuable addition and supplement to Hiuen Tsang's. But apart from this, Hiuen Tsang exercised a considerable personal influence upon I-tsing. According to his biographer, he was an eye-witness of the noble enthusiasm of Hiuen Tsang and of the ceremony of his funeral which was celebrated with special pomp under the Emperor's orders. Hiuen Tsang died during the time of I-tsing's stay in the capital. His references to Hiuen Tsang are always full of reverence. He calls him "the Tripitaka teacher of China" (Tākākusu's tr., p. 74) and "the Bhadanta Hiuen Tsang who followed out his professional career in his own country" (p. 184) and places him on a footing of equality with renowned Buddhist Scholars from India like Paramārtha and Kumārajīva. According to his biographer, I-tsing was a great admirer of both Hiuen Tsang and Fa-Hien in whose footsteps he followed in seeking to slake his thirst for knowledge at its very fountains in India.

Like Fa-Hien, I-tsing's object was to study and gather the genuine texts of the Vinaya rules, to correct their misrepresentations in China and to combat the erroneous views held by the Vinayā-dhāras there in those days (Tākākusu's ed., pp. 15, 18). At first I-tsing organised a band of Scholars to undertake that mission and a joint travel to India, the home of Buddhist literature, but eventually he had to travel almost alone, his only companion being a youthful priest. Not at all depressed by this discouraging circumstance, he had the inspiring words of his teacher to lead him on to that arduous enterprise from which others had shrunk: "Go without hesitation: do not look back upon things left behind. I certainly approve of your pilgrimage to the holy places. Moreover, it is a most important duty to strive for the prosperity of Religion. Rest clear from doubt! This is a great opportunity for you, which will not occur twice" (p. xxviii). The places actually visited by I-tsing in India were much fewer than those visited by Hiuen Tsang. These were: Kapilavastu, Buddhagayā Vārānasī, Srāvasti, Kānyakubja, Rājagrha (Nālandā), Vaisālī, Kusinagara and Tāmralipti. He refers to several other places in India, viz., Lāṭa, Sindhu, Valabhī, Udyāna, Kāśmīra and Nepāla; but his descriptions of these places do not appear to be those of an eye-witness. He was however careful to check the accuracy of hearsay accounts received by him. He himself states: "Although I myself did not see all these parts of India, I could nevertheless ascertain everything by careful enquiry" (p. 43).

At some of the places he spent more time for his studies than Hiuen Tsang. He stayed at Tāmralipti for four months. At Nālanda he stayed for as many as

ten years.

His literary collections from India amounted to a considerable quantity. They comprised some 400 different texts of Buddhist works with the slokas numbering 500,000.

His internal acquisitions in India included a know-ledge of Sanskrit and of Śabdavidyā (grammar and lexicography) (p. xxxi). He was thus able to translate on his return home no less than 56 works in 230 volumes. By the literature that he thus introduced into China in which were represented practically the whole texts of the Vinaya belonging to his own Nikāya (the Mūlasarvāstivādin school) he became the founder of a new school in China for the study of that particular branch of Buddhist literature.

The predominance of Brahmanism over Buddhism continued in I-tsing's time. India was then known by the name of Brahma-rāstra (pp. 118, 156). Sanskrit called the Brahma language became the language of even the Buddhist works and a subject of study of the Buddhist monks. As stated by I-tsing, "a thorough study of Sanskrit Grammar may clear up many difficulties we encounter while engaged in translation" (p. 168). I-tsing refers to the ninety-six heretical schools of thought and mentions the Sānkhya and Vaisesika systems of philosophy (p. 2). Some of the existing sects of the times are described as follows: "Some think it necessary, in order to get rid of re-birth, to have their body naked (Digambara) and the hair plucked out; others insist, as the means of securing Heaven, on anointing their body with ashes or tying up their locks of hair (probably Saivas called Bhūtas by Hiuen Tsang). Some say life is self-existent, while others believe that the soul becomes extinct on death. There are many who think that existence is a perfect mystery, dark and obscure, and its reality is not to be explored, and it is too minute and complicated for us to know whence we have come into being " (ib.). I-tsing also refers to the Brahmans as being "regarded throughout the five parts of India as the most honourable caste" 100

who do not associate with other castes (p. 182). "The scriptures they revere are the Four Vedas, containing about 100,000 verses." "The Vedas have been handed down from mouth to mouth, not transcribed on paper or leaves. In every generation there exist some intelligent Brahmans who can recite the 100,000 verses" (ib.). There is a reference to Brahmanical methods of study the meaning of which is not clear: "In India there are two traditional ways by which one can attain to great intellectual power. Firstly, by repeatedly committing to memory the intellect is developed; secondly, the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice). This is far from being a myth for I myself have met such men" (p. 183).

Like Hiuen Tsang, I-tsing gives an account of the general and elementary education of the times prior to specialisation and higher education in the monasteries. Education is begun at the age of six years. The first book of reading is called Siddhirastu which gives 40 letters of the alphabet and 10,000 syllables arranged in 300 slokas. This primer is finished in six months (pp. 170-172). The second book of reading is the Sūtra of Pāṇini containing 1000 slokas which the "children begin to learn when they are eight years old and can repeat in eight months' time" (p. 172). Next follow the book on Dhātu, and that on the three Khilas which the boys would begin when they are 10 years old and master after three years' diligent study (p. 175). The book to be read next is the famous Kāsīkāvṛtti, "the best" of all the commentaries on Pāṇini's sūtra, comprising 18,000 slokas, and composed by the learned Jayāditya, "a man of great ability with very striking literary power," who died nearly thirty years before I-tsing's notice of him in his account (i.e. A.D. 661-662). "Boys of fifteen years begin to study this commentary and understand it after years. If men of China

go to India for study, they have first of all to learn this grammatical work, then other subjects; if not, their labour will be thrown away."

"After having studied this commentary, students begin to learn composition in prose and verse and devote themselves to logic (Hetuvidyā) and metaphysics (Abhidharmakoşa)." Under logic, they study the introductory work composed by Nāgārjuna called Nyāya-dvāra-tārakaśāstra which teaches how to "rightly draw inferences" (Anumāna) and which was translated into Chinese by I-tsing in A.D. 711, while "by studying the Jātakamāla their powers of comprehension increase." Besides the Jātakamāla which was compiled under the patronage of the Emperor Harsa (p. 163), there was another work which was equally popular and "regarded as standard literature," viz. the Suhrillekha, an epistle in verse, addressed by Nāgārjuna to his patron, King Jetaka Śātavāhana (p. 159), known for the beauty of its style and for its earnest exhortations as to the right way. I-tsing sent in advance to China a Chinese translation of this 'Epistle of Nagarjuna' (p. 166).

Here ends the course of elementary and general education. Properly speaking, it comprised the study of the five subjects or Vidyās, viz., (1) Śabdavidyā (grammar and lexicography), (2) Śilpasthāna Vidyā, 'arts,' (3) Chikitsāvidyā, 'medicine,' (4) Hetuvidyā, 'logic' and (5) Adhyātmavidyā, 'science of the universal soul,' philosophy. I-tsing gives us the details of study as regards (1), (4) and (5) in the foregoing passage. Elsewhere he gives details regarding (3) or medical science (p. 127) of which there are eight sections treating respectively of (I) sores, inward and outward, (2) diseases above the neck, and (3) below it, or bodily diseases, (4) demoniac diseases due to attack of evil spirits, (5) the Agada medicine, i.e. antidote or medicine for counteracting poisons, (6) diseases of the children from the embryo stage to the sixteenth year, (7) the means of lengthening life and (8) the methods of invigorating the

legs and body. "These eight arts formerly existed in eight books, but lately a man epitomised them and made them into one bundle. All physicians in the five parts of India practise according to this book, and any physician who is well versed in it never fails to live by the official pay." I-tsing himself claims to have made "a successful study in medical science," but finally gave it up as it was not his proper vocation. But he explains why this subject was a part of the compulsory course of elementary studies for all, including those intended for monkhood. "Is it not a sad thing," he asks, "that sickness prevents the pursuit of one's duty and vocation? Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves by the study of medicine?" (p. 130). I-tsing mentions the principal medicinal herbs in India (p.128) and the 'rules on giving medicine' (Ch. XXVIII), which insisted on fasting as an effective cure (p. 133) by practice of which "each man is himself the King of Physicians, and any one can be a Jīvaka" (ib.). There is a reference to the use of tea (p. 135) and the universal disuse of any kind of onions in India (p. 137) which, because they "have a foul smell and are impure " are not to be eaten "except in case of illness" (p. 138). The surgical processes of cauterising with fire or applying a puncture are also referred to (p. 129).

I-tsing does not give us any details of the studies or curriculum under that part of compulsory elementary education which went by the name of Silpasthānavidyā, 'arts,' the second of the five Vidyās as stated above.

The completion of the study of the five Vidyās completes the course of elementary and general education. Then follows bifurcation of studies or specialisation.

There was a course of specialised and advanced studies in *Vyākaraṇa* which was "the name for the general secular literature" (p. 169). The following text-books were prescribed: (I) *Chūrṇi* which is the name of Patañjali's famous commentary on Pāṇinī's sūtras usually called the Mahābhāṣya, containing 24,000 slokas (p. 178). It cites the

sūtras, explains the obscure points, analyses the principles involved and clears up many difficulties. "Advanced scholars learn this in three years." (2) The Bhartrhari-sāstra, which was a commentary in 25,000 slokas on the former work by the great scholar Bhartrhari who "was very famous throughout the five parts of India" and who "became seven times a priest and seven times returned to the laity." He died in A.D. 651-652 (p. 180). (3) The Vākyapadīya, another work of Bhartrhari with 700 slokas and a commentary portion in 7,000 slokas. It is a "treatise on the inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on Inductive arguments" (ib.). (4) The Pei-na (probably Sanskrit Beda or Veda), a grammatical work of 3,000 slokas composed by Bhartrihari with a commentary portion in 14,000 slokas attributed to his contemporary, Dharmapāla. It treats of "the secrets of heaven and earth and of the philosophy of man."

Students completing this advanced study were regarded as masters of grammatical science and earned the title of *Bahuśruta* ('much heard' or 'knowing much of the Śruti'). This course of specialisation in Grammar was open to both priests and laymen (p. 180).

There were again courses of specialisation in religious or priestly studies which were organised and offered by the monasteries. The most famous of such seats of higher learning in the time of I-tsing's visit to India were "the Nālandā monastery in Čentral India" and that "in the country of Valabhī in Western India" (p. 177).

We shall now consider the rules governing the education and organisation of the monasteries as given by our pilgrim. It would appear that the rules laid down in the Vinaya texts regarding admission to monasteries, to priest-hood or ordination were substantially followed in the days of I-tsing whose evidence based upon firsthand observation is thus another welcome confirmation of that of the sacred texts whose precepts are otherwise liable to be supposed as merely *ideal* in their character. The student who

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wants to become a priest (i.e. homeless) first finds a teacher to whom he relates his wish. The teacher through some means or other inquires whether he has any moral disqualification. If he is eligible, the proposed teacher accepts him as a candidate for Orders and leaves him at leisure ten days or a month and then imparts to him the five precepts (prohibiting murder, theft, lying, adultery and intoxica-The candidate is now called an upāsaka which is his first step into the Law of the Buddha. Then the teacher getting for him a triple clothing, a bowl and a filter, addresses himself to the Sangha and relates that the candidate has a desire to be a priest (i.e. homeless). When the Sangha has admitted him, the teacher on his behalf asks the Acharyas to conduct the ceremony. After this the candidate has his hair and beard shaven, bathes, and putting on the priestly cloak, receives the bowl and becomes a Pravrajita. Next in the presence of his teacher (upādhyāya), the Āchārya imparts to him the ten precepts by reciting or reading them. After the priest has been instructed in the precepts he is called Sramanera. The Sramanera is eligible for full ordination on his attaining the required age of twenty years. Then his Upādhyāya, arranging for him the six requisites [viz. the triple clothing or chivara, the bowl, the niṣīdana, and a water-strainer (but the Pali texts mention some different requisites, eight in number)], gets up a meeting of the Sangha of at least nine other members before whom he presents the candidate who pays respects three times to each member. After this ceremony the candidate is instructed three times to learn the Mahāśīlas. Then the Upādhyāya invests him before the assembly with the garments, and the bowl which has to be approved by them and then accepted by the candidate. After this the Acharya imparts to him the Mahāśīlas and he then becomes an Upasampanna Bhikṣu. The exact hour, date, month and season of the ordination are then written down so that his seniority might be determined. The last act of the ceremony is the gift by the

candidate of some such thing as a girdle or a filter to the teachers or members of the Sangha ordaining him, as a token of his gratitude to them. (Adapted from Ch. XIX.)

Then begins the regular course of monastic education and discipline. The Upādhvāya imparts to his pupil the contents of the Prātimoksa as the first lesson, explaining to him the character of the offences and how to recite the precepts. "These having been learnt, the candidate begins to read the larger Vinaya Pitaka; he reads it day after day, and is examined every morning, for if he does not keep to it constantly he will lose intellectual power. When he has read the Vinaya Pitaka, he begins to learn the sūtras and sāstras. Such is the way in which the teacher instructs in India" (p. 104). I-tsing also refers to the Vinaya practice of requiring for each priest under training two teachers called the Upādhyāya and the Karmāchārya (ib.), the former being 'the teacher of personal instruction' (adhyāya=lit., 'teaching to read' and upa= 'near') and the latter 'the teacher of discipline' who 'teaches pupils rules and ceremonies' (p. 118).

To the ordinary and traditional curriculum of specialised priestly studies in the monasteries which included the Vinaya works, the sūtras and śāstras (p. 181), some new works seem to have been added in the course of time. Among these, I-tsing mentions the two hymns of 150 and 400 verses attributed to Matrcheta (the former of which was translated by I-tsing during his stay at Nālanda). "Throughout India," says our pilgrim, "every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātrcheta's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Śīla). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools" (p. 157). "After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other sūtras" (p. 158). These two hymns were valued not merely for their contexts but also for their language showing "how to compose verses." Next to them I-tsing mentions the Buddha-charita-kāvya of Aśvaghosa which "is widely read or sung throughout

the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea" (p. 166), as well as the two other works already mentioned viz. Nāgārjunaś Suhrllekha and the Tātakamālā. Advanced studies and specialisation were also carried on in a few other subjects on which considerable literature had been developed, as described by I-tsing. Thus some Bhiksus might elect to study the Yoga system for which the curriculum included, as the first book of study, the Yogāchārva-śāstra to be followed by Asanga's Eight Sastras which are named. If a priest wanted to distinguish himself in the study of Logic he was to master Jina's Eight Sastras which are also named. Similarly six Pādas or treatises are mentioned in connexion with the study of the Abhidharma or Metaphysics and four Nikāyas or classes of works in connexion with the Agamas. The mastery of the Abhidharma and Agama works was egarded as essential for any Bhiksu who wanted to successfully combat heretics and disputants (pp. 186-187).

As education in the monasteries aimed at both intellectual and moral growth, the rules regulating the daily life of the inmates were framed with a reference to both these aims. What I-tsing observed of the relations between teacher and pupil is on the lines of the Vinaya rules on the subject. The day begins with the pupil supplying his teacher with tooth-wood, basin with water and towel. He then walks round the temple and worshipping the image returns and makes inquiries of his teacher about his health. "Next, the pupil goes to salute his seniors who are in neighbouring apartments. Afterwards he reads a portion of the scripture and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day and searches into old subjects month after month without losing a minute" (p. 117). The new knowledge is of

¹I-tsing also mentions two other recently composed works which were also widely used. The first was the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana versified by King Śilāditya who popularised it by having it sung with dancing and acting and the second was a poetical song about the Viśvāntara-Jātaka composed by a learned man in Eastern India, Chandradāsa by name (p. 164).

course acquired with the help of the teacher who, "selecting some passages from the Tripitakas, gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained" (p. 120).

The entire daily conduct of the pupil is inspected by the teacher who "warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupil faulty he makes him seek remedies and repent" (ib.). The pupil serves his teacher as best as he may, such as rubbing his body, folding his clothes and sweeping the apartment and the yard. "Thus, if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of his teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior." But the spirit of this loving and devoted service was met by its due response: for instance, "in case of a pupil's illness, his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicines needed, and pays attention to him as if he were his child " (ib.). Thus the entire system of Indian education, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, was based upon the principle of a personal touch or relationship between the teacher and the taught, whether the sphere of its working lay in the individual household of the teacher or in the collective establishment of the monastery. Both the domestic and monastic systems of education worked upon the basis of a common pedagogic principle, though they differed as regards the manner of its application as determined by their respective backgrounds and environments.

The monks of the monasteries, like the students of colleges, were suitably graded according to their capacities and the level of advance they attained. Within the community of monks, the lowest grade is that of the *Śramanera*, who is promoted after his upasampadā ordination, to the grade of the *Dahara* (small)—Bhikṣu. Higher than him is the *Sthavira* (elder), the Bhikṣu who has seen ten summers or passed ten summer retreats in that capacity, and who, for his standing "can live by himself without having to live under a teacher's care" (p. 104). In another place

(p. 119), I-tsing tells of a preliminary stage of Sthavirahood, and of the mastery of the Vinaya, and not mere seniority, as the standard of such gradings. Thus he states: "After the lapse of five summers from the time that the pupil masters the Vinaya he is allowed to live apart from his Upādhvāva. He can then go about among the people and proceed to pursue some other aim. Yet he must put himself under the care of some teacher wherever he goes. This will cease after the lapse of ten summers" i.e. after he is able to understand the Vinaya. Thus, according to this statement, it is the independence of the teacher, the cessation of nissaya (to use the Vinava word), attained by a ten years' standing after graduation in Vinaya, which entitles a Bhiksu to the degree or rank of a Sthavira. A Sthavira necessarily attains the position of an upādhyāya and an upādhyāya must be a Sthavira. A higher rank probably belonged to the other classes of teachers like the Karmāchārvas and others who could officiate in the ordinations, but the basis of the distinction is not defined. "The age of a Karmāchārya and private instructor, and of other teachers who are witnesses, is not limited; they must be fully acquainted with the Vinaya, being themselves pure" (p. 105). The highest grade for a Bhiksu was that of the Bahusruta. This high title was conferred only on one who was "learned both in the sacred and secular literatures and famed as virtuous' (p. 104). We have already noticed what was the course of study in secular literature that was prescribed for this coveted degree and distinction of the Bahusruta.

But the gradations of the monks in a monastery were indicated not merely by titles but also by privileges. To venerable monks, if very learned, or those who had thoroughly studied at least *one* of the three Pitakas were assigned some of the best rooms of the monastery and servants. "When such men gave daily lectures, they were freed from the business imposed on the (ordinary)

monastics." They were given the further privilege of being permitted, when they went out, "to ride in sedan chairs but not on horse-back" (p. 64). These facts were observed by I-tsing at the Varāha monastery in Tāmralipti.

We have now considered the classification of the monks in a monastery in accordance with their educational needs and capacities. But it should be noted that these monks were students belonging to the religious section which imparted instruction in sacred literature only. But a Buddhist monastery had also a secular section. To this section were admitted students who were called Brahmacharins and who had no intention of renouncing the world and becoming Buddhist monks. That this section was very popular in I-tsing's time is apparent from the following statement of his: "In the monasteries of India there are many 'students' (Brahmachārins) who are committed to the care of the Bhiksus and instructed by them in secular literature" (p. 106). That the Bhiksus in those days made themselves masters of both religious and secular literature has been already mentioned. Proficiency in both was insisted upon, as we have already seen, as the distinguishing distinction of a Bahusruta, while we even read of monks who sought service under the King in practical administration by trying to prove their talents at the intellectual contests organised for the purpose at the King's House of Debate. In fact, the Buddhist system always permitted freedom to the monks to return to secular life, if they so desired. We read, for instance, of the famous scholar, Bhartrhari, who "became seven times a priest, and seven times returned to the laity" and wrote in self-reproach: "Through the enticement of the world I returned to the laity. Being free from secular pleasures, again I wear the priestly cloak. How do these two impulses play with me as if a child!" (p. 179). Indeed, after finishing their education monks "can follow whatever occupation they like " (p. 178).

Besides organising secular courses of study and throwing them open to non-Buddhist students or students from the Budhist lay public, the monasteries still further widened their scope and sphere of usefulness by admitting to their religious sections even unordained students. These were called Māṇavas who might be potential, but not actual, monks with whom they only agreed in seeking instruction in the Buddhist scriptures. They come in the white robes of laymen but they cherish "the intention that they may one day become tonsured and black-robed," i.e. become ordained (p. 105).

This interesting institution of not confining the monasteries only to monks was recommended on several grounds. On the one hand, the secular students served under the priests as pages, 'bringing them the tooth-woods or serving them at the meals,' and, on the other hand, their instruction might kindle in them pious aspirations, so that both parties are benefited in this way.

Both these classes of secular students, the Māṇavas and the Brahmachāris, were also permitted to be in residence in the monasteries instead of being compelled to attend them as day-scholars. But they had of course to bring their own boarding expenses, for they could not under rules be fed from the property of the Saṅgha unless they had done some laborious work for the Saṅgha who might then pay for it in the shape of feeding them according to their merit (p. 106). It was, however, open for the monasteries to receive special grants of food for these classes of students (ib.).

Thus the Buddhist monasteries of the times became the seats and centres of both sacred and secular learning, and, being freely resorted to by both Buddhist monks and laymen and even by non-Buddhists, materially aided in the diffusion of learning and culture in the country. The Buddhist monks also who came practically to have the monopoly in this learning and culture were catholic and generous enough to impart them to persons not belonging valued services within the limited boundaries of their own church and faith, they practically became the Directors of Public Instruction in the country. They recognised in a noble spirit of toleration that the country was above creed, and culture above church! In disowning the divisions and distinctions of caste in the external organisation of their brotherhood, the Buddhist monks could not consistently apply the same principle in another and more important sphere of their activities.

Not all the teachers and the taught in the monasteries were always successful. We read of monks unable to understand the Vinaya and thus compelled "to live under another's care during the whole of their life-time." Sometimes the failure was due to the want of a really able teacher. "If there be no great teacher he must live under the care of a sub-teacher." From such a sub-teacher he may arrange to receive instruction twice a day in the morning and evening but with all this it may so happen that the meaning of the Vinaya text is not understood as it ought to be. The incapacity of a teacher is condemned by the Vinaya thus: "Rather be a butcher than be a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught" (p. 120).

There were also not only individual failures among the monks, whether teachers or students, but also collective failures among them as brotherhoods, among the monasteries regarded as educational institutions. I-tsing speaks of some monasteries giving themselves up wholly to "unlawful life," violating the principal injunctions of the Vinaya (p. 194).

As regards their successes, the monasteries produced some of the highest types of intellect and character. One of their principal aims was to produce successful preachers and dialecticians. Such persons were needed for the purposes of a proselytising religion which had moreover to maintain its position against the numerous sects that were

ready to challenge its supremacy in India in those days. Accordingly, the highest honour in the Buddhist world of scholarship was accorded to those who would "oppose the heretics as they would drive beasts (deer) in the middle of the plain and explain away disputations as boiling water melts frost " (p. 181). The successful disputants "become famous throughout Jambūdvīpa (India) and receive respect above gods and men." Men of such international reputation are, of course, rare, 'only one or two appearing in every generation.' I-tsing mentions some of them belonging to the different periods of Buddhist history. "Such were Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa of an early age; Vasubandhu, Asanga, Sanghabhadra, Bhāvaviveka in the Middle Ages; and Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Sīlabhadra, Sinhachandra, Sthiramati, Gunamati, Prajnagupta, Gunaprabha, Jinaprabha of late years" (ib.). To these names he elsewhere (p. 183) adds those of Kāśyapa-mātanga and Dharmaraksa (who were the first Indian Buddhists in China which they visited in A.D. 67); of Paramartha (who came to China in A.D. 548 and translated 31 works), whose fame 'reached even to the Southern Ocean (i.e. Nanking)'; of Kumārajivā (who came to China about A.D. 401 and translated 50 Sanskrit books into Chinese, who 'supplied a virtuous pattern to the foreign land.'

The institutions most successful in producing this kind of intellectual eminence in I-tsing's time were the monasteries at Nālanda and Valabhi. "There eminent and accomplished men gathered in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men became far-famed for their wisdom" (p. 177). The friction with the best minds that collected at those two famous centres of Buddhist learning was the best possible means of developing and sharpening the wits and powers of debate.

But these learned disputations which thus formed the characteristic feature of Indian intellectual life were held not merely in the monasteries but also at the courts of kings under the encouragement of the state. The kings even in I-tsing's time, as in the days of old, were fond of organising intellectual tournaments at which superior knowledge might be tested, rewarded, recognised and proclaimed. "To try the sharpness of their wit they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government" (p. 177). I-tsing also tells us of the House of Debate in the royal palace where the literary tournaments were held. Those who would emerge victorious there at once achieve an international reputation: "the sound of their fame makes the five mountains of India vibrate, and their renown flows, as it were, over the four borders" (p.-178). The king rewards their talent by grants of land and advancing them to a high rank and also by having their famous names written down in white on the lofty gates of his palace (ib.).

I-tsing also mentions the literary celebrities of India in his time. He refers to them either as his contemporaries or personal acquaintances who were all alive between A.D. 670–700. He says: "The following are the most distinguished teachers who now live in the west: Jñanachandra, a Master of the Law, lives in the monastery Tilaḍha (in Magadha); in the Nālanda monastery Ratnasinha (who was teacher of Hiuen Chao when he was at Nālanda about A.D. 649); in Eastern India Divākaramitra (of whom Bāna's Harṣa-charita, by the way, gives a very interesting account); and in the southernmost district, Tathāgatagarbha. In Śrībhoga of the southern sea resides Sākyakīrti who travelled all through the five countries of India in order to learn, and is at present in Śrībhoja (in Sumatra)" (p. 184). To these names are to be added

The Chinese passage is differently interpreted by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal [J.A.S.B., June 1911, p. 312]. According to him, it means that those who are victorious in debate are called upon to discourse upon the great systems of philosophy and not that their names are inscribed 'on the lofty gates.'

Rāhūlamitra (p. 63) and Chandra (pp. 164, 182). former belonged to the Tamralipti monastery when I-tsing visited it. He was then about thirty years old; of 'excellent' conduct and 'exceedingly great' fame; thoroughly conversant not only with the three Pitakas but also with 'the secular literature on the four sciences,' who 'was honoured as the head of the priests in Eastern Arva-deśa'. who had never spoken with women face to face except his mother and sister and when questioned on this Puritanism by I-tsing answered in all humility: "I am naturally full of worldly attachment and without doing thus I cannot stop its source. Although we are not prohibited (to speak with women) by the Holy One, it may be right (to keep them off), if it is meant to prevent our evil desires." Every day he used to 'read over the Ratnakūţa-sūtra, which contains 700 verses' (p. 64). Mahāsattva Chandra lived in Eastern India and 'was still alive' when I-tsing visited that country. He was "like a Bodhisattva endowed with great talent" (p. 183). We have already referred to his authorship of the poem about Viśvāntara-Jātaka.

All these men, says I-tsing, were renowned as much for their character as for their learning, in both of which they aspired after the highest ideal. In character they were 'anxious to follow in the footsteps of the sages'; in learning, if it was Logic (Hetuvidyā) they studied, 'they aspired to be like Jina,' and if it was Yoga, they had Asanga as their model. In discourse, they followed Nāgārjuna, and, in philosophical exposition, Sanghabhadra. With these distinguished scholars, our pilgrim had the benefit of a personal contact. Says he, "I, I-tsing, used to converse with these teachers so intimately that I was able to receive invaluable instruction personally from them. I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them personally which I should otherwise never have possessed, and that I could refresh my memory of past study by comparing old notes with new ones" (p. 185).

SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

Direct worship of images, chaityas and stūpas set up in connexion with the monasteries was a part of the religious training they provided. We read of the installation of the holy image of the Buddha of which the ablution was celebrated daily with great pomp by all the monastics who were summoned for the ceremony by the Managing priest, Karmadāna, striking a ghantā or bell (p. 149). I-tsing also refers to images being installed even "in individual apartments of a monastery "(ib.). Besides the image of the Buddha, there were installed "in great monasteries in India" (p. 38) the images of Mahākāla, of the Nāga Mahāmuchilinda (seen by I-tsing in the Mahābodhi monastery at Gaya) and of Mother Hariti in the dining-hall (p. 37). Besides worship of images, there was also the worship of chaity as (the sacred buildings containing the relics of the Buddha or saints) and stūpas (p. 152). Every afternoon the monks were to come out of the gates of their monastery and walk three times round a stupa, offering incense and flowers, and then kneeling down, while one of them chanted hymns. Then the assembly returned to the monastery to hear a sūtra being read by a sūtra reciter. The sūtra usually selected was the 'service in three parts' compiled by Asvaghosa. When this is ended, all the assembled priests exclaim 'subhāṣita' or 'sādhu.' Then the priests in the order of their rank salute the Sinhāsanam as well as the seats of the saints (p. 154). The performance of these rites was observed by I-tsing at Tāmralipti. In the Nālanda monastery where it was difficult to assemble its numerous monks in one place for congregational worship, the worship could only take place separately as most convenient to each member (ib.).

Monks could change their monasteries. A strange monk on arrival at a monastery would be first treated as a guest for five days and given the best of food so that he might recover from his fatigue, after which he was treated as a common monastic if he was not learned. If he was, and bore a good character, he was assigned his

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proper rank and treatment with his name 'written down on the register of the names of the resident priests' (p. 64). All visitors were cordially welcomed by the word $Sv\bar{a}gata$ and by the word $Susv\bar{a}gata$ if they were strangers (p. 124). The ceremonies of receiving them varied according as they were teachers, pupils, strangers or friends (p. 125).

Along with the needs of mental and moral training, the monasteries, strange as it might appear, were not unmindful of the needs of physical health of the monks for which regular exercises were prescribed. I-tsing tells us that "in India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking walks, going backwards and forwards along a path, at suitable hours and at their pleasure; walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from their monasteries. or stroll quietly along the corridors." This physical exercise was expressly undergone "for the sake of taking air" so as "to keep oneself in good health or to cure diseases." The Buddha himself took this exercise: "There are cloisters where he used to walk, on the Vulture-Peak, under the Bo-tree, in the Deer Park at Rajagrha, and in other holy places" which were two cubits in width and height and fifteen in length (p. 114). The Vinaya often speaks of monks preferring to walk up and down as an aid to meditation itself!

While their studies and discipline were controlled by their teachers, the monks had other matters in their own collective control. If we may generalise on the basis of what I-tsing says of a particular but a typical monastery (viz., that at Tāmralipti), the monasteries in his time were democratically governed and not governed by a bureaucracy of the kind described in the Vinaya. The bureaucratic element in their management was represented by the solitary official called Karmadāna, the managing monk, but his powers seem to have been very limited, being only to announce the commencement of any ceremonies or service etc. by striking a bell and to superintend the

preparation of food (p. 148). At the Tāmralipti monastery, 'no principal officer was appointed; when any business happened, it was settled by the assembly; and if any priest decided anything by himself alone, or treated the priests favourably or unfavourably at his own pleasure without regarding the will of the assembly he was expelled from the monastery' and dubbed a kulapati (householder). In the case of any improper and immoral act done by any monk, a special investigation was instituted by the monks meeting in an assembly where the culprit, his accomplices, and the witnesses were subjected to a cross-examination, and the due punishment was pronounced. "Thus all the priests submitted to their own laws without giving any trouble to the public court" (p. 93).

The expulsion from the monastery of the offending monk was recorded by his name being struck off its roll. For every monastery had, as we have seen, its own registerbook. When a layman was admitted as a monk to a monastery, his name was written down on the register book of the monastery and "thenceforth his name had no concern with the register of the state" (p. 65).

The monastery of Nālanda was also democratically governed. For instance, I-tsing observed there that it was the great assembly of priests who assigned rooms every year (p. 86).

Among the staff appointed to manage the affairs of the monasteries, there are mentioned, besides the Karmadāna, officers called Vihāra-pālas such as the keeper, the warder of the gate, and the person who announced the affairs of the Saṅgha (p. 178), and 'the lay servants' who did not belong to the order of the monks, but might be professed upāsakas. Their functions are indicated in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Fa-Hien refers to them as attending at meals, Hiuen Tsang refers to them as attending on a venerable monk while I-tsing gives us more details about their work. The 'monastic lay servant' carries a chair and utensils when a

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monk goes to a reception (p. 39); he carries away the remnant of food eaten by the monk (p. 47); he carries incense and flowers in accompanying the precentor going round from one apartment of the monastery to another, chanting hymns (p. 154); the time-drum of the monastery is beaten by him, but he is not entitled to strike the gong announcing the beginning of the service (p. 145); he had also to watch the clepsydra (p. 144); he is also employed to cultivate the fields belonging to the monasteries which the monks themselves could not directly cultivate under rules (p. 61); while lastly, as we have seen, he had to render menial service to a very learned priest or one who has mastered one of the Pitakas, who was given the privilege of being attended by such servants.

The diet of the monks in I-tsing's time corresponded to the rules of the Vinaya and comprised the Pañchabhojanīyas, viz., rice, a boiled mixture of barley and peas, baked corn-flour, meat and cakes, and the Pañchakhādaniyas consisting of roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, and fruits (p. 43). There are mentioned also gruel made of dried rice and bean, soup which 'is served with hot butter sauce as flavouring,' melted butter and cream to be 'partaken of to any extent' (p. 40) and ghee, oil, and milk which were abundant everywhere (p. 44). These articles of diet varied with the countries. "In the north wheatflour is abundant; in the Western District baked flour (rice or barley) is used above all; in Magadha wheat-flour is scarce but rice is plentiful; and the southern frontier and the eastern borderland have similar products to those of Magadha" (p. 43). None of the people of all the five parts of India ate any kind of onions (pp. 45, 138).

At invitations to monks for meals it was usual to have the supply of food very much in excess of the requirements. I-tsing was duly warned of this practice when he gave a feast to the priests on a small scale one fast day at Tāmralipti (p. 40).

As a large part of the daily life of the monks was

regulated according to time, the monasteries had to provide themselves with the means of measuring time. This was done by means of sun-dials called velāchakras, time-wheels. Since the rule fixing the time for meals could not be violated, monks were expected to take such a dial with them even when they were travelling whether on land or by sea. Besides, clepsydrae were also installed in the larger monasteries. These were usually gifts from kings together with the boys who watched them. The regulation of the clepsydra was somewhat different in the monasteries of Mahābodhi and Kuśinagara, where it was arranged that the smaller bowl should be immersed in the larger water-vessel 16 times between morn and midday, while at Nālanda there were to be only four such immersions during the same interval (p. 145).

It was the duty of the monasteries to supply their inmates with all their necessaries of life as prescribed by the Vinaya, so that "one can be much freer, if one lives in the monastery engaged simply in meditation and worship, without needing to take thought about procuring clothes and food" (p. 194). This is the reason why monasteries were permitted to own large properties, while individual monks were denied that right.

But "it is unseemly," as observed by I-tsing, "for a monastery to have great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded in the treasury, without using any of these things, while all the members are suffering from poverty" (ib.).

I-tsing also refers to "some monasteries which do not supply food for the residents, but divide everything among them, and make them provide their own food" and which "do not admit a stranger to reside there" (p. 195).

No doubt such monasteries are to be condemned and avoided as following unlawful practices (ib.).

As has been already stated, though the monks individually were not allowed to own property (except a few personal articles of daily use) they could own it collectively.

Monasteries thus became owners of large properties by gifts and were able to maintain the monks from their own resources. The usual form of these properties was land. The lands in the possession of the Nālanda monastery gifted by "Kings of many generations" "contained more than 200 villages" (p. 65).

But though the monasteries owned lands, it was not for the monks to cultivate them directly. A monk could sow or plant but could not till, as that involved injuring life. Thus the utilisation of its lands had to be arranged by the Sangha either with its own staff of servants or with other labourers. Under such arrangements the Sangha could claim only a sixth of the produce, though "providing the bulls and the ground for cultivation." In the Tāmralipti monastery, however, as stated to I-tsing by its chief, Mahāyāna Pradīpa, the share of the produce was one-third. Some monasteries again violated this practice by themselves supervising the farming as carried on by their own servants, male or female, so as to appropriate the whole produce instead of sharing it with others.

As observed by I-tsing, though a monk could not till land for himself he could do so for the Sangha. But the ideal monk "hates the cumbersome work of a farmer and permanently keeps away from it." Such a monk would prefer to sit "still in a place in a quiet forest and takes pleasure in company with birds and deer; being free from the noisy pursuit of fame and profit he practises with a view to the perfect quietude of Nirvāṇa" (p. 61). In the Tāmralipta monastery, for instance, the monks did not engage in farming themselves. "Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields" (p. 62).

It was allowable for monasteries to supply their monks with clothing from the produce of their lands, though the lands might be earmarked by their donors as gifts for food (p. 193). "Thus the church can make use of the

benefaction as it likes, without any fault, as long as it carries out the original intention of the giver" (p. 194).

I-tsing describes the properties which the monasteries could or could not lawfully possess. The gifts of "quadrupeds, elephants, horses, mules, asses for riding are to be offered to the royal household." So also helmets, coats of arms etc. But bulls and sheep are lawful property. Gifts of precious stones, gems etc., are acceptable for meeting the cost of copying the scriptures and of building or decorating the Sińhāsana. Chairs inlaid with jewels are to be sold and their proceeds utilised by the monasteries (p. 191). The monks even in I-tsing's time did not handle gold or silver or any money according to the Vinaya prohibition, because we find it stated that they were provided with extra cloth as means of procuring medicines (p. 56).

Another kind of property held by the monasteries was their libraries. They were stocked only with Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries. If there were gifts of non-Buddhistic works, they were sold and the proceeds utilised by the monasteries for other purposes (p. 192).

In conclusion we may note that, at the time of I-tsing's visit to India, there was noticed no interruption of the movement of Chinese scholars to India as the home of their holy learning and of Indian scholars to China to spread the holy learning. Since the time that Buddhism was introduced into China ("nearly 700 years ago"), "Indian Bhîkşus," says I-tsing, "came to China one after another, and the Chinese priests, of the time being, crowded together before them, and received instruction from them. were some who went to India themselves and witnessed the proper practice there" (p. 23). Among the Chinese scholars sojourning in India in his time, I-tsing mentions At Tāmralipti I-tsing met a pupil of the names of three. Hiuen Tsang, Mahāyānapradipa by name, who stayed there for 12 years and acquired a thorough mastery of Sanskrit. With him as guide and companion I-tsing visited Nālanda, Vaisālī and Kuśinagara (p. xxxi). Previous to him

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was another zealous Chinese student named Hiuen Chao who stayed at Nālanda about A.D. 649 and studied under the teachers Jinaprabha and Ratnasiúha (p. lviii). The third Chinese scholar mentioned by I-tsing was Wu-hing, the Dhyāna master, with his Sanskrit name Prajñadeva, who landing in Southern India at Negapatam had visited the monasteries of Mahābodhi, Nālanda and Tilaḍha before I-tsing saw him. "Near Tilaḍha lived a teacher of Logic from whom Wu-hing learned the logical systems of Jina and Dharmakīrti, etc." (p. xlvi). I-tsing bade him good-bye after seeing him off "six yojanas east of Nālanda." Besides Chinese scholars, I-tsing refers to "the Mongolians of the North" sending students to India (p. 26).

(Haji Sayyad Shah Waris Ali.)

By S. IFTIKHAR HUSAIN SAHEB.

IN the first quarter of the nineteenth century when the din and clash of empires had hardly subsided in Europe, when the Moghal empire in India was in its last throes and when the British rule was being rapidly established in other parts of the country, a child was born in a quiet little town in Oudh whose word and example were destined to influence the religious conception and ideals of an incredibly large number of human beings. He was the late Haji Hafiz Sayyad Shah Waris Ali Saheb of Dewa. It is an ancient town to the north of Bara Banki, 7 miles from the headquarters of the district. Like other old towns, it has not escaped the ravages of time. Unsightly ruins and mouldering walls meet the eye on every side. But the moral decay is no less remarkable than the physical. Noted once as the birth-place of great "Sufis" and divines, it is now notorious as the hot-bed of intrigue and litigation.

Haji Saheb came of a family of Husaini Sayyads, distinguished for piety and learning. His genealogy (carefully preserved) shows that he was born in the 26th generation of Hazrat Imam Husain. His father Sayyad Qurban Ali Saheb belonged to the proprietary body and was a landowner of substance. He was a man of considerable learning and had completed his education in Baghdad.

The date of Haji Saheb's birth is disputed. Several dates are given varying from 1233 A.H. to 1238 A.H.

According to the author of "Maarif Warisiya," 1234 A.H. is the correct date. It corresponds to the year 1819 of the Christian era. The name given to him had a peculiar significance. Waris is one of the ninety-nine names of God (as used in the Koran) and it indicates that after everything else has perished, He alone will survive. It was an ancient practice among the Sufis to seek annihilation in one of the Divine attributes which coloured the whole of their existence and became its predominant feature. The attribute in question involves the annihilation of self and the true recognition of the everlasting nature of the Deity. He cut himself off completely from the world and attained the highest degree of selfabnegation, as we shall hear later, thus realising a particular aspect of his name which lives to-day, though he is no more.

He was not quite three years old when he lost both of his parents. He was regarded as something of an infant prodigy. At the age of 5 he started learning the Koran and committed it to memory in two years. did not take to his other studies kindly. Though he seldom read his books, to the amazement of his tutor he could always say his lessons correctly. He seemed to learn by intuition. He preferred solitude to his books and often slipped away to out of the way places. Sometimes he did not return for days together. Once on a search being made, he was discovered in a jungle in a state of meditation. In one of these excursions he came across a wolf. He had never seen one before and caught the beast by the ear. Some passers-by cried out to him to warn him of the danger and hastened to ward off an attack which they anticipated. He quietly let the beast go which behaved like a lamb.

He was never seen playing with children of his age, but he was indulgent to them and took pleasure in giving them sweets and distributing money among the poor. He loved to hear stories and delighted in poetry which

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he was fond of reciting. Swimming was another passion with him.

His biographers are silent on the subject of his studies and the amount of reading possessed by him. But in his advanced age people came to discuss theological questions with him and some even came with the intention of charging him with unorthodoxy. He had a dislike for controversy, but his replies, though brief, showed a depth of learning which no one could gauge. He could speak Arabic, Persian and Pashto.

He was in the habit of visiting the tomb of Shah Abdul Munim (a Sufi Saint) at Dewa and spent the nights there in his devotions. It soon became evident to those around him that he was not quite of the earth. His brother-in-law Haji Sayyad Khadim Ali Shah, who lived in Lucknow, was a man of great learning and a Sufi of no mean order. He took charge of the boy's education personally and when he was II years of age, the elder Sayyad initiated him in the mysteries of Sufism and gave him the necessary training. It was not long before Haji Khadim Ali Shah died and his mantle descended upon the boy of II at whose feet thousands of followers were to sit in later years. He was duly elected a success-or of the deceased Haji.¹

At the age of 14 he began to initiate people in his order and could boast of a number of disciples. The burning glow of divine love, however, impelled him in another direction. He was only 15 when he started on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He gave away all his property including a valuable library to his relations and threw all the papers relating to the landed estates into a neighbouring *jhil*. When he left home, he possessed nothing in the world which he could call his own.

That his mode of existence was ascetic even at this early period of his life, is shown by the fact that he ate

¹ Haji Khadim Ali Shah's tomb is situated in Golaganj. It is now inclosed in the grounds of the house occupied by the Principal Reid Christian College.

only once in three days. For 12 long years he travelled in Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, Turkey, Russia and Germany. It is to be regretted that no detailed account of his extensive travels has come down to us. He seldom spoke on the subject. What little could be gathered from scraps of conversation, was jotted down by a companion. It is said that he performed the Haj ten times in the course of his travels. One day while inside the Kaaba, he began humming a tune, the opening bar of which was

"Isq men tairé koh gham sar pa liya jo ho so ho."

The keeper of the Kaaba went up to him and said, "You seem to forget that it is the house of God." Quick came the retort, "Can you tell me a place where God is not present?"

One of the most important rites of the Haj is the temporary discarding of made-up cloths and the donning of "Ahram" (an unsewn piece of cloth wrapped round the body). The pilgrims resume their ordinary dress when the Haj is over. From the date of his first Haj, Haji Saheb adopted the "Ahram" as his future garb and retained it throughout his life. He abandoned subsequently the head-dress and the shoes also. He visited the countries enumerated above, without having ever ridden a horse or vehicle and only got into a boat when he had to cross the seas. The visit to Constantinople was paid in the time of His Majesty the late Sultan Abdul Majid I. He was going round the palace gardens to which he was conducted by one of his disciples (a functionary at the royal palace) when the Sultan happened to arrive. He was so impressed at the sight of the holy stranger that he offered himself to be admitted into his order and was duly initiated. Thousands of persons are said to have become his disciples during his sojourn in the countries which were once the birth-place and strong-hold

of Islam. It is difficult to conceive that a youth of 16 or 17 should have obtained such proficiency in mystic knowledge as to inspire people much older than himself with deep faith in him and longing for a spiritual life and that he should be welcomed in the sacred places as the holy of holies. There is no instance on record of one so young starting life as a Durwesh and attracting so much notice, especially in foreign lands. His biographers assert that he was a born saint. It must be conceded that with his inherent love of God he united great powers of the mind which are acquired by other mystics after long years of self-mortification and hard ascetic discipline.

It is interesting to note that on the occasion of his visit to Berlin, Haji Saheb was a guest of Prince Bismarck. One cannot but miss an account of what passed between the future statesman and the humble messenger of God and how they came to meet each other.

He went on a pilgrimage to Mecca seven times from India. Three times out of seven, he performed the journey on foot, crossing the formidable hills of Afghanistan in naked feet.

. When he returned home after more than a decade, his own people knew him not. His paternal house was in ruins. He went round the village but no one came forward to welcome a fagir. Some of his relations who were apprised of his arrival shunned him, lest he might claim his property which they held in their possession. He smiled at their coldness and remarked to his fosterbrother—the only person who came out to meet him— "They seem to think that I have come back for the sake of my property, as if I care for it." He went away immediately and resumed his wandering life. He probably returned to Lucknow in 1857 when some people saw him just before the Mutiny. He spent about 50 years or the greater part of his life in travelling. So little is known about this period of his life that his biographers may well say that bricks had to be made but without

straw. It was not till 1899 that he came to stay at Dewa permanently, at the request of some of his disciples, though he paid frequent flying visits to the town of his birth previous to that date.

Haji Saheb's asceticism led him to adopt a life of celibacy. It was quite in keeping with the conduct of one who renounced the world in early youth on account of his soul-consuming love of God. From this sacrifice of the human affections it is not to be imagined that he lacked a tenderness of the heart. His biographers have noted in minute detail every shade of his outward conduct. As it cannot but lead to an understanding of the inner man, I venture to give an abstract of the various accounts.

Being habitually absorbed in contemplation, he was a man of few words. He spoke rather quickly and in soft tones with down-cast eyes. He often repeated his words to emphasise their meaning. He was not wanting in a keen sense of humour, in spite of his "Spartan" brevity. His conversation was often enlivened with a smile, though it never broadened into a laugh. He is not known to have used a harsh word to any one. He was particularly good and considerate to the poor and his general bearing was one of humility. His exterior corresponded to his interior. His features were handsome, with an unusually broad and intellectual forehead. his eyes formed the centre of attraction. They possessed a magnetic power which was quite irresistible. When he walked in a crowd or assembly, he always seemed taller by the head. He never sat on a chair or sofa or used a bedstead. He slept on the floor, throughout his life, but without a pillow. Some of his disciples state that he never actually fell into a slumber.

If he once passed through a road or street, he would go by the same way when he visited that place again. If carried by a different way, he would turn back and follow the old route. He stuck with the same tenacity to his resting places in his journeys and to his hosts. It is one of those rare qualities of the mind from which spring lifelong friendships and affections. With him to know a man once was to know him always. He observed unusual silence during the first ten days of Moharram. He heard "Marsihas" but insisted on the recitation of only such as gave a true account of the tragedy enacted at Karbala. He discouraged the outward show of grief. He accompanied Tazias sometimes and made a point of standing up when a Tazia passed by his own house. He did not hear music during the Moharram. When he did so at other times, he was never seen in a state of ecstasy—an exhibition associated with Sufis of lesser degree and of inferior calibre.

Reference has been made in the foregoing lines to his habit of fasting. From the age of 15 to that of 40, he ate once in 7 days. The interval was shortened subsequently to 3. At the age of 50, he had a severe illness and his medical advisers insisted on his having nourishment twice a day, even after his recovery. He followed their advice, but the compliance was nominal. He proved by his example that man can live by God alone, though he cannot live by bread alone.

Before I proceed to deal with his creed or his esoteric teaching, I may be permitted to say a word about Sufiism. There was a time when it counted in its ranks famous theologians and learned divines. The tenets of the Sufis were not at all repugnant to the teaching of the Koran, as some foreign writers wrongly imagine. They only put a liberal interpretation upon it. What they sought was inward purity and truth. Al Ghazzali, one of the most distinguished Doctors of theology and a person of world-wide fame in the history of Islamic literature, was a Sufi of the highest stamp. In fact he made Sufiism a philosophy and furnished it with a terminology. It was held in such high esteem that it came to be recognised as an essential part of religious training. Imam Shafai (one of the four

Canonists of Islam) believed that he was superior to his contemporaries in the knowledge of God, but he confessed that his knowledge was far behind that of the Sufis of his day. They knew that the discipline required by them was beyond the reach of the average man and confined their teaching to the select few who showed a capacity for it. Hence the veil of mystery drawn over it. The legends and myths which form a halo round the lives of early Sufi Saints have given a tinge of the supernatural to Sufiism. To quote the word of Bayazid of Bistam, a reputed Sufi, "it is not the performance of miracles which proves saintship, but a godly and righteous life." Suffism is really a practical philosophy with an ethical side. In order to obtain a real insight into it, it is essential to go through certain ascetic exercises and observances. the need for a spiritual preceptor or "Shaikh" as the Sufis call him. A great deal depends on the character of the "Shaikh." It has been said that the early "Shaikhs" were men of great piety and learning. With the decline in the true spirit of Islam, the traditional sanctity of the order could not hold its own against the growing forces of re-action.

In modern times the so-called "Shaikhs" introduced the system of "Nazars" which, unlike their predecessors. they accepted freely together with other offerings to enable them to live in comfort and lead a life of leisured ease. This excited the jealousy of the pure theologians who earned a precarious living by inditing doubtful "fatwas" and leading the prayers in a mosque. To their mutual detriment, the line that divided the two parties became more marked as time passed. The Sufis lost the learning of the theologians and the latter, the broad spirit, the ethical refinement and the toleration of the former. The disposition to worldliness changed the entire character of the coterie. One of the factors among the series of causes which affected its high moral tone was the

¹ The word should not be mixed up with the popular caste-name.

use of the phraseology of human love for the love of God by the Persian poets. The analogy when carried too far in less scrupulous surroundings was calculated to result in bringing discredit to the cult.

The "Shaikhs" of old have now degenerated into mere "Pirs"—third-rate men—who trade on the credulity of the popular mind and offer to give you a passport to Heaven, if you can pledge your faith to them! It will be wrong, however, to argue on these facts that the system itself was bad.

The Apostle said "If ye knew God as he ought to be known, ye would walk on the seas and the mountains would move at your call." Haji Saheb was one of those men who knew God as he ought to be known. He was not the founder of a new sect or creed; but in his hands Sufiism reached the zenith of its glory.

Out of the three important schools of Sufis, namely, (I) Qadiriya, (2) Chishtiya, and (3) Naqshbandia, Haji Saheb belonged to the first two. The key-note of his system was Divine and Universal love. The English poet appears to have been inspired by the same sentiment when he said:—

"Love rules the Court, the Camp, the grove, For Love is Heaven and Heaven is Love."

It was love which fired the soul of the great Rumi and made him burst into the following strain:—

"Hail to thee then, O Love, sweet madness!
Thou who healest all our infirmities!
Thou art the cure of our pride and self-conceit!
Thou art our Plato and our Galen!"

The Sufis claim that the eternal order of the universe is based on love. It may therefore be set down as one of the first principles of mystic philosophy that the deeper a man's love of God, the greater is his spiritual knowledge in proportion. It is interesting to find a reflection of the theories of the old-world Sufis in the writings of the Western Spiritualists of to-day. Waldo Trine, a well-known American writer on spiritualism, says:—

"The moment we recognise ourselves as one with the spirit of Infinite Love, we become so filled with love, that we see only the good in all. And when we realise that we are all one with this Infinite Spirit, we realise that we are all one with each other...that the same life is the life in each individual. Then prejudices go and hatreds cease. Love grows and reigns supreme."

This was precisely the teaching of Haji Saheb in effect. He was given to contemplation from early childhood. With growing years, the habit gained such force that he had practically lost all self-consciousness. Some philosophers hold that to look with admiration on a type of perfect excellence is the way to become assimilated to that excellence. The Sufis believe similarly that the final consummation of the love of God is union with God. "In that state," to use the words of Al Ghazzali, "man is effaced from self, so that he is neither conscious of his body nor of outward things. Even the thought, that he is effaced from self, should not occur to him. The highest state is to be effaced from effacement." This was doubtless the state which Haji Saheb had reached. It is remarkable that he never mentioned his own name. Nor did he ever write it with his own hand. It may be taken as an indication of the fact, that he had so effaced himself as to be unconscious of his existence as a separate entity and was entirely lost in the supreme source of all existence. It is the crown of spiritual attainment and the highest form of self-realisation, according to Sufis.

A Sufi has to pass through several stages in the path of spiritual progress, out of which the two most important are, complete dependence upon God and resignation to His will.

In the technical language of the Sufis, they are called (1) "Tawakkul" and (2) "Taslim o raza."

The word "Tawakkul" in ordinary parlance signifies trust in God and has been much abused by a certain class of Moslems who are religiously inclined. Thousands of men, who can do useful work, live upon alms and charity in convents and schools and believe they are following the teachings of their religion, inasmuch as they depend upon God alone for their means of subsistence. It has killed the spirit of self-reliance and increased the number of unproductive units in the community. The Sufis use the word in quite a different sense as explained by Al Ghazzali:—

"When the veil of secrecy is removed, one finds by actual observation that nothing other than God is self-existent; that causality is mere delusion and that He is the real cause and agent of all that takes place in the world. In this ecstatic state, the Sufi becomes independent of all external agency and relies upon God alone for his wants."

It has been said that Haji Saheb gave away all his property when he left home. The house in which he came to stay in later years was not his own. Some of his disciples made arrangements for his food and brought it to him, but he never asked for it. He did not accept "Nazars" and never touched money with his hand. People sometimes made presents to him. He did not reject them, but gave them away to other persons. The true test of a "faqir," he is reported to have said, was that he should not ask for anything, not even of God.

As regards (2), he showed a stoical indifference to the disagreeables of life. He is not known to have ever complained even of the weather. When he happened to be unwell, it was a hard task for his medical attendant to elicit from him what his trouble was. He never said a word that might convey the sense of suffering and contented himself with saying that nothing was wrong with him. He did not like to hear other people speak of their troubles and enjoined complete acquiescence in the will of God. Far from claiming to alter the decrees of Heaven he moved in perfect harmony with the Divine will.

The inward bent of his mind prevented him from holding long discourses and this accounts for the lack of any systematic teaching for which we seek in vain in the record of his long life. His biographers have only collected some of his precepts out of which a few are given below:—

- (I) Love of God is not acquired. It is inborn.
- (2) There is no method in love.
- (3) Distance does not count in love. If you love me, I am with you even if you are at a distance of thousands of miles.
- (4) Love is akin to faith.
- (5) My disciples are my children. They should love one another like brothers.
- (6) The whole Universe is governed according to the sentiments of the lovers of God.
- (7) Do not carry your want before God, even if you are starving, for He knows everything.
- (8) Real worldliness is forgetfulness of God.
- (9) A true "faqir" is never in want.
- (10) Islam is not identical with faith.
- (II) Remain always the same.
- (12) What you do once, continue to do it.
- (13) Trust in God. If you rely upon him truly, you need not worry about your daily wants.
- (14) Belief should be free from doubt.
- (15) Not a breath should pass without the remembrance of God.
- (16) It is no use going to the Kaaba for those who cannot see God here.
- (17) The same God is to be found in the mosque, the church and the pagoda.
- (18) God does not live on the empyrean. He exists everywhere.
- (19) One who cannot see God in this world is blind.
- (20) If your love is true, you can see God, for you cannot love without seeing.

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"Beloved are the sons of God....We know that when He shall appear....we shall see Him as He is."

These maxims only enable one to catch a glimpse of the transcendental doctrine common to all the Sufis that God alone has a real existence. Everything else is "non ens." Faith is generated by love. All one's endeavours should therefore be concentrated on developing this divine element of one's nature.

They point further to the idea that God exhibits Himself chiefly in man whom He created after His own image. One can therefore see Him in his manifestations in the human soul. He put it more clearly on another occasion, when he said, "The seat of God is not Heaven. You should look for Him among yourselves." He did not believe in the pantheistic doctrine that all was God, but in its reverse that God was all.

Suffism is essentially a cosmopolitan creed, but Haji Saheb enlarged its bounds to the extent it had not known before. He admitted freely into his order men and women of all shades of religion, of every caste and creed. He realised fully that "all are but parts of one stupendous whole" and declared openly that Mohammadans and Hindus, Magians and Christians were all one in his eyes. In his presence one felt truly the touch of Nature which makes the whole world kin. Unlike other Sufi Durweshes, he did not initiate people privately. He had different formulas for members of different faiths. When initiating Jews and Christians he used the following words:—

"Moses, Christ and Mohammad are all three the prophets of God. If you do not believe in any one of them, do not speak ill of him. Abstain from unlawful things."

To Hindus he said:-

"Believe in Brahma. Do not worship idols. Be honest."

He did not ask non-Moslems to abjure their religion. On the contrary he advised them to follow it with greater zeal and sincerity. In the case of persons who belonged to any profession or trade, he often added a few words of advice which had a bearing on their individual calling. If any person showed an eagerness, after the pledge had been taken, for a religious life and chose to retire from the world, he was given a 'tahband' (a garment similar to his own which has come to be recognised as the badge of the order) and received some verbal instructions with a direction to go to some far-away place where he was to stay and go through the prescribed course of training. The ascetic discipline which the novices were required to undergo was the hardest ever known. For example, one was asked to keep his eyes open which meant that the man was to deny himself the solace of sleep for the rest of his life. Another man was directed to give up all kinds of food and to live on such fruit as he could pick up in jungles. After a certain period, he was only to smell the fruit, when there was a craving for food, and at the final stage, he was to content himself with simply looking at them. The teaching in the case of any two persons was not the name. It varied according to the capacity of the individual. As a rule those who were invested with the garb of the order, were given a nick-name. It will not be out of place to refer, in this connection, to a ceremony originated by Haji Saheb's disciples. When a new "Ahram" was brought by any of them, he was asked to change and the one he had on was taken away by them. It was held in such deep veneration that it was impossible for any one to get the whole piece. It was torn into pieces which were distributed as relics. The avidity of his disciples to possess themselves of these relics was carried so far that on some occasions he had to change several times in the course of a day. The "Ahram" was sometimes carried to his presence to the accompaniment of music. His disciples may broadly be divided into two classes:-

- (I) 'Khirka posh' or those who embraced the ascetic life.
- (2) Men of the world who adopted his doctrine but made no ostensible change in their ways of life.

The 'Khirka posh' may again be sub-divided as follows:—

- (a) Those who were considered to be fully qualified and received the 'Ahram.' They were few in number.
- (b) Those who assumed the garb of the order without permission and were quite innocent of spiritual training.

Class II exceeded the others in number by a longway. His biographers confess their inability to estimate the number of his disciples as they were scattered all over the continent, including some parts of Europe. One of them has hazarded the figure of 4 lacs, but he seems to have erred on the side of caution, if we accept other accounts as true. Haji Saheb did not invite or persuade any one to enter his order. He was worshipped wherever he went. The extraordinary spell exercised by him not only on the popular mind, but on the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated alike, can only be accounted for by the principle that if you would have all the world love you, you must first love all the world. The railway stations and the streets of the towns which he visited were thronged with crowds. It is said that on the occasion of his first visit to Darbhanga, there was such a crush in the house where he was staying that one of the doorways collapsed and he was moved to another part of the building. The initiation occupied the whole day and yet the crowd did not seem to thin. When he left the place about 10,000 people followed him. stopped in the way, asked that his palanquin may be placed on a raised piece of ground and the people may touch it, in token of their being included among his

followers. On another occasion, the crowd was so dense at a railway station that no one could pass through, though every one wanted to get to him to be initiated. He looked round and said:—

"You are all my disciples, go."

A departure was made from the ordinary method of initiation when the crowd grew too thick to permit every person being formally initiated and a rope or sheet was held out, the far-end of which people were required to touch. Thousands of Hindus including 'Sadhus' and 'faqirs' of different panths paid homage to him and entered his Order. He always welcomed them in these words "You and I are the same." He recognised the God in every individual, because he had first realised it in himself.

Out of his European disciples who had been duly trained, three were known as Walayati Shah, Rumi Shah and Abdulla Shah. One Mr. Johnston, at one time S.P. in these provinces, and several Anglo-Indians are said to have belonged to his order. One of his Parsi disciples, who was a convert, was personally known to me. He was well versed in theology. Some people came once from Trebezond to see him and to get themselves initiated. A strange story is told of a Spanish nobleman of the name of Count Galaraza who came all the way from England to pay a visit to Haji Saheb and to be initiated. The Count came · upon one Mr. H— in London (a disciple of Haji Saheb) who was interested in spiritualism and made an exhibition of his powers. They were often thrown together and the Count hearing of the greatness of his saint, set his heart on seeing him. An interview was arranged through a Mohammadan student (another disciple of Haji Saheb) who was returning to India after being called to the Bar, and the Count arrived at Dewa in due course. In the course of the interview Haji Saheb said to him:-

"You have come and are united with me. Blessed be your coming. You and I shall be there together." The Count appears to have been well satisfied with the result of the interview, for on his way back he wrote from Paris to a member of his order at Dewa to the following effect:—

"I perceive how our Saint has been with me in the divine path from first to last."

It is worthy of note that a number of men educated at the English Universities, as well as in India, are among the followers of Haji Saheb. Some of them have risen to positions of great eminence.

There has not been a prophet or saint since the beginning of the world who has not had his opponents and whose conduct has not been the subject of adverse criticism. Despite his saintly life and his catholicism, Haji Saheb was not regarded as a model of orthodoxy by a certain class of Mohammadans who were inclined to be Pharisaical. The main charges against him were two:—

- (1) He did not say his prayers regularly, i.e. five times a day.
- (2) He admitted all sorts and conditions of people into his order who, owing to want of proper teaching, displayed great laxity in the performance of religious duties.

The first charge arose partly out of "odium theologicum" and partly out of misapprehension.

It is true that Haji Saheb did not say his prayers regularly like ordinary Moslems, but he did so at times. There is absolutely no evidence of the fact that he ever departed from the recognised tenets of the faith. According to the Sufi doctrine, a Sufi Durwesh who has attained the state of 'Sukr' (intoxication) is exempt from the religious obligations imposed on those who are in a state of 'sobriety.' The term intoxication is used to denote the rapture of love for God—a state in which all human attributes are annihilated and a man perceives that he sees everything through God. Haji Saheb beheld himself at every moment in the presence of God and, as he himself

put it, he could not with propriety address Him, as if He was absent, and go through the pretence of saying his prayers. He disliked all formalism and seemed to agree with the great Rumi who says:—

"Fools exalt the mosque, but ignore the true temple in the heart."

A reply given by him to a theologian on the same point was typical of him:—

"If any one sees God and kneels before Him, he is called a heretic; but those who kneel without seeing are described as true believers."

As regards the second charge, it must be conceded that his readiness to take men of all creeds into his order strikes one at first sight as an innovation or a departure from the established practice; but it is only a proof of the higher powers of his mind. Far from being a sign of apostasy, it goes to show how far he excelled other Sufi Durweshes in breadth of vision and was the first to open the gates of Sufiism so wide as to admit in it people of different faiths. He stands unique in this respect among the members of his fraternity. Like Christ, who ate with publicans and sinners, he took the good and bad alike into his fold. Those who are true to the highest within them, can call forth the good in each individual who is brought into contact with them. He taught by example, not by precept—by living the life and not by dogmatic teaching—as to how it should be lived. He impressed on his disciples the fact that one should pray to God for the sake of praying and not with a view to any spiritual or temporal benefit. It is difficult to conceive a higher standard of religious teaching. It may be said that the ideal placed before his disciples was too high to be attained by the average man; but it is impossible to form an idea of the vast moral amelioration effected by his teaching.

Haji Saheb never claimed any extraordinary powers for himself. But there are innumerable instances on record

of his healing the sick at a glance or by a touch. Things were said and done in the ordinary routine of life which seemed to border on the supernatural. Once he wanted to cross the Gogra on his way to Bahraich, but no boat was available at the ferry. He walked across the river with his companions, who were in a state of terrible fright and reluctant to follow him, but they were astonished to find the water only knee-deep which they waded through.

What was a matter of every-day experience for those who lived in his company may sound incredible now, but his feet never showed any sign of dirt though he always remained bare-footed. Nor did they leave any mark or spot on the carpet when he walked into a room. Most people did not believe it. Some of them invited Haji Saheb to their houses, to try the experiment. They had the floor spread with white linen and had the ground in front of the house well watered. He walked over it and was led to the room arranged for him. To their great surprise, they failed to discover any mud stain on the linen which, to be sure, was carefully examined as soon as he was gone. Numerous eye-witnesses of the fact are still living, whose veracity I find no reason to impugn. When a man identifies himself with God, the powers of God are manifested through him unconsciously. In the degree the human will is transmuted into the Divine Will and acts in conjunction with it, does it become supreme. One of Haji Saheb's disciples has remarked that there was something of the Christ in him. At least his life reminds one in a shadowy way of the life of There seems nothing incongruous in the idea that he should have followed the example of Christ in some respects, as it is an article of faith with Moslems to recognise the divine mission of Christ. After all the "sons of the Desert" and their descendants bear a greater affinity to Christ than his followers in Europe.

The Hindus regarded him as an incarnation of Sri Krishna, while some of his great contemporaries looked

upon him as a perfect replica of his prototypes the third or fourth century Sufis. All of them acknowledged his superiority. It will be sufficient to give the following extract from the opinion of one of them, namely, Maulana Shah Muhammad Akmal Afandi of Baghdad:—

"Haji Saheb has no equal in this age. The degree of gnosis attained by him is unsurpassed. I have seen a number of Durweshes and Shaikhs and have travelled much, but I have not come across one who could approach him."

He lived beyond the allotted span of life and after a brief illness passed away on 7th April 1905. The work of initiation was carried on till the last moment of his life. One stands in awe and pictures to oneself the four score years of self-imposed suffering, the seven days' fast, the bare-footed journeys, the endless wanderings, the wakeful nights, the ceaseless breathing of the name of God, the heart filled with love and the head bowed to the Maker in absolute resignation! He was a monarch in the domain of Sufiism. His great humanity and his wide sympathies enabled him to break from the artificial bonds of religion and to make the people of different caste and creed shake hands with the teachings of that sacred order. He achieved by the silent force of example what was never accomplished by the tongue or the sword. His mission was to teach the unity and love of God. He did so by showing himself a love for all, by sacrificing his worldly possessions, by conquering all earthly desires and by merging the finite in the Infinite, thus fulfilling the God in man.

He was buried on the spot where he died. It is now marked by a splendid monument—one of the finest in Oudh—erected to his memory by some of his devoted followers.

The flight of steps leading to the tomb are worn daily by the footsteps of a stream of pilgrims; but the gathering is largest on the occasion of his anniversary, when a religious fair is held at Dewa. The cult continues to progress, for every year at the time of the 'Urs' fresh admissions are made into the order, the ceremony of initiation being performed by one of the old disciples present. How truly the lines of the immortal bard apply to him:—

بر زمینے که نشان کف پاے تو بود سالها سجدهٔ صاحب نظران خواهد بود

(Those who are endowed with the inner vision will in years to come rub their forehead and kneel on the ground that was once trodden by you.) May peace be on him!

On Haji Saheb's death a dispute arose about his succession. Some of his disciples set up a relation of his Saiyid Muhammad Ibrahim as a successor or 'Sajjada Nashin.' An Association known as "Dargah Warisi Association" was formed subsequently and on the death of Saivid Muhammad Ibrahim, a suit was instituted in 1916 in the Court of the District Judge, Lucknow, by the members of the Association praying for their appointment as Trustees of the shrine and the buildings appurtaining to it. It was opposed by some heirs of the deceased Saivid Muhammad Ibrahim together with others on the ground that they had inherited the property from the late 'Sajjada Nashin' and that it was of a private character. The District Judge dismissed the suit, but it was held in appeal by the Judicial Commissioners (one of them was Mr. Justice Stuart who delivered the judgment) that "the Saint laid down as a cardinal principle that no one could take his place after his death" and the claim was decreed. A trust was created called "the Haji Waris Ali Shah Mausoleum Trust" and under a scheme framed by the Court for its administration a Committee consisting of 10 members was appointed. The conclusion arrived at by the learned Judge-distinguished for his uncommonly quick grasp of facts—is quite in keeping with the opinion expressed by Haji Saheb's biographers. It is recorded on good authority that he made a formal declaration to the effect that no one was to be appointed as his successor. He used the following words: "Love is better than formal

righteousness. My creed is love and the rule of succession does not obtain in my system."

It is not necessary that every Sufi Durwesh or Shaikh must have a successor. The principle underlying the appointment of a 'Sajjada Nashin' originally was that he should continue the spiritual line by carrying on the esoteric teaching of his predecessor, in addition to his imparting theological instruction; for in old times a 'Khankah' or a mosque was partly used as a seminary also. It was an indispensable qualification for a 'Sajjada Nashin' that he should be a man of learning and of outward piety, at least. If a 'Shaikh' failed to nominate a successor, none was appointed. Sometimes one of the disciples best qualified for the purpose was elected by the majority of the members of the sect. The office has been degraded in these latter days, owing to its being converted into a source of gain and it has lost its pristine sanctity.

A successor is supposed to have some of the qualifications, if not the qualities, of his predecessor. Those who favoured the appointment of a successor to Haji Saheb, failed to recognise his lofty position in the spiritual world.

Haji Saheb was not the man to write anything about himself or about his particular teaching, but his disciples have not been wanting in zeal in publishing the accounts of his life. There are several biographies, as noted below, in addition to a series of poems written in different languages in his memory.

- (1) 'Hayat Waris' by Mirza Munim Beg, Barham Press, Gorakhpur, 1916 (Urdu, pp. 1–205).
- (2) 'Ainul Yaqin' by Syed Abdul Ad Shah, Aini Press, Allahabad, date not given (Urdu, pp. 1-76).
- (3) 'His Holiness Haji Hafiz Syed Waris Ali Shah' by Syed Ghafur Shah (Islamic Saints series), Calcutta, 1912 (English, pp. 1–16).
- (4) 'Ziafatul Ahbab' by Shah Badruddin (Urdu).

 Name of Press and date of publication not known.

- (5) 'Tohfatul Asfia' by Maulana Shaiq (Urdu). Name of Press and date of publication not known.
- (6) 'Maarif Warisiya' by Maulvi Shaikh Fazal Husain, Bankipur, 1920 (Urdu, pp. 1-351). An excellent treatise explaining his mystic doctrines has been published by an old disciple of his, Mirza Ibrahim Beg Shaida of Lucknow, under the title of 'Minhajul Ishqia fi Irshadat Warisiya.'

Of all his biographies the last is very well written. The author has taken great pains in the collection of material but the book is of much too religious a character to be of interest to the general reader. I am indebted in a great measure to this book for my notes. I must now conclude. I am tempted to say, even at the risk of being accused of idolising the dead, that a name greater than Haji Saheb's in spiritual power, benevolence and charity is not known in the recent history of Sufiism.

SOME SIDE-LIGHTS ON LIFE IN AGRA, 1637-39.

By W. H. MORELAND.

MORTHERN India possesses so few visible memorials of the operations of the Dutch East India Company, that it is a little difficult for students to realise that, three centuries ago, the country was in close relations with the agents of the greatest and most successful trading corporation in the world. About the year 1640 the English Company was on the verge of collapse, for its profits were so poor that necessary capital was not forthcoming, and in its Indian trade it had usually to be content with the leavings of the Dutch. At that period the Governor-General at Batavia controlled a much more profitable organization: the practical monopoly of spices, and of trade with China and Japan, made his commercial position in the East almost unassailable; and throughout the markets of Southern Asia, his agents were busy and powerful, usually assured of ample capital, able to deal on a large scale, closely supervised from headquarters, and working as parts of a scientific organization, each member of which responded effectively to the controlling brain at Batavia.

Some side-lights on life in Northern India at this period can be gathered from a record which has recently become available to students, the expenditure accounts of the Agra factory for the years 1637–39, which now form Nos. 120 and 123 of the W. Geleynssen de Jongh Collection in the Public Record Office at the Hague. Geleynssen served the Dutch Company from 1615 to 1648, rising eventually .to the rank of Extraordinary Member of

This collection has been catalogued by Dr. J. de Hullu, Ph.D. in two pamphlets, for copies of which I am indebted to the kindness of the author.

Council During his long service he made a collection of business papers, which he took home to Holland, and which on his death were deposited in the church at Alkmaar, his native town. There the collection remained until 1912, when it was removed to the Public Record Office on loan, and made available to students. From 1637 to the beginning of 1640 Gelevnssen was head of the Agra factory, and he evidently took the completed account-books of his term of office away with him when he left on promotion. Why he did so is not on record but it may have been in order to protect himself against any charges of extravagance which might subsequently be brought. Batavia insisted strongly on economy in the administration of the factories; and there had been complaints of irregularities at Agra just before Gelevnssen's appointment, and he may have determined to retain firsthand evidence of his expenditure, which he could produce if it should be questioned in the future; but, however this may be, we owe to him the only original accounts of a Dutch factory in India which are known to have survived from this early period.

The books do not show the commercial transaction of the factory, but detail what may be called the "overhead" charges, which were adjusted at Batavia against the total profits shown on sales and purchases of goods. They give month by month the expenditure on (I) diet of factors, (2) stable, (3) servants' wages, (4) messengers, and, occasionally, (5) extraordinary charges; while at the end of the year a variety of special items, mainly cost of buildings and expenditure incurred by factors on tour, are brought on to the account.

The Life of the Dutch Factors.

Modern writers occasionally comment on the very low salaries paid to Dutch and English factors at this period, but in order to appreciate the figures it is necessary

¹ See the Dagh Register, entry of 22nd March, 1636.

to bear in mind that, (a) purchasing power has changed, (b) the factors had board, lodging, and conveyance provided in addition to their salaries. As to purchasing power, I have shown elsewhere that salaries of Akbar's days should be multiplied by 5 or 6 to compare with the standard of 1910-12; and there are no signs of a marked fall in the general purchasing power of silver in India up to (at any rate) 1660. The account-books enable us to form an idea of the terms—apart from salary—enjoyed by the company's employees. Salaries are not entered in them: they were usually much in arrears, and apparently should be regarded almost as deferred pay; a factor was provided with all necessaries during his service, and at the close of his engagement he had a lump sum due to him, which could be applied, if necessary, to meet deficiencies in his accounts.

At Agra, the Dutch factors had the following benefits, in addition to free furnished quarters in the factory; (1) diet allowance, (2) use of horses and coaches, (3) use of certain servants, (4) medical attendance, (5) oil and candles, and a few other miscellaneous supplies. The diet allowance varied with rank. The staff consisted usually of the head factor, one factor, and a varying number of under-factors and assistants; the two former were allowed Rs. 24 each monthly, while under-factors received Rs. 12 and assistants Rs. 8. In terms of 1910-12 then the monthly allowances ranged from about Rs. 45 to Rs. 140, for food and drink, entertaining, kitchen and table servants, and fuel. The stable was small, usually limited to three horses for the staff, so that it would suffice at most for journeys on duty. There were also two "coaches" drawn by oxen, doubtless conveyances of the familiar Indian type. The common servants were grooms, a

¹ Journal R. A. S. July 1918, p. 375. To get the equivalent at the present time, it would be necessary to multiply by a much higher number, perhaps 8 to 10, but Indian prices have been so much affected by exceptional conditions during the last three years that it is scarcely worth while to examine them from this point of view until the markets show signs of settling down.

coachman, a porter, peons, a waterman, a masalchi (lampman and torch-bearer), a gardener, and a sweeper. Grass was purchased, so there are no grass-cutters, and water was also charged by the month, though there was a well, which must have been used regularly, because the water-bucket needed constant repairs; probably the wellwater was not fit to drink, and the purchases represent drinking-water, but this is conjecture. The servants usually received either Rs. 3 or Rs. 3-8 monthly, rates which are very little higher than those paid in Akbar's Court. Washing was paid for monthly; and, in the circumstances of the period, we may include in the common staff "the pauper who tends the cemetery" at Rs. 2 per mensem. Candles and lamp-oil were charged for regularly: a barber was paid small sums at frequent intervals; water-pots and goglets are regular items; various articles of furniture are mentioned from time to time; and Indian or foreign doctors were paid when necessary, while the barber received a rupee for the operation of bleeding. Separate servants were paid for the seniors; Geleynssen was allowed a servant and a boy, while Barentsen, the second-in-command, had a servant. There was no chaplain, and I have traced no religious expenditure. Nothing appears for recreation, apart from the charge for the garden, always an important adjunct of Dutch factories.

There is thus no sign of the extravagance and display which characterised some of the European factories, and the provision allowed for the Dutchmen might I think be fairly characterised as frugal. As a matter of fact it proved inadequate in the year 1638, the account for which closes with what may be called "supplementary estimates" signed by Johan Tack, an under-factor who presumably looked after the house-keeping. Tack noted that, owing to high prices of grain and other provisions,

i The doctor's bill for the year 1637 was Rs. 20, with Rs. 10 for medicines. In the following year there is a charge of Rs. 13, for attendance and medicine from "the Chinese doctor."

the expenditure had exceeded the year's allowance for diet by Rs. 231 (practically 25 per cent of the sum allowed), and this was carried into the total expenditure of the year (presumably subject to disallowance by the auditors). A second supplementary estimate was for 'wine or arrack'; and Tack noted in regard to it that (1) consumption at table had increased, (2) presents of wine given to various nobles had exceeded the amount which could be spared for the purpose. It will be remembered that at this time many of the Mogul nobles drank heavily: Francisco Pelsart, writing ten years earlier, commented on the rapid extension of the habit during his residence in Agra, and noted that ladies had acquired it from their husbands. Requests from Indian officials for a bottle or two of wine are met with in the commercial correspondence of the period.

No Indian clerks were employed in the factory at this period. Brokers were paid on commission, which was charged in the commercial accounts. The factors kept their own books and correspondence, while a writer from the bazar was called in when Persian letters had to be written or read.

Before passing from the distinctive features of European life, a word may be said of Johan (or Jan) Tack, who has been mentioned above. He seems never to have left Agra, where he died in January, 1663, a quarter of a century after the date of these accounts. His local estate consisted of a house which he had built, and which he asked should be given to the Indian lady who lived with him. He was in debt for about Rs. 2,000, but at Batavia he had rather more than Rs. 5,000 to his credit as salary, (which, as has been said above, was usually in arrears).² So much has been written of the great fortunes

¹ Pelsart's Report seems never to have been printed. The French translation in M. Thévenot's *Divers Voyages Curieux*, (Paris, 1663), is greatly condensed, and occasionally inaccurate; I quote from the Dutch MS. in the Public Record Office at the Hague.

² See Dagh Register, entry of 21st June, 1663.

made by servants of the Companies, that it is worth while to note this example of what was probably the more usual experience among the Dutch at this time—at least 30 years' work, and savings of about Rs. 3,000 to show for it.

Economic Life in Agra.

As regards the economic life of the population of Agra, it must be premised that the accounts cover too short a period to give a precise idea of normal conditions, and we shall find that the time was one of high prices. The maund used is the Shahjahani, based on a seer weighing 40 dam, and equivalent to about 74 lb. Money is stated in rupees and pice, the "pice" being the adhela, or half-dam, of which, in Akbar's time, 80 usually exchanged for a rupee. Numerous references in the commercial correspondence show that this rate ruled till about 1615, but in the next ten years the supply of copper in Northern India began to fail-presumably some of the important mines were being exhausted-and the silver-price of copper rose rapidly and permanently. In 1627 Pelsart records that a rupee would buy only 58 pice: in January 1637, the rate applied in the accounts was 50 pice, and this seems to have been about the top of the rise; the June rate was 53, in December it was 55, and by October, 1638, it had returned to 58. Later records show that the rate was more or less stabilised at about 60 (with small fluctuations) at any rate up to the year 1660. The stabilisation resulted from imports from Japan, brought to Surat by Dutch vessels. Their Japanese trade was interrupted by political difficulties from about 1629 to 1634, or they would probably have started importing at an earlier date; the first recorded arrival of Japanese copper at Surat is late in 1635,' and from then onward a steady supply was maintained (supplemented from Europe when Japan could not furnish the metal). The reaction in the

¹ Dagh Register, entry of 22 March, 1636. From 1637 onwards, copper is a regular item in the cargoes sent to Surat.

value of copper at Agra from the beginning of 1637 may safely be attributed to the opening of this new line of business, which became commercially possible only when the Indian price of copper had risen well above the 16th century level.

Indian cities want to know first of all the price of food. The system of cash allowances which prevailed in the Dutch factory excluded from the accounts entries of the cost of food for human consumption, but the stable accounts enable us to trace movements in the price of gram and *moth*, the latter a more important staple than it is now, and also in meal, *ghi*, and *gur*, which according to the local practice were given regularly to horses. In the following table, the varying data for rupee prices have been reduced to rupees and decimals per maund of 74 lb.

Monthly Prices in Agra, 1637-1639.

1537	R	Gram. s. per m	d.	Moth. Rs. per m	d. Rs	Meal. per m	d. Pi	Ghi. ce per s	ser. Pi	Gur. ce per ser.
January		1.0				1.0		1,2		4
February		1.0				1.0		12		4
March		1.0				1.0		11		4
April		1.0				1.0		11		4
May		1.08				1.0		11		4
June		1.08		1.05		1.13		11		51
July		1.08		1.00		1.13		11		6
August		1.00		1.00		1.13		11		6
September		1.06		1.00		1.11		11		8
October		1.10	• •	1.10		1.10		11		9
November		1.02		1.00		1.00		11		8
December		1.09	• •	1.05		1.36		II		7
1638										
January		1.18		1.13		1.27		11		6
February		1.28		1.27		1.27		11		6
March		1.82				1.63		12		6
April		1.82		2.0		1.45		16		6
May		2 05				2.03		16		6
June		2.18				2.0		14		6
July		2.18				2.18		16		6
August		2.18				5.18		16		6
September		2.0				5.18		14		5
October		1.25				1.38		13		5
November		1.25				1.38		13		5
December		1.25				1.38		13		5
1639										
January		2.0	Water !			2.06		14	-	5

To readers familiar with the climate, these figures tell their own story, if it is remembered that, while gram and moth were local supplies, gur and much of the wheat consumed in the city were imported from some distance, wheat coming largely from the indefinite region described as "Purop," that is, the provinces of Allahabad, Bihar, and beyond. During 1637 grain-prices moved little, apart from the usual small rise during the rains, and the only outstanding feature is the dearness of gur during that season; clearly the 1637 crop of sugar had been disappointing, or else supplies had been interrupted. Winter rains were in those days more important than now, because of the absence of irrigation and transport facilities, and it is clear that anxiety began in January, 1638, and that by March a locally bad rabi crop was certain; the failure raised the price of meal as well as pulses, and also that of ghi, but the sugar-cane crop had been more favourable in the regions of supply. From April to September, grain was double the price of the previous year, (a fact which bears out Tack's statement already quoted), but a good monsoon brought a marked drop in October.1 We must assume however that the winter rains again failed, because the entries for January 1639, the last in the book, show a sudden rise.

To get an idea of the position apart from these sudden changes, we may contrast the figures for January-April 1637, with what Abul Fazl thought fair and reasonable about 40 years before.²

Pounds of provisions purchasable for a rupee.

	Aii	i-i-Akbari.	Early 1637.		
		lbs.	lbs.		
Gram		277	74		
Meal		148	74		
Ghi		21	8-81/2		

¹ Figures for *moth* fail us in May, when the coach-oxen were put on to gram. Those which are available suffice to show that, then as now, prices of various grains moved together.

² Journal, R.A.S., l.c.

The meal (āta) used in the Dutch stable was probably much inferior in quality to that for which Abul Fazl quotes, so that the true rise in price would be greater than the figures show. Abul Fazl does not give prices for gur, but he thought 39 lbs. of shakar-i-surkh, fair value for a rupee, while the Dutch could buy only 24 lbs. of gur.

The wages paid by the Dutch were, as has been said, comparable with those recorded in the *Ain*, possibly rather higher, but certainly not so much higher as to meet the heavy increase in cost of living. From Pelsart's Report it appears that the Dutch paid rather better wages to servants than the bulk of the Mogul nobles, and we must conclude that the year 1637 was a hard one for the working classes in Agra, while 1638 must have been very hard indeed, though not to be classed as a time of famine: only a few years before less than 5 lbs. of wheat had cost a rupee in the great famine in Gujarat.

The most striking features of the figures given is the magnitude of the fluctuations in 1638: the index number for gram (taking January-April, 1637 as 100) was 128 in February, 182 in March, 200 in September, 125 in October, and again 200 in the following January. Other figures show that prices varied greatly by locality as well as by time. The accounts give the price paid for moth day by day on the journey from Ahmadabad to Agra in February-March, 1637, when prices in the latter market were not moving. On the first few marches from Ahmadabad moth cost I pice a seer: at a fortnight's distance it was 3 seers for a pice, but near Agra the price rose abruptly. It is doubtful what seer is used in this particular account, so that the figures cannot be compared directly with those already tabulated, but the magnitude of the difference is obvious, and on the same journey the cost of a seer of gur ranged between 3 and 8 pice according to the locality.

¹ The English Factories in India, 1630-33, p. 165. The Gujarat maund there referred to was about 33 lbs.

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The cost of supplies other than food cannot be shown in figures, because the quantity purchased is seldom given, and the description is often vague. As regards the minor incidents of life, one notes a regular monthly charge for betel provided for the Indian merchants visiting the factory, a very few entries of charity to the poor, and a variety of gratuities. The list of the latter for the year 1637 may be of some interest:

Rs. 4 to the servants of Asalat Khan, when visited on his return to Agra.

26 pice to a servant of Mir (name illegible).

Re. I to Asalat Khan's porter.

Rs. 3 to the peons at the Imperial Court.

13 pice to a groom the English factory.

Rs. 2 to Asalat Khan's peons and porters.

Rs. 2 to Asalat Khan's porter.

Re. 1/2 to Asalat Khan's torch-bearer.

Rs. 2 to the Kotwal's watchmen and peons.

14 pice to the torch-bearer of the English factory.

14 pice to a peon of the 'paders' (? padre: there were Roman Catholic priests in Agra at this time).

24 pice to the groom and torch-bearer of the English.

Rs. 2 to the factory-peons on their festival.

Rs. 11 to the Kotwal's peons.

Re. 1 to the torch-bearer of the English.

There is an obvious difference between the ½ rupee or so given to servants of ordinary acquaintances such as the English factors, and the sums paid to porters and peons of officials such as the Kotwal or Asalat Khan (who was, I think, Amil, or Governor, of Agra at this time). A rupee was a very substantial gratuity when silver was so dear in terms of commodities.

Means of Communication.

One occasionally reads eulogies of the Mogul official postal system by writers who overlook the fact that it handled only service messages. Pelsart tells us that the nobles kept private runners to carry their letters, and similarly the Dutch and English factors relied on *patamars*, or *kasids*, as they were called: one of the regular heads of

the Dutch accounts is 'Cassetsgelden,' that is, cost of messengers, and it provides for journeys as far as Surat and Hooghly. The messengers were of two classes, 'bazar' and 'express.' The former are recorded as coming only from Surat and Ahmadabad, and may be conjectured to represent a commercial post established on this route. The regular payment made to a 'bazar casset' on arrival at Agra was Re. 1, but occasionally half a rupee is charged, presumably for a small letter, and sometimes Rs. 11; I have not noticed payment in advance to such messengers on leaving, so these sums probably represent the whole charge. That the service was tolerably frequent may be inferred from the arrivals at Agra in September, 1637, when bazar messengers arrived from Surat on 3rd, 9th, 13th and 28th, and from Ahmadabad on 14th, 25th and 28th. Express messengers cost more, the regular rate from Agra to Surat and back being Rs. 9 (with a daily allowance in case of detention at Surat). The cost of a packet sent by the bazar-casset would represent from Rs. 21 to Rs. 5, paid in 1910-12, so this method of communication was not cheap, while expresses were certainly expensive. On other routes we find a charge of Rs. 21 from Agra to Khairabad and back, somewhere about 400 miles in all: the round trip took 18 days. A servant took 84 days for a special journey to Hooghly and back.1 An express messenger left Agra for Surat on 4th March, and returned on 14th April, or 42 days for the round trip; another express for Surat left on 18th April, and returned on 22nd May, another took from 2nd May, to 12th June, so we may reckon this double journey at from a month to six weeks.

¹ Dutch factors from Pulicat were at this time trying to establish business at Hooghly; they quickly gave up the attempt as the rapacity of the local officials was excessive, and did business from Pipli and Balasore for some years. Their permanent settlement on the Hooghly dates from a year or two before 1650. See the Dagh Register, for successive reports, e.g. 14th March, and 10th June, 1637. The servant mentioned above carried an Imperial farman, authorising Dutch trade at Hooghly.

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An idea of expenses incurred in travelling can be formed from some of the accounts. Barentsen the factor took a journey to order piece-goods, which lasted from 20th January to 25th February. The places he visited are given as Kourseth, Geyrebadth, Neggepur, and Bonaris. The second name represents Khairabad in Sitapur, the calico of which was being bought largely at this time. The first must be some place between Agra and Khairabad; elsewhere it is said to be six days' journey from Agra, and it should be somewhere in the western side of the Hardoi district, but I do not know a weaving-centre with a similar name in that direction. Neggepur might be looked for in Fyzabad, where much calico was bought. Bonaris ought to be Benares, and it is possible that, with very quick travelling, the journey could have extended to that city: but the name, and also the expression 'Bonarische quarters,' was sometimes used by the Dutch to denote a direction rather than a particular place, and the most I can say is that the tour extended from Agra to Khairabad and some way further south-east, possibly as far as Benares. Some of the items charged on this tour are as follows:

Hire etc. of a camel to carry the cash (Rs. 8,000):

going and coming 30 0

10 extra peons (the armed guard), Rs. 7 per head
for the journey 70 0

Boat hire for crossing the Ganges twice 0 40
ditto ,, Jumna , ... 0 40

House hire, two days 0 41

Paid at Sarais on the tour 3 12

Against such charges was set the gain by exchange. The cash taken from Agra consisted of Shahjahani rupees (i.e. *chalani* in the usual phrase). Changing these to the rupees locally current gave a gain of $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent or Rs. 70, less money-changer's commission, Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$.

On a later journey "towards the East or Bonarische

This charge covered something besides hire, but a word is blotted, and I cannot read it with confidence; it may possibly indicate that the owner of the camel took the risk of pilferage on the journey. In another account, camel-hir for 19 days cost less than Rs. 3.

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quarters," between 5th May and 13th June, the head factor was too ill to ride, or to travel in a 'coach,' and spent the following sums on a palanquin; he was evidently nervous about the audit, for a rather long head-note insists on his weakness, on the extreme heat, and on the necessity for travelling at this unsuitable season in order to comply with the instructions received from Batavia:

		Rs.
Cost of palanquin (there being none in the fac-	ctory) .	32
Reed cover, waxcloth, etc., for the rains		13
Cotton linings and cushions		73
Metal fittings for the palanquin		71
Eight bearers, @ Rs. 8 for the 40 days		64
	Rs.	124

Charges for inland customs are familiar incidents in the literature of the period. The following is an account of payments between Surat and Agra on a small consignment of merchandise, (porcelain, spices and sandalwood). The book-value is not given, but the goods were valued at the Broach custom house at 8,898 mahmudis, or about Rs. 3,550; Broach had a bad name for over-valuation, and the true values may have been substantially less.

		Rs.	Pice.
1		71	30
er		4	48
to clerks and	peous	3	30
		0	24
HER LE LA LEVA		4	18
		0	10
		0	24
		0	4
		0	12
	**	2	0
		0	51
madabad to	Agra,		
		120	0
·" ··		5	0
		4	0
		217	35
	to clerks and madabad to	to clerks and peons madabad to Agra,	l 71 ver 4 to clerks and peons 3 0 4 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 120 madabad to Agra, 120

¹ Pelsart (l.c.) says that the valuation at Broach was in practice "merely a method of draining poor merchants to the dregs"; and suggests that it operated to divert traffic from this route to the alternative via Burhanpur.

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Obviously most of the items shown are petty gratuities at road chaukis. Apart from Broach, there were no heavy charges in Gujarat, while for the journey from Ahmadabad to Agra it was usual to contract with the carrier, known as "adoway," to meet all liabilities on merchandize; the last two items show that in this case the contract did not cover tolls on passengers in "sit-cars," a term which I take to indicate country conveyances smaller than those described as "coaches." The total cost on this occasion was not very excessive, but the consignment was of high value for its bulk, and the contract charge of Rs. 40 per cart would have been prohibitive for bulky goods of low value. This account shows further that the hire of a 'sit-car' from Surat to Agra was Rs. 50, and that the charge made by the "adoway" for carriage of goods, (distinct from the contract for customs) was Rs. 23 per maund (74 lb.) for the whole journey.

Building Costs.

The factory-buildings were of a type still familiar in this part of India, and were apt to fall down suddenly, so that special repairs were frequent, while some extensions were carried out during the years to which the accounts relate. Some of the rates charged can be compared with those sanctioned in Akbar's Public Works department about half a century before. The lowest rate of wage recognised by Akbar was 2 dam, or 4 pice, per diem: the Dutch paid 4 pice to all the ordinary labourers, so that the nominal rate was unchanged. For superior labourers the Dutch rate was 7 pice, corresponding to Akbar's rate of 3 dam or 6 pice. It is difficult to calculate the real wages corresponding to these rates, because copper was now worth more silver, while silver was for the moment worth much less grain, but the labourer was at any rate

¹ See The English Factories in India, 1634-36, p. 172; the practice of contracting for tolls is mentioned frequently at this period, and is discussed in The Travels of Peter Mundy (ii, 278, 291).

Ain-i-Akbari, Bk. I, Ains 86, 87.

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no better off in 1637-38 than in Akbar's time. The Dutch paid carpenters 12 and 13 pice: Akbar sanctioned 14, 12 and 8 pice according to grade (his fourth and fifth grades received merely ordinary labourers' pay); here again the nominal rates had not moved appreciably. Akbar's rate for kankar-lime works out at Rs. 63 per 100 Shahjahani maunds: the Dutch paid Rs. 7 for the bulk of the lime they used, which is described as "grey," and may be taken as kankar-lime; so that in this case also there was no material change. On the other hand the Dutch paid over Rs. 2 per thousand bricks, for which Akbar's rate was only Re. \(\frac{3}{4}\); here there is an apparent change, but the size or quality of bricks may be different. The building trade must have been subject to great fluctuations, and if, as I believe is the case, the Taj Mahal was under construction in 1637, we might at first sight have looked for a general rise in local rates; but it would be dangerous to assume that the rates of wages were adjusted to conditions of supply and demand, since the practice of impressment is known to have prevailed widely at this period. The figures given could be explained by saying that, apart from a shortage of bricks (perhaps temporary), building costs had not changed materially since Akbar's time, but more data are wanted before this can be said with confidence: if only some chronicler had thought it worth his while to record in detail the cost of building the Taj!

Such are some of the facts contained in these records. I do not suppose that anyone is likely to print the accounts as a whole, certainly not while printers' charges are at their present level; but in case anyone wishes to see them, I may mention that the Public Record Office at the Hague has supplied me with photographs of these, and various other documents, at a cost which is certainly less than would be incurred by copying. Of course photographs are much more satisfactory, because they eliminate the risk of copyists' errors, but their use requires a

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knowledge of the Dutch script of the period: it is materially different from modern English handwriting, but two or three days' study should suffice to make it legible, and, for a beginning, the short entries in accounts or commercial documents are better practice than continuous narratives.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Canning College, Lucknow, on 31st March, 1923.

Mr. Burn, President of the Society, took the Chair. The report by the Secretary was adopted. It was agreed to ask Mr. Fremantle to check the accounts of the Honorary Treasurer. Attention was called to the large expenditure on travelling allowance and it was decided that for the present no payment should be made to lecturers on account of travelling expenses.

The officers of the Society were then elected for the following year:-

Patron .. His Excellency Sir William Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the

United Provinces.

President .. Mr. R. Burn.

Vice-Presidents .. Mr Justice Banerji.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Treasurer .. Rev. Canon Davies.

Rev. Canon Davies could not act as Treasurer, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S. (Retired) was appointed in his place.

Secretary ... Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D.;

COUNCIL.

Bishop of Lucknow.

Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Mr. S. H. Fremantle.

Mr. S. B. Smith.

Lala Sita Ram.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.

Professor Telang.

Hon'ble Nawab Muzammulillah Khan.

The question of affiliating other societies was then considered. It was thought that affiliation would tend to strengthen the U. P. Society and that the latter would be in a position to co-ordinate work and to assist the affiliated societies. Papers read before such societies might,

if considered suitable, be published in the Journal. It is understood that some of these societies are constituted for students, who cannot afford more than a nominal subscription. Possibly some of the societies would not have a Journal of their own.

The following rule was then adopted:-

Rule 4 A. Societies constituted in the United Provinces or adjacent territory for the purpose of historical research may be affiliated on payment of an annual subscription at the same rate as an ordinary member on condition that at least five of their members are also members of the U. P. Historical Society.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM MARRIS,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES
OF AGRA AND OUDH, AT A MEETING OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
CANNING COLLEGE, LUCKNOW,
MARCH 31, 1923.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Although my friend Mr. Burn has lured me into this Chair this evening, he knows quite well that I have come here to show my interest in your Society, and certainly with no pretence of having anything original to say to you about history. I said so to a friend as I was starting to come here. He cynically suggested that I should remind you of the old woman who said she had no use for history: she believed in the maxim "Let by-gones be by-gones."

In some sort, we are all history lovers. Most of us have a liking either for action or letters, and so the artistic telling of great doings appeals to one side or the other of our nature. That is why Herodotus' story of the Persian Wars, or Thucydides' account of the Athenian disaster in Syracuse, Motley's description of the struggle in the Netherlands, or Napier's noble story of the Peninsular War, will be enjoyed by literary readers to the end of time. I do not mean that the events were not of importance to the world; because obviously they were; but still the appeal made by such history as this lies mainly in the art of the historian, working upon our own sympathy with the personages involved. This is history tinged with poetry and emotion, and raised by nobility of language into great literature.

But there is also the simpler love of history which is born of the desire for accurate knowledge of the past, however undramatic or unexciting. We still want to know how men of past days lived and moved and had their being, and what they did in their various problems and difficulties. It has been said that interest in such inquiry is scientific, and springs from the conviction that "history

repeats itself"; that we desire to know these things (just as we desire to know about the crops, or the weather, or diseases), because such exact knowledge of the past is a key to the present and also to that future, which, to quote the first great master of all history, "will in all probability repeat or resemble the past." In this view the study of human history is only part of the necessary sum of knowledge which every prudent man should acquire if he is to make the best struggle with his environment.

I cannot examine this theory closely. We can see that it contains a large measure of truth. The eternal truths of human nature and human conduct do subsist. The story of Athens' dealing with the Melians might have conveyed its warning to Germany's contemplating the violation of Belgium. Lincoln's experience with the draft in the American Civil War must have strengthened our own Government's hands in insisting on compulsory service. In particular, military historians tell us that all changes in material and method have not changed the root principles of military and naval warfare. That may well be, because in war the human element is ultimately the one thing that counts. But I can imagine the advocate for the other side making a good case too. He would deny that conditions ever repeat themselves, he would point out that in the infinite complexity of life and circumstances precisely the same situation cannot possibly recur. He would 'distinguish' the immediate case from all its predecessors, and emphasize the new elements detected in it. He can argue subtly, that even our very knowledge of our forefathers' experience A, differentiates our own attitude in face of experience A2, from that of our forefathers towards what seemed a like position. Between opposing theories let us appeal to practice: the answer seems to be that our reaction to the teachings of history is mostly indirect. We do not go directly to history for a code of conduct. Rather we make our own daily diet of it, as of sound and body-building food, believing that whatever we have absorbed of it will contribute something to our effective energies when they are called into play; and feeling it no more necessary to be able to refer our daily activities to some exact precedent in the past, than it would be to recall to memory all the dinners we have ever eaten.

I suggest that one reason for liking history is because it flatters our belief in the continuity of existence. If we are here in the sunlight just for some five or six decades, without reference to past or future, it seems to matter so much less how we bear ourselves. But if the story of the past shows us to ourselves as the product of infinitely numerous and differentiated ancestors, and also as ourselves the begetters of infinitely numerous and differentiated human progeny,

then life gains in dignity and importance. Not only are we bound to do our best out of loyalty to those before and after, but the mere business of tracing out our forefathers' doings and of recording our

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business of tracing out our forefathers' doings and of recording our own becomes not only intensely interesting but almost a filial duty. I suppose it is safe to say that never was the material for the future historian being laid up so rapidly as now. Some of its meaner manifestations we may regret; but of the pains and industry that are now being expended on the mere process of recording events as they occur there can be no doubt.

History, it seems, ebbs and flows with stagnation and activity in human life. Just as the airman or the hunter finds it easier to spot a moving object, so what attracts the historian's eye is the

History, it seems, ebbs and flows with stagnation and activity in human life. Just as the airman or the hunter finds it easier to spot a moving object, so what attracts the historian's eye is the movement in the world of thought or action. Periods of change and growth are his special hunting ground. There is little real history written when men's lives stagnate under the shadow of theocracy or priest-craft or settled despotism. History seems to have revived in England with Clarendon and the English Revolution, and on the continent with the many writers whom the French Revolution begot. I have seen the comparative lack of systematic history in India prior to the Moghuls ascribed to the Indian's absorption in the spiritual world and his disdain for the common-place details of ephemeral existence. But it seems also possible that through long periods there occurred nothing very interesting to record. Is it a very wise or a rather unwise saying that declares that "happy are the people who have no history?"

History is full of sorrows and tragedies; but the more hopeful judgment takes these for the pains of growth or travail. In this view it may be doubted whether there was ever offered to the historian a richer field than the world presents to-day. There is a greater task to be written than the story of the Peloponnesian War, or even the Decline or the Fall of the Roman Empire, in telling the story how modern civilization was shaken to its foundations by the violence of one great power, how it was saved by millions who hardly gave a thought before to such matters as freedom and justice because they seemed too inevitable and too secure; and what sort of world eventually emerged when the long aftermath of upheaval and confusion had spent itself.

I have taken you into generalities; but at all events my random remarks will throw into relief the concrete figure which Mr. Yusuf Ali is going to present to us,—Baber, the gallant young soldier of fortune, the great invader, the leader of men, the organizer of government, swordsman, archer and poet, loving the good things of life, amused at his own failings, and looking on life with cheerful and humorous

eye. He is a striking and picturesque figure which, whatever our conception of history is, will always appeal to every lover of romance and action in a simpler age. I will now call upon the lecturer to read his paper.

HONORARY SECRETARY'S REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE SOCIETÝ, 1922-23.

The Society has been on existence for several years, and has continued to show growth and development. At the time of the inauguration of the Society, there were persons who doubted whether the United Provinces contained a sufficient number of persons interested in the subjects with which it deals to ensure its survival for any considerable time. These doubts have now, we hope, been dispelled. The study of history has received a great impetus from the historical scholars of the Aligarh, Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow Universities, and the historical works published recently by some of the Universities give hopes of a bright future.

With a view to co-ordinating the research work of the Universities, and bringing the Society into intimate contact with scholars from every part of this province, it was decided to organize lectures at every important University centre. The experiment, I am happy to state, proved successful. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the Honorary Secretary, delivered a lecture on "The Robillas in the XVIIIth Century" at Allahabad, and this was followed by a lecture at Allahabad on "The struggle between Farrukhsiyar and Jehandar Shah, as described in contemporary Hindi Literature" by Raiszada Lala Sita Ram.

The third lecture of the series was delivered at Agra by Professor Jiwan Chandra Taluqdar of St. John's College. The subject of Professor Taluqdar's lecture was "The Builders of the Taj and Sikandara." The next important lecture was delivered at Aligarh, by Dr. A. S. Tritton, Professor of Arabic, Muslim University, on "India through Arab Eyes."

These lectures have revived interest in history at all the important educational centres of this Province, while the institution of Historical Societies at Agra and Allahabad, and the revival of the Historical Society of Muslim University, Aligarh, have contributed in no small measure to the vigorous study of Indian History in the United Provinces. The establishment of local Societies has vitalised the study of provincial history, and we hope the time is not distant when every district in the United Provinces will possess an active and enterprising Society, working along the lines of the County Archæological Societies in England, and rendering effective aid to the historical scholar.

The last number of the Journal of the Society was published last

PROCEEDINGS.

July, and was favourably reviewed in English and Indian periodicals. We may refer here to Father Hosten's able monograph on the "European Art at the Moghul Court." It aroused considerable interest in England, and revived interest in the history of Indian Art.

The Society hopes to bring out the next number of the Journal in July. It is making preparations for the publication of scarce books on the history of these provinces, the translation of Persian and Hindi books and Latin works into English, and critical editions of important works. It is organizing a series of lectures on various aspects of the history of these provinces at all the important educational centres.

The number of members has fallen slightly during the period, and the financial condition of the Society is unsatisfactory.

We hope the revival of interest in historical investigation will lead to a large increase in membership, and we appeal to all the past and present supporters of this institution to lend us a helping hand, in order that we may be enabled to realize our aims. What we need more is the supply of original and interesting papers.

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS of the United Provinces Historical Society from April 1st 1921, to December 31st 1922.

PROCEEDINGS.

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VOL. III SEPTEMBER, 1926 PART 2

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EDITED BY SAIYID ABU MUHAMMAD, M.A.,

Honorary Secretary.

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PLACE-NAMES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

BY PAUL WHALLEY, Retired Bengal Civil Service.

CHAPTER III.

Part I.

The examples adduced in the preceding chapters may be assumed to have placed beyond discussion the proposition that the typical place-name is a compound of two elements, a generic term or base and a characteristic or differential.

But the generic term, if frequently employed, tends to become a suffix, a more or less lifeless appendage, and is then swayed and shaped by the influences that determine prevalent suffix forms. It is thus that besides obvious compounds which were dealt with in the last chapter, we have remaining a number of names which appear to have lost their generic terms and to have instead terminations of the aspect and character of the suffixes of ordinary speech.

Compare the following words taken from Crooke's Rural Glossary with the place-names set against them:—

Suffix.	Words in use.	Village names.
-OLI	AG-OLI, a variety of sugar-cane	Ag-oli, Etah.
-ORI	Ag-ori, advances to labourers	Ag-ori, Budaon.
-ORA	Ag-ora, a field watchman	Ag-or'A, Lalitpur.
-WAN	Ag-wan, advances to labourers (Grierson, 1186).	Ag-wan, Allahabad.
-AUNA	Ag-Auna, religious dues	Ag-Auna, Basti.
-WASI	Ag-vasi, a wedge in a plough	Ag-wast, Cawnpore.

The accepted theory of all suffixes is that they were once living elements of compound words. Such words

became types on which other compounds were formed, but as these compounds were multiplied the base became subordinate to the differentiating element. Being used, as Brugmann says, with the same value in a considerable number of words the base sunk into what is called a suffix.

Thus the term PUR lost its value and significance so far that it was sometimes dropped altogether, as in Baldeo for Baldeopur, and sometimes a determinative vowel suffix like $\bar{\text{A}}$ or a possessive one like $-\bar{\text{I}}$ was substituted for it, as in Sikandra for Sikandarpur, Kishni for Kishanpur.

Otherwise PUR, losing its initial consonant and melting into UR, OR, AUR and WAR, as in Alwar for Achhalpuram or Indaur for Indrapuram, has been merged in a family of language suffixes, viz., that of the Sanskrit-VARA.

The same remarks apply equally to all other common bases, gānw, ghāt, khera, vanam, vātika, palli and the rest. Ganw and vanam become -on; khera, -ehra; palli, -auli and auri. Pāṭakah probably underlies some of the names in -wārā, as Ani-wara in Azamgarh and perhaps Pipalwara in Mainpuri, in which Mr. Growse recognised "our old friend Wālā," though the contagion of the wālā suffix never spread so far south. We may now see how to reconcile the theory on which Mr. Growse proceeds, that all place-name terminations are relics of generic terms, e.g. -aur, -on, -oi, etc., of -pur, -gram, -vapi, etc., with the fact that such terminations wear the garb of language suffixes and, as a rule, contain none but the regular suffixal elements.

Toponymal bases like -pur and -palli, having been drawn by the current of rhythmical analogy into language suffix forms like -aur and -auli, lost their identity and the forms -aur and -auli were adopted as proper toponymal suffixes without any thought of their origin and new names were formed from them with new characteristics.

That such was the case is proved by the occurrence of names of a modern complexion such as Turk-auli, Shekhauli, Shams-auli, which have evidently been formed after the word PALLI was obsolete and forgotten and cannot therefore be referred to that derivation.

In this way language suffixes have not only drawn over generic terms of place-names into their own form but have actually usurped their places.

We arrive therefore at the following conclusion: True toponymal suffixes, having been dominated and diverted from their original forms by prevalent language suffixes the latter have in some instances superseded the former and have been attached to characteristics to form placenames as if they had been generic terms.

Consequently we may classify place-name suffixes as follows:—

- I. Toponymal suffixes which are either-
 - (a) simply worn down, as NER for nagara in AMNER in Merwara for Amra-nagara, or TAN for sthana in Multan in the Panjab for Mulasthana, temple of the sun; or
 - (b) attracted into the form of language suffixes, as AUR for pur in Indaur (Malwa), formerly Indra-puram, Indra's town, and AULI for palli in Ahrauli, formerly Abhira-pallih.
- 2. Language suffixes, such as are enumerated in the grammars, mostly possessive and demonstrative, both vowel suffixes, chiefly Ā and Ī, and those with a consonantal element, chiefly L, R, T and N.

I propose to take as examples of the first category of worn bases Mau and Par and Khor. These were touched on in my Handbook but deserve somewhat fuller treatment.

They approach the character of language suffixes in

having plural origins and in this that their meaning has become so vague and shadowy that no definition of it can be given except that it is an indication of locality. The word village conveys far too precise an idea. Still by studying the older names it is possible to arrive at a conception of their original meaning.

As regards Mau I have endeavoured to show that while in many instances it was derived from the Mahua tree, in others we must look to an older and more obscure source. I thought it was the same as MERV in Central Asia and I derived this from Marvai the dative of Maru. This seemed supported by the alternative form of village name Mawar, frequent in the Trans-Jumna districts and the old form Mauvi found in the grants. I have a note from Mr. Hooper, C.S., controverting this view and inclining to a derivation from MARYA, MARYADA, border, limit. I look on the two words Maru and Marya as doublets. Maru has drifted away from the primary sense of border which Marya has kept and Maru only means desert as the limit or border of cultivation. But Mr. Hooper's note is so much to the purpose that, though it was communicated privately, I trust he will forgive me for reproducing it here.

"Excursus on Mau and Mai. It is clearly shown that "Mau cannot always mean the Mahua tree, but the derivation from Maru does not seem to be convincing. In "the first place, does Maru mean merely waste or uncultivated land, or what we mean by desert, a barren or
sandy tract destitute of water? If the latter the derivation seems scarcely appropriate for the place-names
ending in Mau. Mr. Baillie, the Dep. Commr. of Rae
Bareli, a district in which there are many Maus, tells
me that the villages so named are nearly if not always
situated near jhils or rivers (e.g. Dalmau, on the
Ganges). If the meanings of the names ending with
Mau or Mai which are analysed at pp. 6-8 of the
Excursus are examined in the light of this clue, it will

"be seen, I think, that the great majority of them are "singularly appropriate to land bordering on a river or "jhil. There is scarcely one of them that would be "called unsuitable. It would seem therefore that Mau "and Mai denote not 'waste' but 'land near water.' "If so the word might possibly come from Sanskrit Marya, "Maryada, a border and hence a bank or shore. (Maryada "in Sanskrit meant a bank or shore, I think.) It could "scarcely be connected with Maru.

"Now apply the meaning 'bank or shore' to the "names given in the Excursus (pp. 6 and 7). Whatever "the derivation may be, the way in which the meaning "fits in seems remarkable.

- "A. The swampy or boggy shore. (Obviously ap-"propriate.)
- "B. The sandy, stony or usarous shore. (Sand-hills, "kankar or usar are often found on the borders of "lakes.)
 - "C. The clay bank. (Obviously appropriate.)
 - "D. The grassy bank or shore. (Also appropriate.)
- "E. The bank covered with scrub. (Also appro-
- "F. The shore where the buffaloes or horses graze." (Exactly where they would graze.)
- "G. The bank on the village boundary. (Not inappropriate.)
- "H. The shore by the lake. (Obviously appropriate "and common as would be expected.)
- "I. The shore where Boron grows. (Exactly where "it would grow.)
- "J. The shore by the dam or embankment. (Obvi-"ously appropriate.)
- "K. The shore where the fight took place. (Not at "all inappropriate. A lake or river-side is not an unusual "place for a fight about fishing or irrigation. But the "meaning may be "Singram's bank or shore.)
 - "I. Tamrjamau. I doubt the derivation. Was

"copper ever found in Fatehgarh or anywhere else in the "alluvial plains of the Ganges?

"Then there is no difficulty about the names Kar-"sumau and Arghatmau.

"Karsumau, the cultivated shore.

"Arghatmau, the bank or shore where the water-

J. H., 15-8-94.

I have kept no copy of the Excursus to which Mr. Hooper refers and cannot therefore identify all the names. Among them I suppose are Kankarmau or Pathramai, Aswamau or Bhainsamai, Bandhmau, Boramau and Sadramau. There is a better explanation of Singramau which is given on the next page.

I proceed to notice the Mau names that appear in the Government list.

There are three instances of MAU as a solitary base.

MAU .. Banda .. 370
MAU .. Jhansi .. 371
MAU .. Azamgarh .. 372

There are two of MAU as the first member of a compound,

Маидна Hamirpur .. 373

where -dha presumbly stands for dhaman a house or daha a tank. So Maudha in Ghazipur and so Piprodha and others

Mauhar Fatehpur .. 374 from Har, fields.

In six more cases MAU appears as a suffix

KHAKHATMAU .. Farrukhabad .. 375

so named from the soil. Sanskrit khakkhatah, chalk.

SERAMAU .. Shahjahanpur .. 376

Sehra occurs as a proper name in Ferishta.

SINGRAMAU .. Jaunpur .. 377

I owe to Professor Kielhorn the suggestion that Singram may indicate a Buddhist monastery or place of meeting from Sangah or Sangamah, assembly and Ārāmaḥ, a garden. We have the names Sangrampur and Sagrampur in Bareilly, and Sanglamau in Etawah.

PHAPHAMAU Allahabad .. 378
probably from the name Puhpa. So Pohapgarh in
Mainpuri, Pahopanagla in Aligarh and Pahapanagla also
in Aligarh.

Chhibra most likely for Chhapra which is a common prefix.

Jajmau .. Cawnpore .. 378B

Cf. Beames I, pp. 303-4, Sanskrit: yajña, sacrifice, Old Hindi: jaj, Modern Hindi: jag. Jajmau the village Mau conferred on the Brahman who performed a sacrifice (Jāja-ka) by the institutor (Jajmān.) So Jajmoya, Fat., Jajauli, Agra, Jājpur, Agra and Jajnagar in the Deccan, mentioned by Ferishta. Is not jāgir the same, i.e., jag with suffix -ir, and not the Pers. jā with gīr, as in the dictionaries?

BUDAON .. Budaon .. 379

The U in the first syllable is not original but due to the labial B. The Gazetteer says the name is correctly Badaon. The Persian column in the Government list gives Budaun and the Nagari Budayun. I think we may be satisfied with this last.

I add the name here because Sir A. Cunningham (Arch. Survey, vol. XI, p. 1) states that according to the Brahmans its original name was either Bedamau or Bedamaya. Also one of the Mau and Mai names. In the Epigraphia Indica of 1892, pp. 61ff., we find an older form Vodamayuta. Voda is perhaps a clerical error for Veda. Vedih or Vedikā is an altar or an elevated spot of ground devoted to sacred purposes. Mayuta is more difficult. [There is a Sanskrit word Māyaṭā, explained in the dictionary as a hut of grass or leaves. Regarding this word Prof. Miller of Goettingen wrote to me. "The word is not in the Rig

"Veda, seems isolated and used in Buddhist literature. "Monier Williams says, 'according to Unadi, s. IV, 8r— "prasāda (? prāsāda)." Now prāsādah, meaning a temple or shrine fits very well with the preceding Veda.] In later times the termination -uta or -aṭa was dropped and Vedamay- became Bedamau or Bedamaya, perhaps owing to the attraction of the well-known suffxes Mau and Mai. Still later the M went out, the final syllable was nasalised and hence Budaun, Mau taking the form of the language suffix -āon. Mr. Beames in his grammar (Vol. II, § 22) shows that the Sanskrit adjectival suffix Maya in passing into Hindi is converted into precisely the same form -āon.

What gives some colour to this derivation is that in the Budaon stone inscription given in the Epigraphia Indica above quoted we find that there was at that time an important temple in Budaon, for the revenues of the village of Bhadanaulika were set apart for its maintenance.

If we reject the derivation from Mayata and fall back on an original Mau or Mayu we still have to account for the suffix ta. There is a T suffix which occurs in placenames like Piprat and Bhainsta of doubtful origin but probably belonging to the Sanskrit -vat family, to which the -ta of Vodamayuta may be assigned.

We may notice here a few other names presumably derived from the Mahua tree.

Mawana .. Meerut .. 380

Mawa is an alternative form of Mau. There are two villages thus named in the Meerut district, two in Shah-jahanpur and others and the form Mawar is also common, especially in the Trans-Jumna districts. The N suffix with tree names is rare. Still we have Mahona in two districts in the West and two in the East and in Aligarh there is a Mawan.

MAH Allahabad .. 38i

appears to be simply an abbreviation of Mahua. So Mahpa, i.e. Mahu-pah (pakshah) in Meerut,

0

 Мании.
 ... Azamgarh
 ... 382

 Мании.
 ... Basti
 ... 383

Mahul is given by Colebrooke as a medieval synonym of Mahua. Sanskrit has the forms Madhūlah, Madhūli, Madhūlika, but it does not seem to be known what trees they denote. Madhūli is ascribed to the mango tree. But the two names in question undoubtedly mean the Mahua. Both come from Eastern districts. In the West the form Mahauli or Maholi is preferred. Mahauli is a name, recognised in the Forest Department, of the Bauhinia Racemosa found in the Tarai forests but not likely to give its name to a village in the plains.

Mahroni Lalitpur .. 384

In composition the L of Mahul is apt to change to R, and so Mahurāwan, i.e. Mahulā-ban, is a common expression for a grove of mahua trees in the Basti district. Mahroni is its diminutive form. Mahrāwal on the other hand is a place inhabited by the Mahara or Kahar caste.

Манова Hamirpur .. 385

This is a town of historical importance. Sir A. Cunningham (O. 485) derived the name from MAHOTSAVA, a great sacrifice performed by Chandra Varmman about 800 A.D. Mr. Beames (I, p. 317) contested this derivation as phonologically inadmissible and said a new etymology was wanted. I am not sure that any is necessary. The name Mahowa occurs frequently, five times in the Basti district, and W is apt to become B when preceded by a labial vowel or the canine letter, as in the words chabutara, chaubachha, sobhar, and tarbata for tarauta in Crooke's Glossary and in the place-names Chamarbai, Kakarbai. Rahoba in Basti is apparently for Rahwa or Rahuwa. The name Mahoba is found again in Allahabad and Mahobawala in Dehra Dun, but these may be loan words. Mahobli in Etah may be explained as Mahu-palli. Not so Mahop or Mahof in Pilibhit. Mahop is Mahoba minus the suffix A. The B hardens to P as is constantly the case with final sonants. Mahof is of course Mahoph and the presence of

the aspirate is accounted for by the rule that "K, T, P, being explosives cannot be pronounced at the end of a word without a breath. Hence the frequency with which they become KH, TH, PH."

If another etymology is really required Mahu-pah (i.e. pakshah) may be suggested.

There is another name, Bahsuma, which appears to belong to the Mau series but it will be more conveniently dealt with in another connexion.

Pār. The first thing to notice about this suffix is its great prevalence in the Eastern and its rarity in the Western districts. The -pār, -pārā names abound in Gorakhpur. There are over a hundred of them in Basti and some fifty or sixty scattered through Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Ballia. Westward of Allahabad I find only four names in -pār, including a notable one, Semarpār, from the Semal tree, in Banda, and a dozen or so in -pārā.

The second thing to notice is its masculinity. The feminine or diminutive form is very rare. Baniyapari, beside Baniyapar, is the only instance I find in the Basti district, which is the home of this suffix. It may be that some Paris have been absorbed in the Waris, which are plentiful, but I think that the main cause of the masculine form is to be sought in the derivation of the word. comes, I believe, largely from the Sanskrit padrah, a small village or hamlet and in a less proportion from Sanskrit pārah, end, limit, familiar in Hindi as Pār in the sense of across, beyond. To this sense are to be assigned the Basti names of Beswapar, across the river Besu and Bhadaipar, beyond the river Bhadai. In fact wherever there is a river there is sure to be a village name with this suffix. Mr. Hooper, then Settlement Officer of Basti, noted for me, besides the above, "Manwarpar, the other side of the "Manwar river, and Diwaichpar, the other side of the Sikri "Nala, and the popular term Latthapar to denote the "Nepal Tarai, the other side of the boundary pillars."

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Here comes in one of the names in the Government list, viz.:—

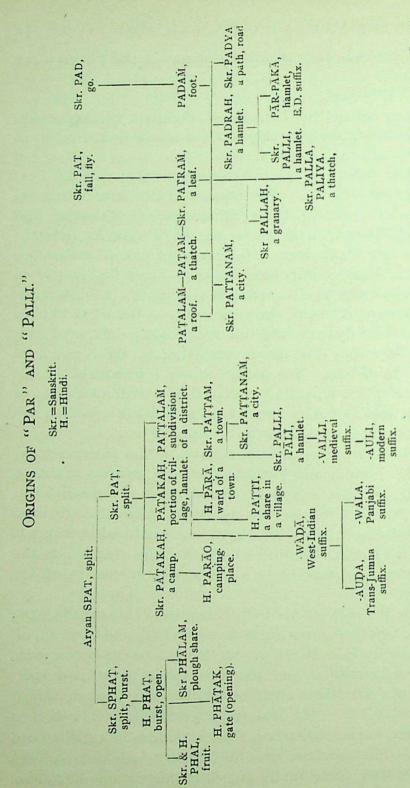
DHURIYAPAR Gorakhpur .. 386

meaning beyond the boundary. Compare the expression Maryada-dhurya in the Gwalior inscription, No. 20 in Epigraphia Indica of 1872.

But there is a majority of names that will not bear this interpretation. The characteristics are mostly (1) names of trees, e.g. three villages named Mahuapar and one Mahowapar in Basti, (2) names of men, as Debipar, Lakhnapar, Sohanpar, or (3) names of castes and trades, as Baheliapar, Pandepar, four villages Baniyapar in Azamgarh and five Banipārā in Cawnpore. I think a distinction should be drawn here between the local Pār of the Eastern districts and the more widely diffused Pārā, properly Pārā. The first is simply hamlet and comes from Sanskrit padrah. The second means a quarter of a town or other place separately occupied by a particular class of people and is better derived from Pāṭakah of which the primary meaning is division or separation.

But here we enter on a vexed question of etymology. Besides Padrah and Pāṭakah there are pattanam, a city, Paṭṭam, a town, Paṭṭalam, a subdivision of a district and Palli or Pāli, a village, the last two of frequent occurrence in the Grants. The bases have been confused in Sanskrit and still more in Hindi. I hope that the diagram on the following page may be of some service in clearing up the tangle.

A. W. Pott in his Personennamen, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 463-4, boldly derives Pattanam and Palli and Padrah, all three, from Pad, to go, giving them the common meaning of a well-trodden and therefore much frequented spot, "als der von Menschen bewohnte oder doch haeufigst betretene Ort." Mr. Beames traces Pattanam, a city, to Patram, a leaf, suggesting that it implies a leaf-thatched place. Pattanam is spelt in Sanskrit indifferently with the dental or cerebral T, and is singularly like Pattalam.



N.B.-The form PAT, split, must have originated in Sanskrit before the rule of aspiration from the impure S to which SPHAT and PHAT are due became absolute.

a subdivision of a district and therefore closer to Pāṭakaḥ in the sense of partitioning than to Patram, a leaf, and Paṭalam, a thatch.

PAR, used as a suffix in the Eastern districts in the sense of hamlet, is certainly derived from the Sanskrit Padrah and answers to Palli in the West, now found suffixally in the form -AULI.

That the two words, Padrah and Palli, were at one time current both in East and West is evidenced by existing names. Thus for Padrah we have Padla and Padli in Bijnor, Palra in Hamirpur, Banda, Jhansi, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Etah. But these are far outnumbered in the West and extreme North by the Palli and Pali names. There are 20 examples of Pali in Kumaon and 33 in Garhwal. Paliya has representatives in almost every district north of the Jumna river, and the same is true of the masculine forms Pal, Pala, Pala, Palla, Para and Para.

Now Herr Pott derives PALLI from PADRAH by conversion of R to L and assimilation of the D, making the two practically the same word. This theory receives some support from the names Padla, Padli, Padra above quoted. Its verification or the reverse may result from the grants when more have been deciphered. I have only come across Padrakah once in the grants, and that in a Valabhi grant (No. 13 in Epigraphia Indica, 1892), where mention is made of a village PATTA-PADRAKAH in Dakshina-Patta of Sivabhagapura Vishaya. (PATTA is apparently equivalent to the Pattalan subdivison in the more Eastern grants.) PALLI on the other hand is of constant occurrence. Simha-palli, Deo-pāli, Jivana-palli, Chuda-pallika, etc., and I would rather take Palli as a diminutive of Pattam, a town, also a subdivision, than of Padrah, a hamlet.

To return to PAR. Par from Padrah has come to be used in the more modern villages as an appropriate suffix for a village name just like ganw. But there is another

old origin of the par suffix which must not be overlooked since it has the authority of Elphinstone.

The Pal dynasty ruled the Bihar region extending west to Basti in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Elphinstone, speaking of their encroachments on the Kanauj Raj in the neighbourhood of Basti, says (p. 319), "There was possibly a constant border warfare between the "Pals and the Rahtors (of Kanauj), and the villages in "which the Pals established themselves or their strong- "holds were distinguished by the Pal eponym."

This is probably true of a few villages, perhaps of Amkospal and Ghurapali. Also there is a village named Palwar in Ghazipur and the Palwars according to Elphinstone were the fighting men employed by the Pal kings. But the Pal dynasty was extinguished at the close of the twelfth century and the Pal or Par which had adhered to the names of their villages has long ceased to convey any meaning.

There are three more names on the Government list terminating in -PAR:

Bhavapar .. Gorakhpur .. 387 Bhavah is a name of Siva

CHILLAPAR .. Gorakhpur .. 388

When writing of Chillatara in Banda I was misled into the belief that Chilla in that district was a name of the dhāk tree. I find however that Brandis treats it as a synonym of the Chilbil, Ulmus integrifolia. The Chilbil gives its name to about a dozen villages in the Eastern districts, Chibila, Chilbili and so on, without counting four villages named CHILLA in Allahabad and other variants.

TURTIPAR .. Azamgarh .. 389

Turti is presumably for TRIMURTI, the form under which Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are collectively worshipped.

Parsā, which might be supposed to be allied to Pār but has no connection with it. There is a Parsā in the Main-

puri district, which Mr. Growse, no doubt rightly, identified with Parasrampur. There are others of the same origin scattered about the country. I have noted the name Parsā 15 times in the 21 districts west of the Benares division and Parasrampur 9 times. But in the East these names are abnormally multiplied. In Basti alone there are over 50 Parsas and Parsias.

Paras Ram is a name specially venerated by the Jains and Buddhists and in a district so replete with Buddhist traditions as Basti we might expect to find Paras Ram commemorated in village names, and no doubt it is so in some cases. But Buddhism has long been extinct and the more modern village names of Parsā and Parsia come from quite a different source. The present inhabitants have no recollection of the hero of Buddhist worship. An old Gosain, native of one of the Parsa villages, being asked why the village was so called, replied that the place formerly was "mare ihunga paras ka," no end of a thicket of paras. Now Paras in the Eastern dialect is the name of the Butea Frondosa, Sanskrit PALASHA. In the west districts this tree is known as DHAK, whence many village names, Dhakka, Dhakia, Dhakauli, Dhakari to the west of Benares. To the East in contrast with these are the Parsā names which are mainly co-extensive with the colloquial use of Paras as the name of the tree.

Still further east the Parās tree gave its name to a whole province. Sir A. Cunningham writes (p. 454), "Strabo, Pliny, Arrian call the people Prasii, a Greek form of Palasiya or Parasiya, a man of Palāsa or "Parāsa, which is an actual and well-known name of "Magadha, from the Parās, Butea Frondosa."

Mr. Hooper, to whom I owe the Gosain story, writes, "It has been borne in upon me that Parsā must come "from Parās. I was assessing a Tappa the other day in "which the villages were alternately Parsas and Pipras, "and if Rehrā from Rehār why not Parsā from Parās?"

KHOR. In the west KHOR has the sense of a ravine,

such ravines as seam the high banks of rivers like the Jumna, but in the Eastern districts the word has a different signification, viz. a pathway, originally perhaps the pathway leading from the village to the grazing grounds. A village name suggestive of this meaning is Bhainsa-khor in Azamgarh. From a pathway the word came to mean a village, as Lohra-khor, the Lohars' village in Jaunpur and Bans khor in Basti. Pott in the passage quoted under PAR dwells on the frequency with which words signifying path or road come to mean village.

Khor, a ravine or gulley, is identical with Khol, hollow, but Khor, a path, comes, I think, from khur, Sanskrit kshurah, hoof, and means primarily, a hoof-track. Very similar is the expression khur-daen, for the treading out of corn.

In Bundelkhand the word khonra is used for a cattle -pen, and is presumably of the same derivation. We shall have to revert to this in considering the name Konrh in Mirzapur

With Khor, khonra compare Old Irish Scor, "an enclosure for unyoked animals." (Brugmann.)

Also note that Khor in composition declines into -khar, as in Ghor-khar, a horse-track and gurwa-khar, from goru, a cattle-track. It is then indistinguishable from the base khal, a threshing floor.

It was observed by Foerstemann, the great authority on place-names, that these were mostly determined by religion, occupation and the features of local surroundings.

Under the first head we find, as might be expected, the leading place occupied by the gods Vishnu and Siva and their titles and epithets.

Vishnu is the god of the Vis, merchants and traders, Baniyas and Mahajans, who erected temples and shrines in his honour, whence many village names. I think that

BIJNOR .. Bijnor .. 390

is Vishnupuram, or for those who will not admit the conversion of the lingual and palatal S to J, Vidhunathpur,

which is the same thing, Vidhu being an alternative name of Vishnu.

From Vidhunath we have also

BIDHUNA .. Etah .. 391

Nath in the Ramayana is already reduced to Nah, and in village names it usually becomes simple -nā.

Another popular name for Vishnu is BIŢŢĦU or BITHAL. From this form of the name comes

BIŢHUR Cawnpore .. 392

and also Bithamai in Budaon and Bithlapur in Basti.

He is also called VIT-VALA, from which we may derive

Bidauli .. Muzaffarnagar .. 393

From another name, Vāsuḥ, giver of wealth, comes
Bahsuma .. Meerut .. 394

which we may conclude with fair certainty by comparison with other names to be a corruption of Vāsu-Mau. The other names are Baswamau in Cawnpore, Baswamai in Shahjahanpur, Basumai in Budaon and Basoma in Aligarh. The aspirate in Bahsuma is evolved from the free S just as it is in lahsan, a leek, from Sanskrit lasanah and lehsur a clay mixer from les-na.

Once more VATSARA is a name of Vishnu, and

BACHHRAON Moradabad ... 395 is Vatsara-ganw, through Prakrit Vachchhala. There is a village, Batsara, in Azamgarh in which the original name has been preserved intact. I at first mistook it for a compound with -sara or -sarai.

Further because the disc was the favourite weapon of Vishnu he is commemorated as Chakravat in the name

CHAKRATA or CHAKRAUTA .. Dehra Dun .. 396

ŠIVA is the lord of forests and mountains. In my hand-book I have noted his connection with trees in the name Baṭesar and with mountains in the name Tungeshwar. From adrih, a mountain comes his name Adriśah, and from this, I think, the name

IRICHH .. Jalaun .. 397

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18 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

The epenthesis of the initial I is quite natural and the change of the palatal S to Chh very common.

SHIULI .. Cawnpore .. 398

is a diminutive of Sivakulam or Sivalayam.

VIRA, another name of Siva appears in Biramau in Cawnpore and Birmau in Dehra Dun, and Rudra in the numerous villages called Rudrauli or Rudauli or Rudhauli, but as the Hindus have largely taken to using the names of their gods as their own, one can never tell whether the villages were not named after some obscure individual.

It is the same with the name Sankarah, which properly belongs to Siva. But the name Harshankarpur (Benares and Ghazipur) is probably a corruption of Harsankalipur. Harsankali is Hari-shrinkalah, Hari's chain, a group of the three sacred trees, Bargad, Pipal and Pakhar. The same group is also called Tentar, from Tritaru or Traya-Taru, three trees, whence Titarganw which is not, as has been hastily assumed, partridge village but three-tree village.

TITRON .. Saharanpur .. 399

is another form of Titarganw. So Titarwala, Bijnor, Titarwara, Muzaffarnagar, Titrauda, Meerut, and, nearer to the colloquial TENTAR form, Tentora in Ballia; Tentiganw, Muttra; and Tenta, Lalitpur. There are still others.

This seems the place to notice the traces of snake-worship in village names. The Nag names are very numerous, Nagpur, Ballia; Nag-di-pur and Nag-dev-pur, Bijnor; Nag-du-pur, Azamgarh; Nag-pat-garhi, Aligarh; Nag-mai, Etah. Also Nagin-pur, Benares; and Nagin-pur, Allahabad; and many others.

The only example in the Government list is

NăGINĂ .. Bijnor .. 400

which has been rather ineptly derived from Nagīnah, the bevel of a ring, but is better explained as Nāgă-ĭnaḥ, the snake lord. Nāgă-ĭnaḥ by ordinary rule becomes Nāgenaḥ,

whence Năgīnā. Edwin Arnold mentions the Naginah gardens at Ahmadabad.

Perhaps we should mention here

SOMNA .. Aligarh .. 401

Compare Somnathpur in the Benares district. Somnath, the moon lord is said to be Siva; a similar name, Vidhunath, also the moon lord, belongs to Vishnu.

Bhavapar, Siva's village, and Turtipar, the village of the threefold deity, have been already noted under numbers 387 and 389.

From names related to religion we pass to the few more or less connected with political administration.

Prominent among these is

SASNI .. Aligarlı .. 402

Śāsnam is an edict, a royal grant, especially of land, a charter. Śāsana-patram is a plate, usually of copper on which a grant of land is inscribed. Accordingly Sasni means a village bestowed by imperial authority.

Another name of like meaning, but more connected with religious rites appears to be

KALPI .. Jalaun .. 403

Kalpi is no doubt kālpya an adjective formed from kalpah, a sacred precept, and must be construed in connection with the words prakalpna, allotment and prakalpita, settled, allotted, and kliptakila, a title-deed.

In the Epigraphia Indica of 1892, No. 4, a prasasti on the restoration of a temple in Gujerat, we read that the king gave a kalpalata of always increasing value to the Brahmans, and in the dictionaries a kalpalata is explained as a creeper supposed to grant all desires. It may be presumed that the kalpalata in this case was a grant of land.

KAROR .. Bareilly .. 404

The Gazetteer says, "Karoris are mentioned along with Amils as revenue officers superior to Kanungos." Their place of business might be called Karor just as the office of a Tahsildar is called Tahsil. The name recurs in other

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20 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

districts, Karaura in Ballia; Karaur, Karaura and Karura in Jaunpur. Karoraspur in Benares is no doubt the town where the Karori or revenue officer lived.

Altiora petamus. There is a word that enters into the composition of place names, but from its nature it is not very frequently met with. It is Rāshtram, a kingdom. The stock example is Surat in Bombay for Saurarashtram. We have however on our list a notable instance in

MEERUT .. Meerut .. 405

more correctly spelt in the Nagari column as MERATH. It cannot be other than Mai-rashtram, perhaps the Mai mentioned by Firdausi as the rival of Kanoj, perhaps the Maya of the celebrated verse of the seven sacred cities,

Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kasi, Kancir Avantika

Puri, Dvaravati Chaiva saptaita mokshadayikra. Ferishta mentions the capture of Merath by Salar Masaud in the year 1019 A.D.

The only alternative derivation that I have seen worth mentioning is that which makes it Maira-sthana, though the Mairs do not seem to have left any traces of their occupation of the place.

RATH .. Hamirpur .. 406

Of this I must speak with diffidence, not having had access to any information about the place. The Gazetteer surmises that RATH was so called from the Rathor Thakurs. But surely this is putting the cart before the horse. It would be more reasonable to say that the Rathors must have taken their name from Rath which may at some time have been their headquarters. Of course they may have named it Rashtram.

From Rath, a kingdom, we descend to Tappa, of which the earlier sense was a tract dominated by a single clan or family. The word is now used for a division of a parganah, not that the tappas were originally conterminous but they became so, growing and spreading from their centres until they filled the land. This use of the word

however is confined to the Eastern districts. The Government list shows us

TAPPA JAR .. Fatehpur .. 407

I imagine JAR to be an unaspirated form of jhar, thicket, brushwood. For the evidence of the existence of such a form see my Rural Etymologies under Jangal. But Jar might possibly stand for a proper name, Jal, anciently Jallaka, or even for the caste Jāṭ.

TAPPA KON Mirzapur .. 408

Kon is a heap or mound of earth piled up to mark the boundary between two or more cultivations. One day when I was enquiring into a village dispute in Basti a man pointed to one, saying, "Ihan kon rakhalal." Hence Athkoni, the village with eight boundary marks.

Tappa Bhavapar in Gorakhpur has already been dealt with under No. 387.

The root meaning in TAPPA is cover, as in the verb tāpnā, in dere ka ṭap, the cover of a tent, ṭāpā, a hencoop, and ṭāpā, a net, shaped like an English casting net but worked with a pole and dropped over the fish.

The derivation of tap, thap, chhap and a whole series of cognate words is discussed in Mr. Beames' Grammar, Vol. I, pp. 210-215, section 57. He refers them all to Sanskrit root kshi, causal kshapaya.

In the Government list the word Tappa is in all instances correctly spelt with cerebral T, though owing to confusion with a Persian word of the same meaning it is often written with dental T. Mr. Ibbetson writes Thappa, but his description of it corresponds to that given above, viz. a group of villages the owners of which are bound together by common descent.

TAPPAL .. Aligarh ... 409

Tappal is of course allied to the foregoing tappa and might be formed from it as Sanskrit Patṭalam from Paṭṭam, but the name comes out in the modern dialect as ṭapar, ṭāpar, ṭaparā, a roof, cottage. The saying runs, "mat bo chāpar,

ujarega ṭāpar" (Fallon, s.v. chapar). The verb ṭaparāna, Mr. Hooper, to whom I owe most of this article, tells me, is to roof, applied especially to the repairs to tiled roofs during the rains. We have the village name Taprana in Muzaffarnagar. The affinity of Tappal to ṭapar appears in the name Tabal Nagla in Aligarh and there is a curious name Betabar, unroofed, in Benares and again in Ghazipur. Cf. Latin taberna.

We come next to the Rajput subdivisions.

Chaurasi .. Mirzapur .. 410

The Gazetteer (Vol. III, p. 285) says, "The Chaurasis or "eighty-four villages, equivalent to the Saxon hundreds, "may be said to exist in almost their pristine integrity "among the Rajput and Jat communities, and the sub-"divisions into beālisi, forty-two, and bārah, twelve, are "still more frequent. These chaurasis are found all over "Rajputana."

The name Chaurasi occurs again in Basti, Azamgarh and Farrukhabad.

BARAH .. Allahabad .. 411

This name, meaning twelve, has been explained under Chaurasi in the last article.

Scarcely entitled to be classed under political administration but inserted here for want of a more appropriate place is

SHAMILI .. Muzaffarnagar .. 412

The Gazetteer derives it from the proper name Sham, which, having regard to the termination -ili, is out of the question, but it gives a clue to the name in noting that it "formed a portion of the estate granted by Jahangir to "his physician Hakim Mukarrab Khan." It means therefore included. Shamili is a Musulman term for an estate of which the assessment is included in the assessment of a larger estate. A corresponding term having reference to area is Dakhili. So we speak of a shamili Muhal and a dakhili Mauzah.

There is another village called Shamili in Buland-shahr.

Tree Names.

Postponing for the present Foerstemann's second class of place names, names from occupation, we will take up his third class, the names from natural features.

In Merwara according to Mr. Whiteway the speech is singularly rich in names for every sort of rock, stone, ravine and embankment, and these names crop up plentifully in the nomenclature of places. In the plains of Northern India the prominent features are trees, water and grass prairies. If we go back to the time when this region was mostly waste and forest, sparsely inhabited by migrating herdsmen, we see at once the reason why conspicuous trees became landmarks and gave their names to localities before any settlement was effected. We find this most frequently where a tree visible from a distance indicated the neighbourhood of a ford across a river. Hence the names Piparghatta, Pipalhatta, Piprahta, Semarghat. Sometimes a tree of less distinction, as the Agai, served the purpose and so we have Gaighat in Basti, which is not the drinking place for cattle, which would be Gao-ghat, but the ford by the Agai tree. Names of this description are most numerous along the Tarai border and where the forest has only been cleared in recent times.

The names of cultivated trees, like the mango and mahua belong chiefly to the settled tracts. For the mahua see Nos. 370 to 385. For the mango the principal name on our list is

Amroha Moradabad .. 413

The Gazetteer tells us that the local interpretation of the name is from Am, mango, and Rohu, a fish which abounds in the surrounding tanks, a derivation scarcely worth refuting. The R in Amroha comes from the Sanskrit form Amrah and the O is presumably due to the Sanskrit rule that Visarga in a compound followed by a sonant letter changes to O. We must therefore look for a Sanskrit

compound in which the second element brings with a sonant. There is the recognised Amrovanam, forest of mangoes, which might aptly be applied to a place encircled, as Amroha is with mango groves. The base -vanam has dropped away and the vowel suffix Ā has been substituted and then an aspirate has been inserted to separate the vowels. Or Amroha may be explained as Amrodha for Amrodhānam (dwelling) or Amro-dahā (pool). There is an Amrodha in Cawnpore.

Аморна Basti .. 414

Amorha may like Amroha take its name from the mango, being contracted from Am-berha, Sanskrit Amraveshtaka, mango enclosure. But among the divergent forms of the name Aonla, Phyllanthus Emblica, I find Anorha, and there is a place-name Anorha in District Muttra. The Sanskrit names of the two trees, Amrah and Āmalakah are so much alike that there is an inevitable confusion in the derivatives.

AMAULI .. Fatehpur .. 415

may be reconstructed as AMRA-PALLIKA.

There is some ground for hesitation in regard to

AMETHI .. Farrukbabad .. 416

Dr. Hoernle says -thi comes from Sanskrit sthane and is used as a locative particle, so that Amethi may be for Amrasthane, the E being either an inflection or the AI which is often substituted for A in the Central Duab. But the name Amitha in Ghazipur rather points to the proper name Ami as in Amichand.

The Urdu column of the Government list shows a cerebral T in Amethi, the Nagari a dental. In the name Gulaothi (Bulandshahr) with the same -thi suffix, it is the reverse. The Urdu column has a dental T and the Nagari a cerebral. Wherever there is a doubt Munshi and Pandit agree to differ. The sheet of examples I have attached to the Government list shows 44 instances.

The Shisham or Sisu, Dalbergia Sissoo, Sanskrit

Sinsapa, is a gregarious domesticated tree, which enters largely into place-names but we do not happen to have an instance in the Government list. The frequent junction of the name with the suffix -wārī, i.e. vāṭikā, garden or orchard, indicates plantations, common in the Eastern districts, Siswari in Azamgarh, Siswari twice in Basti, besides Seswari and Sismari, which are deformations. Siswan in Allahabad and Siswania and Sisauni in Basti are compounds with vanam, forest.

The Dhak, Butea frondosa, is gregarious but not at all domesticated. It clings to the borders of ravines that are a barrier to cultivation and harbours the wild boar and the nilgao that prey upon the peasants' crops.

DHAKIYA Shahjahanpur .. 417 means a stretch of land where the dhak bush prevails.

The Sāl is also gregarious, but it is purely a forest tree and I have not met with any village names derived from it. Moreover being gregarious it cannot serve as a sign-post like the pipal and semar. It has however given a name to the river Sardha or Sarju on whose banks it abounds.

Among solitary trees the sacred triad of the Bar, the Pipal and the Pakhar are entitled to the foremost place.

It is curious that all three names can be construed to mean leafy; the bar, Sanskrit vaṭah from uṭam, a leaf; the pipal, Sanskrit pippalah, i.e. palpalaḥ from pal (cf. pallavah), a leaf; and pakhar, Sanskrit parkaṭi, from parnakaṭah, a multitude of leaves.

The Bar, Ficus Indica, underlies a host of village names but it is difficult to disentangle from a variety of other elements of similar sound. For instance Barwa may be Bar with a spirant suffix or it may mean a sandy place from bālū, sand.

We will only quote here the names

BADAUSA .. Banda .. 418
probably a compound with vāsah, dwelling, and
BARAULI .. Aligarh .. 419

with the common suffix -auli, a name which occurs over and over again, seven times in the East districts and nineteen times in the west.

We often find Bar as Bad, as in Badausa above quoted, and as Bat, e.g. Bat-sora in Basti.

A synonym is Bargad, from which also many names, especially in the Eastern districts, as Bargada and Bargadhia in Basti. We can trace back the name Bargad through Barkala to Barkaṭa, Bar with the Sanskrit suffix kaṭaḥ of multitude, as in avikaṭaḥ, a flock of sheep. We find the names Barkala in Bijnor, Barkali in Meerut and Barkla in Saharanpur and Dehra Dun from which we deduce Barkaṭa and then Bargada.

The affix Katah is very aptly applied to the Bar owing to its peculiar faculty of dropping new roots from its horizontal branches. To this habit is also due its name of Nyagrodha, from ni, nyanch, downwards and another element reflected in the Hindi godaha, "a rough stick broken off a tree." (Crooke.) To Nyagrodha may belong the name of Nagod and Nigowi v.i. (462).

Another name for the Bar is Jatih, meaning also matted hair, with obvious allusion to the aspect of the ragged drooping stems. Compare jata, a fibrous root. A legitimate development of Jatih with the affix Chayah is jatichchhayah, a group of Bar trees, whence perhaps the name

JARCHA .. Bulandshahr .. 420
The names Jaria and Jaraila in Aligarh appear to be from Jatih.

Still another name for the Bar in Sanskrit is Bhandirah, from which

BHANDER Jhansi .. 421

Next to the Bar comes the Pipal, Ficus Religiosa, Sanskrit Pippalah, evidently the same word as Latin populus and English poplar, though the trees are not the same, doubtless a reduplication, palpal, owing to the tre-

mulous motion of the leaves of the trees so named. Compare Sanskrit sphal, to quiver. The other names of the trees, English aspen, Sanskrit Asvatthah, denote the whispering of the leaves.

In its native haunts the Pipal is a noble and beautiful tree, rearing its graceful foliage proudly above the other denizens of the forest but the village Pipal is too often a melancholy sight, maimed and disfigured by the hatchets of the elephant man and the camel man.

PIPRAICH .. Gorakhpur .. 422

The CH suffix in tree names, when it is not Isa as in Badechha, sometimes represents vrkshah or kakshah or Agachchhah, but most commonly chayah, as it probably does in Pipraich, a group of Pipal trees.

The third of the sacred fig trees is the PILKHU or PILKHAN represented on our list by

PILKHUWA .. Meerut .. 423

This tree is more widely known especially in the Eastern districts as the Pākhar or Pākar. It has also two names, or rather two principal names, in Sanskrit, Plakhshah and Parkaṭi. Pilkhu goes back to the former and Pākhar to the latter, but there are intermediate forms which point to a common original.

Colebrooke gives a medieval form Lākapi which connects Plakshah with Parkaṭi. In Lākadi, singularly enough, the initial P of Plakshah is lost; the A is lengthened to compensate the reduction of Ksh to K and the D is the T of Parkaṭi, an extra suffix, the T commonly attached to the names of plants and animals.

Again in Parkați. The PLA of Plakshah becomes PAR, the KSH is reduced to K, as in Lākaḍi, and the T suffix added.

Pilkhu comes from Plakshah by dissolution of the conjunct PL, change of KSH to KH and addition of U in imitation of the U stem vowel so frequent in tree names, as in Mahu, Sisu, Ingu, Jambu, Haldu. U is introduced in the dialectic Ambu for Amb, as in Pilkhu for palkhah.

Pākar comes from Parkaṭi by suppression of the R and consequent lengthening of the vowel and change of T to D as in Laka-Di and then to R and R. In the form Pākhar the aspirate is motived by the suppressed R.

I am not sure of the significance of the final I in Parkați (cf. Ingudi), but it makes itself felt in the derived place-names. In the Eastern districts I have counted 46 Pakri, Pakaria forms against one Pakhra.

The PLA of Plakshah, repeated in the synonyms Plavah, Plavakah and Plavangah, is of course Palah, leaf, Plakshah being Pala-vṛkshah. It answers to the PAR of Parkati just as Pal- of the Palāshah tree corresponds with Par-nam, another name for the same tree.

There is a fourth fig tree, the Gular, which has not attained the semi-sanctity of its three congeners but is almost equally prolific in place-names. The Gularias and gularhas are omnipresent. Its Sanskrit name is Udumbharah. I suspect it must have been originally Gudumbhah and when the final R was added the initial G fell away under the weight of the double suffix. Gudumbhah is from Gūḍah, a ball, and the tree had the name from its clustering fruit, whence also its botanical name of Ficus Glomerata.

From the Gular I believe we have the name

GUI,AOTHI .. Bulandshahr .. 424

Not from the Gulāb, Rosa macrophylla, which hardly appears in place-names, nor from the name Gulāb, for I have met no instance of the Thi suffix with a proper name, but with tree names it is not uncommon. There is an exactly analogous name from the Semar tree, Simr-au-thi in Aligarh, only that the final R of Simrauthi has been preserved while in Gulaothi it has gone out through juxtaposition with the L. Other examples of the Thi suffix with tree names are Maurethi from the Mahua tree, Barethi in Hamirpur and Barethi in Allahabad from the Bar and Amethi, supra (416).

After the great figs the most important of the solitary

trees in relation to place-names is the SEMAL, Bombax malabaricum, Sanskrit Salmalih, medieval Shimbali, graduating into Sambal and Semal and Semar. "Leafless from November, December till April it is covered with large scarlet flowers in February and March." (Brandis.) How often in this season emerging from the tree forest on an open chandar have we seen the Semal with its scarlet blossoms, a mass of flame, like Moses' burning bush.

In place-names it appears most commonly as Simra, but in our list we find

the khera or village of Sambal of the Bhuma. Sanskrit Bhūmih, Bhūmikā is a plot of land, especially cultivated land, but the Gazetteer notes that Bhūm is also used for house, dwelling, manor, and Bhumiya is still used in some dialects for a zamindar, lord of the manor. Bhūmā is the old name of the pargana.

Sambhal .. Moradabad .. 426

The only thing to notice in this name is the intrusion of the aspirate. It has been observed in the Glottological appendix how often the sound B picks up an aspirate with or without reason.

Having dealt with the giants of the forest we turn next to the semi-domesticated trees, chief among which are the Aonla and Imli, Sanskrit Amla-vrikshah and Āmalakah, so called from their acid fruit, and the NIM, which the natives of India like to have near their dwellings to supply them with tooth brushes.

The Aunla, Phyllanthus Emblica, appears in this form in

Aonla Bareilly .. 427 a town which the Gazetteer (V. 398) tells us first appears in history about 1380 A.D. and

AONLA .. Gorakhpur .. 428

I find no certain instance of the Imli among the names in the Government Resolution. It often occurs as Amilia,

but the Aonla and Imli, having a common derivation are much confused in place-names. Amilo, a name of not unfrequent occurrence in the East may be one or the other.

The NIM tree, Melia Indica, has already been considered under NEORIYA HUSENPUR (361).

The Barhal is the bread fruit tree, Artocarpus Lakoocha, Lakuchah being its Sanskrit name. We have it in

AGORI BARHAR Mirzapur .. 429

Agori seems to be the same word as that given in Crooke's Glossary as Aguari and Agvari, the front of a house or the space in front of it, and so Agori Barhal might mean the house with the Barhal tree in front of it.

An allied tree is the Kathal or jack fruit tree, Artocarpus Integrifolia, Sanskrit Kanṭakaphalah and Pănăsăḥ. We find it, I think, in

KAŢEHIR .. Benares .. 430

Visiting a village in Basti of the same name I asked if there were or had been any Katehria Thakurs there and was informed that no such clan was known in the neighbourhood, but that the Kathal tree was there called Kaṭahr. I note that Colebrooke quotes Katahara as a medieval form between Kanṭakaphalah and Kaṭhal. Kaṭahr, Sanskrit Kashtagāram, from which the Katehria Thakurs and the province of Rohilkhand which they occupied, are named, is in the East Kathgarh.

We proceed to the flowering trees.

The Kachnār or Kanchna, Bauhinia Variegata, a tree with large lilac flowers, appears in

Kachneha Jhansi .. 431

The termination -eha is characteristic of the dialect of the Trans-Jumna districts which delights in a penultimate E, e.g. Badewa, Mahewa, Jagepur, Madhepur.

The BAKAIN, the Persian lilac, Melia Azedarach, deserves a place here but I find no example in the Government list, though the names Bakaina and Bakainia are

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not uncommon. The latter occurs in Ghazipur, Pilibhit and Bareilly.

The Kusum or Kusumbh should be par excellence the flowering tree seeing it takes its name from Sanskrit kusumam, a flower. Its botanical name is Schleichera Trijuga.

KUSMARA .. Mainpuri .. 432

This name of Kusmara is repeated in Etawah and Hamirpur and three times in Jalaun. It becomes Kusmār in Lalitpur, Kusmila in Hamirpur, Kusmilia again in Jalaun, with variations Kasumra in Bareilly and Kesumri in Ghazipur. The majority of the names derived from this tree come from the Trans-Jumna districts.

The name of

Kosi .. Muttra .. 433

is usually derived from the holy kusha grass, perhaps from the mention of Kusika as a place of pilgrimage in an inscription of Jaya Chandra Deva, but as Kosim on the Jumna near Allahabad has been identified with an ancient Kausambi it seems at least possible that the name Kosi may have come from the tree.

The Champak, Michelia Champaca, in Sanskrit Champakah, a tree with yellow fragrant flowers, gives its name to

CHAMPAWAT .. Kumaon .. 434

"Champakāvati or Champāvati was the name of an "ancient city on the Ganges, capital of the Angas, and "identified with the modern Bhagalpur." Champak-ā-vati is formed with the possessive suffix that appears in Gomat, possessing cows and Gajvat, having elephants, but if Bhagalpur was surrounded by Champaks they must have been planted there. In Kumaon the name is natural. We have Champā-ner in Etawah and there the name must be an adoption.

The Chunār tree too is not indigenous in the plains, yet

CHUNAR .. Benares .. 435

must have been named after the tree. Egli, following Schlagintweit, says Chunar means Gebirgsfuss, but how?

Edwin Arnold in India revisited, p. 163, writes, "The badge of Alwar is the Chunar tree, the oriental plane, from which Ram plucked a leaf to place in his turban when he went to fetch Sita from Ceylon."

The tree is spoken of as the poplar of Kashmir but the description of its leaves as like a man's hand or a bird's claw is much more appropriate to the Plane tree. From these claw-like leaves it is supposed to emit sparks of fire at night and hence it is inferred that it has a heart of fire. Hence Persian poets speak of their words breathing flame like the leaves of the Chunar, and Makhfi says,

Kase ki ātish-i 'ishq-i to ikhtiyāro kunad,

Sazad ki khānah-i dar sīnah-i chunāra kunad.

The Bhillaur or Belor tree is a singular looking tree with green flowers. It is the Trewia Nudiflora. Its proper habitat is the Tarai, and there is a place in the Tarai named Bhilaur; but I have met the tree as far away as Basti. Perhaps

BILHAUR .. Cawinpore .. 436

may be named after it, but it is more probable that this name is derived from Bitthu (Vishnu) like Bithur in the same district. V.S. No. 392. The change from T to L is normal.

A much more important tree viewed as an origin of place-names is the Saras or Siras, Sanskrit Śirīshah, Albizzia Leblek. We have had occasion to refer to it in speaking of Sarsaganj, No. 197, and there are three more names on the list derived from it.

SARSA Allahabad .. 437 SARSAWA Saharanpur .. 438 SARSAUL Cawnpore .. 439

Saras is a prevalent western form of the name. In the east and south of the Jumna Siras is preferred, e.g. Sirsa, Azamgarh; Sirisra, Basti; Sirsawa, Banda, but not uniformly. It may be remarked en passant that there are

no D and T suffixes in the Saras names with the exception of Siristi in Benares and Sarsait in Etah, but the L suffixes are numerous in the west. The tree is a conspicuous one and place-names based on it are plentiful.

The Terminalia are an important family in India. Besides the Arjun and Asna and Harra we have the BAHERA, Terminalia Bellerica, Sanskrit Vibhitakah. Colebrooke gives a medieval form, Vahed, preserved in Bahenda, Jaunpur. In the Government list we have

BAHERI .. Bareilly

The cerebration of the R in tree name and place-name is noticeable.

The wood-apple, Kaith, Feronia Elephantum, Sanskrit Kapitthah, gives us

KITHOR .. Meerut 441

This cannot stand for Kayathpur. The T would hardly have been cerebrated. Tree names are more liable to this kind of deformation. Baheri in the last article is an instance. Moreover it is not a Kayath village. The principal inhabitants are Tagas.

The HALDU or HARDU has given its name to

HALDWANI .. Kumaun .. 442

The Gazetteer says, "the name is said to be derived from one Halda Singh, reputed ancestor of the modern Chauhan family that lives there." Another derivation is from hardaur, explained by Sir H. Elliot as the oblong mound raised in villages and studded with flags for the purpose of averting epidemic disease. These derivations will scarcely hold water.

The ASIDDH generally loses its initial vowel when embodied in a place-name, as in

Sidhua Jobna . . . Gorakhpur

though we have Asidhwa in Basti alongside of Sidhai and Sidhauru. My note of the botanical name of this tree is illegible. It looks like Lagerströmia.

Jobna I take to be Yauvanaka, belonging to the

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34 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

Yuvanraj or heir apparent, the village Sidhua being perhaps part of the appanage of a crown prince of the Pali or other dynasty. A similar name is Jubrajpur in Allahabad.

Khajurah. From the Sanskrit name by elision of the R suffix and epenthesis of the vowel U we have

answering to the more modern Khajura which occurs in Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Jaunpur. In the Urdu column of the list the name Khurja is written with an Arabic Khe, which gives some colour to the story of the Gazetteer (Vol. III, p. 157), "The name is said to have been originally Khārijah, i.e. exempt from land revenue, the founder Sultan Firoz Tughlak having granted revenue-free tenures to the early settlers in 1342 A.D." But there are eight villages of the name of Khurja in Bulandshahr!

KARANDA or KARUNDA, Carissa Carandas, Failon says Sanskrit Karamandakah.

KARANDA .. Ghazipur .. 445

I find the curiously spelt Karomda in Basti.

KARHAL is a synonym for the Main or Mainphal, Randia Dumetorum.

KARHAL .. Mainpuri .. 446

The Gazetteer (IV. 687) says, "Karhal founded by Sahria Brahmans, but known long before to the Banjaras who grazed their cattle in the Karahla jungle." By Karahla jungle must be meant the tract that abounds with Karhal trees. The tree is very common in Mainpuri. In Etah too there is a place named Karehla.

We must notice here two or three trees which though not represented or doubtfully represented by names in the Government list are often found in the nomenclature of villages.

I. Kuchla, Strychnos Nux Vomica, which appears in the well-known Kuchla Ghat on the Ganges (District Etah?).

- 2. Karma, Anthocephalus Cadamba, flourishing chiefly in the East districts. In Basti the names are numerous, Karma, Karmahai, Karmahwa, etc. It grows sometimes to be a fine tree, but there are many stunted specimens. It is peculiar in the great disparity of the size of the leaves. I have measured a leaf of eleven inches in diameter.
- 3. Khair, Sanskrit Khadirah, Acacia Catechu. The names are frequent in the Eastern districts, Khairiapur in Basti and Khairghat in Azamgarh but there is no name in the Government list, unless it is

where the aspirate may have been absorbed by the palatal vowel I, as sometimes happens, for instance in the name Ahirwa which often becomes Airwa. Sir A. Cunningham believes that Kaira in the Bombay Presidency was anciently Khera. So in Kera Mangraur an aspirate may have dropped out.

There are still a few shrubs and bushes that call for notice. Chief amongst them is the Inguwa or Hingot, Balanitis Ægyptiaca or Roxburghii, Sanskrit Ingudah or Ingudi, used in medicine.

Ingui Jalaun .. 448

This name occurs three times in Jalaun, Ingua in Banda, Ingoi in Lalitpur and Hingora in the same district, all in Trans-Jumna with a stray name, Ingoha, in Allahabad, but perhaps this also is Trans-Jumna.

The Kuncha, Sanskrit Kunchika or Gunja, the Abrus precatorius or its seed, is a small bush bearing red and black seeds which are used in weighing precious metals. Hence in Sanskrit the name gunjikah for a goldsmith. Our example is

Kunch .. Jalaun .. 449

Fallon gives the forms gunch and gaungchi which are also reproduced in place-names, in Goncha, Basti and Ghungchai, Pilibhit. In Allahabad and Benares are places named Kunchi.

The wild indigo, Wrightia Tinctoria is known as Dudhi.

Dudні Mirzapur .. 450

is perhaps named from it, but Dudhi is also the name of a species of Euphorbia and Dudh occurs as a man's name.

A name that cannot be passed over but which presents many difficulties is Bel, Sanskrit Vilvah, Aegle Marmelos. We have had a glimpse of the difficulties in speaking of Bilsanda, No. 307. In fact it is only possible to distinguish between the derivatives from Bel, Sanskrit Vilvah and Bel, Sanskrit Velam and Bel, Sanskrit Vallih, by the suffixes. We will only take here

BILARI .. Moradabad .. 451

-ĀRĪ being a regular tree name suffix, but even this is doubtful.

Before leaving the subject of trees I must repair an omission.

Sihonpa .. Banda .. 452

Has its name from the Sehund or Seune, Euphorbia Antiquorum or Tirucelli. The names derived from this tree are mostly in the East districts and south of the Jumna. So we have Seundha in Banda and Seunihi in Hamirpur. Rather difficult to distinguish from these are the places derived from the Sihora, trophis Aspera, but the latter do not seem to be found south of the Jumna. Both trees owe their name to the prickles, sī or seh, with which they are covered. Hence too the name of the porcupine, sei or sehi.

We have observed that in the Gangetic plains the chief natural features are trees, grasses and water. The link between trees and grasses is the bamboo, Bambusa Arundinacea, Sanskrit Vansah. How important a part the Bamboo plays in village life has already been set out under Bansganw, No. 265. It was a frequent practice of Hindus in former times to surround their habitations with a plantation of bamboos, serving both as a screen and a

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defence. This was especially the case in the regions of Gorakhpur and Basti as we learn from the history of the Revenue Collections at the time when the English acquired the country. In many places these bamboo fences are still to be seen.

Bāns as an element of village names appears mostly in composition, as in Bans-khor, Bans-dila, etc. In the names

BANSI		Basti	 453
BANSI		Lalitpur	 454

Bānsī, fide Crooke, is a synonym of Banswari, a grove or plantation of bamboos. The name Banswari occurs in Allahabad.

It is not always possible to discriminate Bās, a dwelling, from Bāns, a bamboo, for the former word often takes a nasal and becomes Bāns, as in Bans Bareilly and Nayabans, while Bāns, a bamboo, sometimes changes to Bās, as in Basdila, Basti.

Maskaraḥ in the Sanskrit dictionaries is simply a bamboo, but if correctly derived from Vansa-kānḍaṁ, kānḍaṁ being a noun of multitude, it should equally well signify a quantity of bamboos. Then

MASKARA .. Hamirpur .. 455

would have the same meaning as the Bansi names we have just considered. The name is abbreviated in Maska, Allahabad.

The word has survived in the modern dialect in the form Masganda, explained in Crooke's Glossary as the top shoots of sugarcane.

Grasses and Water.

Among grasses the sacred kusha grass, Poa cynosuroides, has already come under notice. See Kosi (433).

I think there are only two other grasses to which names in the Government list can be referred with certainty:—

(I) The BHABAR or BABAR, said to be varvaram or

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vavaharam in Sanskrit. I do not know the botanical name, but it is the same grass as that known as Baib of which mats are made in Shajahanpur, and which gives the name of Baibha to a village in Pilibhit. More to the east it is called Bankas whence the village name of Bankasia. The examples are

 BHABAR
 ...
 Kumaun
 ...
 456

 BABRALA
 ...
 Budaun
 ...
 457

I am not sure of the second example. It may be from the Babul tree, like Baburar in Fatehpur.

(2) The other grass is the Kāns, Imperata spontanea, Sanskrit Kasam:

With VALA suffix, abounding in kāns grass, and again Kasia Gorakhpur ... 459

unless this has inherited its name from the ancient city of Kusinagar, where Buddha obtained "Nirvana." See Sir A. Cunningham, p. 430. If not on the same spot it is close by.

Before leaving the subject of grasses we may notice another rather curious name

DARHIYAL, .. Moradabad Dārhi, Sanskrit dādhika, is (1) a beard, (2) a tangle of bushes or high grass. Hence darhival, a clump of high grass, Kahars' slang, Crooke, and darhiya, a thatch on the top of a wall (Crooke). I think that Darhiyal is the same as Darhival, a clump of high grass. It is objected that Darhival is only Kahars' slang, and is so noted by Crooke. But what is Darhiyal? It is simply a Kahars' hamlet on the road from Moradabad to Naini Tal before entering the forest in a waste tract of grass bordering the Ramganga. It is here that travellers get relays of Kahars and that is the sole raison d'être of the village. Surely the fact of the word being Kahars' slang is in favour of the derivation and not against it. There are no doubt similar names to which this argument does not apply, Darhwal, Hamir-

pur; Darhwal, Ghazipur; Darhwa, Basti; Darh-wa, Etah; Darha, Tarai and Darhi, Jalaun. These may all come from dāṛhi, a tangle of brushwood or dāṛhi, the hanging roots of the Bar tree to which the word is especially applied.

In finishing with trees and grasses I should like to introduce one or two corrections and additions.

- I. In speaking of Kalpi (403) I omitted to notice that Mr. Hooper drew my attention to the fact that there is a man's name Kalap, and that there is a tree, "the Kalpa-"Briksha or Kalap, mentioned by Sleeman in Chap. XII, "Rambles and Recollections. He describes it as a large "forest tree with silvery bark, common in Central India. "The leaves are supposed to bear the names of Ram and "Sita." This might have been the origin of the name of the place. On the other hand, to fortify my own interpretation, I may cite the word sankalp, meaning a gift to Brahmans.
- 2. In quoting Kairana (447) as the only probable example of a derivation from the Khair tree in the Government list I overlooked

KHAIR Aligarh .. 461

3. There is also a name

NIGOHI .. Shahjahanpur .. 462

derived from Nyagrodha, a synonym of the Bar, to which reference has been made between 419 and 420. This is confirmed by the place-names Nigdha in Banda and Nigoda in Muttra, and there are also Nigoh in Cawnpore and Nigoh in Jaunpur and Nigoli in Etah of the same origin. In the foregoing names the weaker phonetic elements have dropped away, leaving the framework intact.

4. The name of

SIMAUNI Banda .. 463

is in all probability for Semar-auni from the Semar or Semal tree. The final R has gone out of Semar as out of

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Gular in Gulaothi (424). This is a common fate of final R and N. For the suffix compare the tree names Piprona, Sisauni, Nimauni.

It is of course possible, though less likely, that the name Simauni may be derived from SIM, a boundary, as in the verse quoted in Crooke's Glossary under mantra, "Jave rog aur ganw ki sim."

Among names from WATER, apart from compounds with kund, pokhar and ghat, we find

SAGRI .. Azamgarh .. 464

Sagri or Sagari is the diminutive of Sāgar, a lake, which we have also in

Barwa Sagar .. Jhansi .. 465

The town of Barwa Sagar is situated on the lake of the same name.

"The Barwa Sagar is one of the largest lakes in Jhansi. "It was formed by damming up the Barwa river whence its name." (Communicated by Mr. Hooper.) The Barwa river may have been so named from its sandy bed (balu, baru, sand), or from Bar trees on its banks. Many Indian rivers take their names from trees.

From a river also is named the city of

Benares .. Benares .. 466

correctly spelt Banaras. The Sanskrit shows three froms of the name, Vārānasi, Vărānasi and Vărănasi. The received derivation of the name is from two streams, the Barna or Varana and the Assi, between which the city is situated, but I doubt much if the Assi which is a mere nullah has anything to do with the name. The final S is probably a suffix, the Sanskrit -asya, the Prakit -ass. See Hoernle, sec. 368.

In natural features must be included hills and eminences and rising ground. In Crooke's Glossary there are a variety of this stamp; among them Dibba and Tiba, mounds or sandhills; Tila, a mound or hillock; Tikar and Tekar, a mound, rising ground; Diha or Dhiha, Deval,

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Devala, mounds, rising ground. Dila is the same, being another form of Tila above mentioned, though the only meaning given in the Glossary is the hump of a bullock or camel. Bans-dila in Basti is Bamboo Rise. In regard to

DIBAT

Bulandshahr the Gazetteer, III. 149, says, "Dibai or Dibhai is said to have been built on the ruins of Dhundgarh, about the time of Sayyid Salar Masaud Ghazi (1029 A.D.) when the latter expelled the Dhakra Rajputs and razed the town. Dhundgarli, was afterwards called Dhundai, and by an easy transition Dibai."

Without questioning the "easy transition" it is conceivable that the villagers should call the mound left by the ruins of the old town Diba, or in their dialect Dibai. Dhund means a heap of ruins, and Dhundai and Dibai are very near each other in sense if not in sound.

Crooke also gives the word Dungar, a hill, and hence the name

DONGARA .. Lalitpur or, as spelt in the Urdu column, Dungara, with cerebral D. This is a common village name in Kumaun and Garhwal and it is no matter of surprise to find it in a Trans-Jumna district, the two dialects showing much affinity. What is surprising however is that while in the hills and south of the Jumna we find the simple forms Dungar, Dungra, in the plains where there are no hills, in Moradabad, Bareilly, Etah and Shahjahanpur, we have the form Dungarpur, not once but repeatedly. The only explanation is that in these cases Dungar is the corruption of some proper name, Durga or Drig, and this receives some confirmation from the occurrence of some half dozen names of the type of Dugri Nagla in Farrukhabad and Dugaoli in Etawah.

Is Dungar the origin of the name of the Dogra Rajputs of Kashmir? The word is derived from Sanskrit tungah, a height.

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Ruriya in the Glossary is a high piece of ground. Ruriya is a diminutive implying an original Rora or Rura which we have in

RURA .. Cawnpore .. 469

It comes from Sanskrit Ārūdhiḥ, Ārohaḥ, an elevation, and that from rūdha, past part. of Ruh, to rise.

RURKI ... Saharanpur .. 470
may also be a diminutive of Rura, in spite of the cerebration of the second R, probably due to a supposed connection with Rora, broken bricks. The names Rurki and Ruriya occur again in Bareilly.

In passing from Natural Features to Occupations we may first pass in rapid review the principal soil names.

NIPANIA .. Jalaun .. 471

Crooke gives the word Nipān, land that has lost its fertility, and he adds "owing to want of water," deriving from ni, not and pāni, water. It is rather Sanskrit NISH-PRĀNA, lifeless, barren. In Moradabad the name is spelt Nehpania, where the H takes the place of Sh. The aspirate does not pass over to the following consonant owing to the rule given by Lassen (p. 261) on conjuncts arising from composition. The name Nipāniyā occurs in the grants, Epigraphia Indica, 1892, p. 252, and there are no less than six villages named Nipania in the Basti district.

Rеная Віјпог .. 472

Rehar is land impregnated with Reh, impure carbonate of soda. In the east it is Rehār. Mr. Hooper, S. O. Basti, writes under date 25th June, 1889: "I have just been as-"sessing two Rehras... In both the soil was decidedly "Rehār." In Hamirpur we find Riharka and Reohta. The Bijnor town is spelt in the Village Directory Reharh, suggesting Rai-gaṛh.

Dнus .. Вепагез .. 473

Dhus is translated by Crooke, sandhills, but it also means a light poor soil, called in Basti Dhuskat.

Kabrai .. Hamirpur .. 474

In Bundelkhand Kābar is a "stiff tenacious soil distin-"guished from Mar by the excess of clay and deficiency of "sand and lime." (Crooke's Glossary.)

LONI .. Meerut .. 475

from lon or non, Sanskrit lavanam, salt. The place is described in the Gazetteer as the centre of a salt tract.

Noner .. Mainpuri .. 476

of the same derivation as Loni.

KAKRALA .. Budaun .. 477 KAKARBAI .. Jhansi .. 478

Both these names are from Kankar, nodular limestone, and imply gritty soil. In Kakrala the -ala suffix is the same as the well-known -ār suffix of locality. Kakarbai is for Kakarwa, the B, following R, taking the place of W, as in Chamarbaither.

DHANAURA Moradabad .. 479
DHANARI Budaun .. 480

Both these names I understand to mean rice land. The word given by Crooke for land adapted to rice is Dhanau, but the above names are legitimate formations on the same base.

KHERA BAJHERA .. Shahjahanpur .. 481

is the village on marshy soil, Bajha. There are three places of this name in Mainpuri and three more in Aligarh.

Rіснна Bareilly .. 482

There is another Richha in Hamirpur and a Raksha in Shahjahanpur. From the Sanskrit Raksha comes the Hindi Rakh and Rakha, land reserved for grazing (Crooke).

Marauri Lalitpur .. 483

This name is evidently from the Mar, or black cotton soil of Bundelkhand.

Dавнаика .. Вапdа .. 484

Crooke gives Dabaha, mud, swampy ground. It is quoted only from the East districts, but the word is current I think wherever elephants go in the sense of soil that gives

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way under the feet. A similar name in Basti, Dhebarwa, is from Dhābar, also called Dābar and Jhābar, depressed ground covered with water.

IHUSI .. Allahabad .. 485

There are two villages of this name in Allahabad besides a Jhunsi in Azamgarh. Jhunsi is "scrubby jungle" (Crooke).

I am tempted to include under the heading of soils the two names

 SORON
 ..
 ..
 Etah
 ..
 486

 SORAON
 ..
 Allahabad
 ..
 487

I have already in writing of SURAHA TAL (298) given reasons for identifying the element Sor- or Shor- with Usar. Sanskrit Usharah became Shor, barren land, in Persian just as Ushtarah, a camel, became shutur by displacement of the initial vowel. In the same way in the Basti vernacular Usar becomes Suar, and there are villages, Suarha, Suarwa, Suarharwa and others that take their names from the dialectic form of the word. We have the name Usarganw in Allahabad, Jaunpur and Azamgarh and Usrāon in Jaunpur, alternating with the older names Soraha in Jaunpur and Sura-pali in Ghazipur. Soron and Soraon are nothing more than Usarganw. So Shoron in Muzaffarnagar. Sūar for ūsar varies into Saur, as in Sauri, Sauraha, Saurahwa, villages in Basti. The question whether Saurikh in Farrukhabad belongs to this category must await the resolution of the suffix. There are a couple of names that stand midway between the class of soils and that of occupations which come in here and will repay consideration, viz. Kumaon and Farah in Agra. First

Kumaon .. 488

The name is derived from Kumuno which is given by Crooke as a Kumaoni word, meaning cultivated land. Its Sanskrit original is not easy to trace, but in one of the Chandella grants edited by Professor Kielhorn from the plate of Madanavarmadeva found in the Banda district,

(Epigraphia Indica, July, 1887) there is mention of the village of Kamanauda, which must, I think, bearing in mind the frequent resemblances between the Bundelkhand and the Hill dialects, also be referred to the word Kumuno. The Sanskrit word Karmobhūh, in the sense of ploughed land perhaps offers a clue to the derivation.

The other name is

FARAH Agra .. 489

There is no such name in the Village Directory of Agra, but it is the name of a police station in Muttra.

The name is spelt in the Urdu column with an Arabic F and an Arabic H, like the Arabic word farah, joy, diversion. The Munshi to whom we are indebted for this spelling, perhaps one of Akbar's scribes, must have had in his mind the name Farhat-ul-Mulk, or something similar. It is not recorded that any tradition, genuine or otherwise, accounts for the name. All the evidence from analogy goes to show that the name is pure Hindi. Stripped of its disguise the name is simply PHARA, identical was Bas Pharā in Fatehpur, Pharāh in Mainpuri, pharhā in Allahabad, all signifying land brought under the plough. the slight variation of L for R we find the corresponding Phāl, Phālā in Farrukhabad and Chaupala and Pat-phali in Azamgarh. Sanskrit shows a preference for the L form, e.g. phălam and phālam, rendered in the Sanskrit dictionaries, a ploughed field. Hindi varies. In Crooke we find phar, phara and pharo, the last quoted from the Central Duab, for a ploughshare, alongside of phāl and phāli of the same meaning current in the West districts. The Greeks, using the same word, adopted the R form. The following, cited by Curtius, Gk. Etym., 408 b (from Strabo or Arrian), shows an etymological instinct rare in ancient times, "pharos he arosis para to pharsai, ho esti schisai, kai gar diapharous phasi chitonas tous eis duo mere kechorismenous." In Greek also we find the word apharos, unploughed, Sanskrit ahalya, answering to a placename, Aphala, in Basti and to Abhar, a town in Persia.

Province Azarbaijan, long. 46·16, lat. 36·42. The anomaly of the Greek hard aspirate repeating the hard aspirate of the Sanskrit is explained by Curtius in another place.

But we have not exhausted the direct analogies in Indian place-names which serve to establish the etymology of Farah. There is Phar-auli in Aligarh, Faraul in Agra, Phal-auda in Saharanpur, Phal-oda in Muzaffarnagar, Phar-oda in Ballia, Phar-aira and Phar-airi in Agra, Phalain in Muttra and Phal-anda in Meerut, with a variety of suffixes which will be examined hereafter.

I may call attention to a remarkable coincidence in the Gothic word FARAH, a furrow, and to further interesting remarks on the holethnic character of the base in Schrader's Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte, p. 258.

We proceed to names from occupations, pastoral agricultural and industrial or commercial.

GOKUI. .. Muttra .. 490

Birthplace of Krishna. Sanskrit Gokulam, a cow-house. Notice the repetition of the suffix in Devakulam, God's house.

GORAT .. Aligarh .. 491

appears to be a dialectic form of Gauro or Gonda, a cattle yard, an elusive word which assumes many forms, and the origin of which it is very difficult to fix with any certainty. In Kumaon it takes the form Guarh, a place for tying up cattle, which in Basti is Ghāri, "an open space in which cattle are tethered." In the Upper Duab we have Gavār, a cowshed. In Rohilkhand Gohar, Gohrā is a cowshed and in Rohilkhand also Gaunḍa, Gaura, Gauri, a cattle yard. In the Duab Got, Gota, an enclosure for cattle and in Kumaun again Goṭh, a synonym of Guarh.

The Sanskrit words for a cowpen are Gotram and Goshṭam. Got of the Central Duab comes naturally from Gotram and the Kumaoni Goṭh from Goshṭam, but for Gaura, Gonḍa this derivation is rather forced. I should take the Govār of the Upper Duab to be simply Go, cattle,

with the place suffix -ār, which, with the final aspirate peculiar to the Hills, gives also the Kumaoni Guarh. Gohra of Rohilkhand looks like Go-Ghera, cattle enclosure. Ghera by itself has this meaning. Very near to these are the Oudh words Ghaura and Ghurat, breeding sheds for cattle. Ghurat is singularly like the Greek Chortos, a feeding place for cattle, and Schrader (p. 406) in reviewing this and cognate words arrives at the general meaning of a fence. This meaning of a fence crops up in several of the words quoted above. Gonda, Gonra, Gora are terms for a fence round young trees and Gohra is a field fence. Crooke suggests that Ghaura is a corruption of Gaura, but possibly the reverse may be true, the aspirate dropping out owing to the connection with Go, cattle. But it is all very uncertain.

Then there is another set of words, Goend, Goinda, Gora, Gorha, Gorva, meaning the home lands round the village which cross with those we have been considering and increase the confusion. I must leave it at that, only remarking that Gonda, among other senses has that of a path, road, and may be connected with Ganw. The Marathi Gamdu for Ganw, comes very near to Gaunda.

Ghera, an enclosure for cattle, above noticed, explains
GHIROR ... Mainpuri .. 492
Ghiror is Gher with a suffix. So we have Ghirauli and

Ghiroli in Kumaun; Gherwa Malla, upper enclosure, in Garhwal; Ghirwar in Basti; Ghera in Ghazipur; Gher in Bulandshahr.

GHOSI .. Azamgarh .. 493
seems to be Sanskrit Ghoshah, a hamlet or station of cowherds, with the diminutive suffix I. Crooke says Ghosi is a Mahomedan cowherd, which is curious, since the name is of Sanskrit derivation. But Ghosi, a cowherd, cannot be the origin of the place-name. It would need another suffix. There is another place, Ghosi, in Fatehpur.

 LANDHAUR
 ..
 ..
 Dhera Dun
 ..
 494

 LANDHAURA
 ..
 Saharanpur
 ..
 495

are from Sanskrit Landam, cattle dung, Hindi Lendh. As usual we get nearer the Sanskrit form in place-names than in the Hindi derivatives. Landhaur is a place where cattle are collected and is naturally carpeted with cattle droppings and the name of dung yard is not inappropriate. Lenrha is a flock of animals, especially sheep; Lahnda is a herd of buffaloes; Lahr is a herd of cattle, all three words being essentially the same. Landauri or Larauri is a cattle manger in the West districts and Rohilkhand, though the word manger does not give a correct idea of the place.

from Sanskrit Karshanam, tillage.

Māna .. Garhwal .. 497

Mān, in the hills, fide Crooke, is forest land taken up for temporary cultivation.

the place of one irrigation lift (dāl). Compare Ekdangwa, Basti. The Gazetteer's derivation from Ekdil Khan can hardly be accepted without historical evidence. Cf. Yaklahra, Etah, fr. lehari, the irrigation swing basket.

We proceed to names from occupations

AGRA Agra .. 499
perhaps the best interpretation of this name is that given in Mr. Crooke's Tribes and Castes, p. 14. It is quoted, I think, from Mr. Ibbetson:—

"The Agari is the saltmaker of Rajputana and the E. "or S.E. of the Panjab and takes his name from the "AGAR or shallow pan in which he evaporates the saline "water of the lakes or wells at which he works. The city "of AGRA derives its name from the same word."

I have said "perhaps the best explanation" but there are a good many similar names to which it cannot apply, and it may be as well to set out the alternative theories.

1. Agra may be derived from a personal name inferrible from such names as Agar ka purwa, Benares, Agra-

pur, Mainpuri and the mythical Raja Agar, ancestor of the Agarwala Baniyas.

2. It is possible that alongside of the Sanskrit Ajra-s there may have survived a vernacular form Agra corresponding to the Greek Agro-s, the Latin Ager and the Gothic Akr-s (Curtius, Greek Etym. Art., 119). The J of the Sanskrit represents a G which appears to be preserved in the word Agrahāra, a grant of land. The word occurs in the Madhuban Grant edited by Dr. Buehler in Epigraphia Indica, I. 75, where Harsha gives the village of Somakundika to Vatasvāmin and others as a duly "accepted Agrahara."

This theory is corroborated by the fact that in placenames equivalent to Agra we have alternate forms with G and J. Thus Ajra, Benares and Moradabad against Agrai, Bulandshahr; Ajraulia, Basti and Ajrauli, Fatehpur and Allahabad against Agrauli, Ballia; Ajrau, Budaun against Agraula, Meerut and Moradabad and Agraura, Jaunpur; Ajraunda, Benares against Agraunda, Banda. On the whole the forms with G predominate in the west. Besides the instances above given there are Agrāla in Meerut and Muttra, Agrās in Bareilly and Budaun, Agrāsi in Shahjahanpur and Agrāna in Aligarh.

3. Agra might come from Sanskrit Ākaraḥ, said to mean a mine but used in a very loose way, as in Kusumākaraḥ, a flower garden, and perhaps in the name Loh-agra in Bulandshahr, if this stands for an ironmongery. It seems to mean here no more than a store, an accumulation, a meaning of wide applicability.

Khat or Khatta is an underground pit for storing grain, and the Gazetteer says, "During the Bengal famine Khatauli formed the outlet for all the surplus grain of the district. Many Calcutta merchants had their grain stored here to await transport." It was quite natural therefore that Khatauli should be called the place of grain pits.

KHATI .. Kumaun .. 501

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Khati might easily be supposed to have the same meaning as Khatauli, but the word khāt has a special signification in the Hills and the neighbouring Tarai. We have seen under the name Landhour how a place where cattle were assembled took its name from the cattle droppings. Similarly the word khāt, manure, came to mean a cattle station in the forest (Crooke), and khatāna is to manure land by folding cattle on it. Khati consequently means land thus manured.

In the Nagari column Khati is spelt with a cerebral T, which must be wrong whichever interpretation we adopt.

HANDIA .. Allahabad .. 502

In the Urdu column Handia has the cerebral D, indicating a derivation from Bhanda, Sanskrit Bhanda, a vessel for storing grain. It would mean therefore a small shop or store where grain is sold.

Under Bilari (451) I have remarked the difficulty there is in distinguishing names derived from the Bel tree from those derived from Bel, a sugar factory. Both Bel and Khandsara, another name for a sugar factory furnish many place names but the latter name does not occur in the Government list. Bel, a sugar factory is exemplified in

BELA .. Etawah .. 503

There are many places named Bela, no less than ten in Allahabad and nine in Azamgarh and in both these districts we find the names Belsar and Belsara, where the termination, as observed under Bilsanda (307) is Sanskrit Sandam, a noun of multitude. As a bel according to Mr. Crooke is strictly speaking a place where a number of pans are used for the boiling, the noun of multitude is appropriate. Still in the synonymous Khand-sara the same termination seems to represent not Sandam but Śālah, the word Khandsal being in common use. The moral of which is that the SAR suffix has swallowed up the parent words, as is the wort of suffixes.

Some doubt hangs over the etymology of Bel, a sugar factory. The most obvious derivation is from Sanskrit veshṭaḥ, an enclosure, whence Sanskrit velam, a garden, but the words belan, a roller; belna, a rolling pin; bilaiya, a wedge; rather point to pelna, to crush, Sanskrit pīḍan, though these perhaps are from the root vit, to turn.

might mean the dwellings by the sugar factory. Bāns for Bās, dwelling, is not infrequent. But there is a Sanskrit compound word, veshṭa-vansaḥ, ring-fence-bamboo, a particular kind of bamboo, perhaps so called from its making an impenetrable fence, and having regard to the ancien practice in the neighbouring districts of Basti and Gorakhpur of surrounding villages with a bamboo hedge, it is quite possible that this is the origin of the name. The aspirate in Belha, which indicates an earlier form Berha, the legitimate Hindi formation from Veshtah, is in favour of this derivation.

Bewar Mainpuri .. 505 the place of trade from Sanskrit Vyāpāraḥ, H. beohar. Other like names are Beawar, Ajmere; Baurwa, Jaunpur; Bior, Biur, Beora and Beori all in Allahabad.

We proceed to names from habitations:

Ата .. Jalaun .. 506

is presumably from Sanskrit Attakah, a two-storied house, a palatial building. But Attam has the general meaning of a pile of anything and so comes to mean a market. Again, taking an aspirate it becomes Hattah, a market, in Hindi Hāt or Hattā. Once more, dropping the aspirate and exchanging T for D, it becomes in Hindi Adda, a standing place for carts and vehicles.

It, Int, Inth, a brick, Sanskrit Ishtakah, appears in many place-names.

Етан .. Etah .. 507

the brick house. Etah is spelt Itah in the Urdu column and, more correctly, Eta in the Nagari column. The final

H in Persian writing, as remarked under Farah, is only a conventional substitute for a long A.

508 ETAWAH .. Etawah spelt Itāwah in the Urdu and Itāwā in the Nagari column. The Gazetteer, IV. 221 and 444, says, "Etawah derives its name from Int, a brick, and Awa, a kiln," ignoring the suffixal character of -awa. More pertinently it says, "the popular pronunciation is Itaya." The two suffixes -awa and -ava are essentially the same, but the palatal spirants are preferred west of Allahabad and the labial suffixes to the east. So the popular pronunciation is correct. The series of names formed from Int furnishes a rich field for the study of suffixes. Here are some of the names, Et-a, Et-wa, It-aua, It-on, It-wan, Et-ai, It-aiya, It-ahiya, It-ra, It-aura, It-ali, It-ayal, It-aili, It-auli, It-na, It-una, besides variations on ITH and INTH, as Ith-ia, Inth-a, Ith-ira. The suffixes are mostly meaningless. Etā probably means a brick house and Itawa, Itaura, etc., places where brick buildings are conspicuous.

ITAURA .. Jalaun .. 509

has been explained under Etawah. Itaura is a very favourite name. There are no less than nine Itauras in Azamgarh.

I am inclined to class the curious name

Агт Jalaun .. 510

in the category of names derived from int. Grierson gives a form ainta as prevailing in Patna, Gaya and South Monghyr, and we have the names Ainta in Benares, Ainthi in Basti and Aitli in Cawnpore. Further west however in Farrukhabad and Bareilly there is a name Ainthpura which hardly looks as if it were derived from inth.

EKA .. Mainpuri .. 511 the single or solitary house. So Ikka, Bulandshahr; Ekwa,

Basti; Ekghara, Bareilly; and Ikghara, Pilibhit.

IGLAS .. Aligarh .. 512

for Ikla Bas, the lone or solitary house. Compare Pura

Iglas, Agra; Ikla, Meerut; Ekri, Meerut; Igri, Saharanpur.

KARRA .. Allahabad .. 513

In the vernacular columns, both Hindi and Urdu, the name is written Kara, with a single cerebral R. Evidently from Sanskrit Kaṭakah, a camp or royal residence. Karra was formerly a place of importance. We learn from Ferishta, I. 237, that Nasiruddin Mahmud continued his march, A.D. 1247, from Bitanda towards Karra. He was met at Karra by the two Rajas Dalki and Nalki whom he defeated. These two Rajas had seized all the country south of the Jumna and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Karra. They resided at Kalanjar. From the same author it appears that in 1253 A.D. Aibak Kishli Khan was sent to Karra-manikpur, and from p. 241 we gather that Karra and Manikpur were separate provinces.

PALI .. Kumaun .. 514
PALI .. Aligarh .. 515

Pālī is Sanskrit palli or pallika, a small village. It occasionally assumes the shape pālī in the grants, e.g. Deupālī in the Jayach-chhandra grants. The word has been sufficiently discussed and illustrated under PAR (385-386).

The word palli enters into the name of Dewal Deoriya in Pilibhit which, according to what is called the Deval Prasasti of Lala the Chhinda, was a thousand years ago named Devapalli. It is true that the Gazetteer says that the village which was the ancient Devapalli is Dewal. I have only an extract from Dr. Buehler's translation of the inscription, which runs thus: "v. 32. The excellent land connected with the Mayuta of Bhushana has been presented to the two deities, having been given the name of Devapalli."

(N.B.—I overlooked this mention of Mayuta when writing of Vodamayuta, the ancient name of Budaun.)

DEORYA .. Gorakhpur .. 516

It is difficult to say whether this name was originally Devapalli or Devālaya. It might have been either. The

form which Devālaya has most commonly taken in modern names is Deoli.

Kol. .. Aligarh .. 517

Kol is the Hindi name for the town of Aligarh. We learn from Ferishta that in his time a fort (Kot) was called Kol. The T had passed into an L. From the name Aligarh, or fort of Ali, a name given after its occupation by the Musulmans, it is a fair inference that in this case Kol is Kot. The Gazetteer notes that the name is popularly pronounced Koil, which I take to be merely a lazy utterance of Kol, influenced perhaps by the attraction of words of like sound such as koil, seen in Koilara, Mainpuri, land enclosed in the winding of rivers or Koila Mata, the goddess of a well-spring, from Sanskrit kupila, possessing wells (cf. Germ. quelle).

KOTILA Fatehpur .. 518
KOTRA Jalaun .. 519

are merely diminutives of Kot, the L or R suffix being often added to nouns in Sanskrit to form diminutives, as kuti, a house; kutiram or kutiram, a small house (Wilson's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 324). The antiquity of the names may be presumed from the short link vowel, Kot-ĭ-la and Kot-ĭ-ra, contracted Kotra. In Hindi formations the penultimate is preferably lengthened.

On the other hand where the Sanskrit suffix -vala is employed a final short vowel becomes long before it, as dantāvala, a tusker elephant, from danta, a tooth, Wilson, p. 329, and this whether the vowel is a stem vowel or a pure link vowel. So Koṭ-ā-vala, a place possessing a fort, gives

KURAOLI .. Mainpuri .. 520

or contracted

KURAULI .. Agra .. 521

unless these are from Kunwar, a title often applied to a Rajput's son.

Also, when not intended to form a diminutive, the

link vowel in Sanskrit is sometimes long, as in Koţţārah, a fortified town, whence

KURĀRA Hamirpur .. 522

I take it that

.. Fatehpur KORA

if there is such a place apart from Kora Jahanabad, must also be a variation of Kot, a fort.

KUTIYA GUNIR Fatehpur .. 524

Kutiya and Gunir are separate villages. Kutiya is another diminutive of Kot. Gunir is formed from the name Gunni just as Gunnaur in Purwa Gunnaur, Cawnpore, from the name Gunnu, both, I suppose, familiar abbreviations of Ganesh. We have the same name again as Gunna in Nangla Gunna, Bijnor.

Since we have trenched on the subject of suffixes it may be better to take here the remaining derivatives from Kot rather than relegate them to the section of suffixes to which they more properly belong.

The suffix N being often substituted for the suffix L, we may take

KUTANA Meerut 525 as equivalent to Kuţāla, Sanskrit koţţāvalah, the place with a fort.

KUTAHAN Jaunpur spelt in the Hindi column with the penultimate long, is the same as Kutāna, the aspirate being provoked by the cerebral T. We have the same suffix -ahan in the word khut-ahan, explained by Crooke as land in which arrahr stumps (khunti) are left in the ground. As khutahan from khunt, kutahan from kot.

KUTHAUND .. Jalaun 527 is something different. The aspirate after the T indicates a derivation from koth, a granary or a house with a flat roof, Sanskrit koshtam. The suffix -aund may be from

-aun or -aud. Sometimes the N provokes a "d," as in the

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

English words "sound" and "thunder," sometimes and more frequently a D fortifies itself with an N. In the present case no doubt the -aund is for -aud, which is a favourite termination in the Trans-Jumna districts, corresponding to the -wad, -wada terminations in fashion further west. Apart from Kuthaund there are three places named Kuthaunda in the Jalaun district. A sense of euphony seems to have prompted the insertion of the nasal.

Pauri .. Garhwal .. 528

is from paur, paura, pauli, the entrance to a house (Crooke) and Sanskrit paurakam, a garden near a house. The probable origin of these words is Sanskrit puras, in front. But compare Go-puri, which Mr. Crooke renders cattle-gate. It may have meant that once, but in literary Sanskrit it seems to be used only for a town gate, principal gate, the go-being simply honorific, like raj- and sri-.

The transfer of the sense of gate or entrance to designate a village is analogous to the use of words meaning road or path adverted to under PAR.

A diminutive of Paur or Paul is

Pulwa .. Mirzapur .. 529

The Persian pul, a bridge, no doubt belongs to this set of words, signifying way of access.

The names indicating ruined sites are many and various. Khandah in Sanskrit is a break, fissure or broken piece, and from khandah come in Hindi the words khandar and khandahar for a ruined house. In Bundelkhand this word takes the form Kharaira. Hence

KHARAILA Hamirpur .. 530 which has a counterpart in Khandaira, Bulandshahr and other names.

From Khandah also comes Khandua, explained by Crooke as a "kind of well in which the shaft is built of "loose stones and which fills by percolation." This Khandua perhaps gives its name to

KHANDAULI .. Agra .. 531

The word Khandua is quoted from Agra and may be peculiar to that district, but the place-name Khandauli occurs again in Meerut and Farrukhabad. It is possible to derive it from the Sanskrit word Skandhavārah, meaning a camp or royal residence like Karra (513) and this derivation is countenanced by the names Khandwar, Aligarh; Khandwari, Meerut and Khandaura, Allahabad.

At first sight we might be tempted to rank with the derivatives from Khandah

KHANDEH Banda .. 532 owing to the cerebral D but the Ds and Rs are so frequently cerebrated and decerebrated that very little dependence can be placed on them. Banda has also a Khandeha and in Hamirpur there are three places named Khandehi. I think all these names come from the proper name Khande vouched for by the recurrence of the name Khandepur, two in Pilibhit and three in Shahjahanpur. Among other meanings the Sanskrit Skandha has those of a king and of a wise or learned man and it is easy to understand its adoption as a personal name. The apparent H suffix in Khandeh and Khandeha, which might suggest an identity with Khandesh in Bombay, is due to the dissolution of the DH in Skandha consequent on the introduction of a new aspirate from the sibilant.

The place-name SIKRI is common all over the United Provinces. I have counted 42 instances, a great many in the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions. Its variations with diverse suffixes are not less numerous. Among them are

Sikrara .. Jaunpur .. 533
Sikraul .. Benares .. 534

There does not appear to be any recorded word in the dialects spoken in the north-west that explains the name. We have to go as far east as Shahabad for its origin. Mr. Grierson says, Art. 793, "The sites of old villages are "often covered with potsherds. Hence such sites are "called Thikraur in Saran, Sikraur or Jhikraur in Shaha-"bad." The words Sikraur and Jhikraur are evidently the

same, the palatal S becoming J. (v.s. under Bijnor), but it is difficult to reconcile these with Thikraur. Cf. however Vishnu=Bitthu. But Thikraur is the word now in use in the north-west. Crooke gives Thikraur, land such as is found on the sites of ruined towns, full of pieces of brick and broken pottery. It is not improbable that the word Sikri, still current in Shahabad, may have died out in the western districts after giving birth to the names in question.

As to the derivation of Sikri I can only refer to the verb sikarna (Sanskrit sam plus kri), to collect, to sweep up, as rubbish, to fall in heaps, as in the prophecy "Is ganw men sil sakilegi," viz. the village of the incestuous Raja. Stones will fall in heaps on this village.

SAKRAWA .. Farrukhabad .. 535 belongs here. Sakrawa for Sikrawa, a not unusual vowel change in an unaccented syllable, e.g. Hindi sankal, a chain, from Sanskrit shrinkalah.

Sikra also becomes

Sighta ... Benares ... 536 by the same change by which sankal, a chain, becomes sanghar in the Panjab. The interpretation of Sighara as the place of three houses, like Tighra in Jaunpur or Teghara in Etah, on the analogy of sedara, a house with three doors can hardly be admitted. Sedara is a semi-Persian formation. The derivation from the Arabic sughra, lesser, though supported by the example of Shikra (Sughra) Anuda, alias Chhota Anuda in Bijnor is also unacceptable.

We close here our illustrations of Foerstemann's threefold classification of names as drawn from religion, natural objects and occupations and revert to the few remaining names with customary recognizable bases.

I. NER for nagar in

GAJNER		Cawnpore	537
the town of Ga	jpati or G	ajadhar.	
ACHHNERA		Agra	538

Achhe's town. The name Achhe appears several times in the Agra district, as in Garhi Achhe Lal, Pura Achhe Lal, Akhaipura, the name Achhe being derived from Sanskrit akshaya, imperishable, as that of Achhal is from akshara of the same meaning, epithets of Siva and Vishnu.

2. THAL, Sanskrit sthalam.

Morthai, .. Аligarh .. 539

Mor's place. Mor, a peacock, Sanskrit Mayurah, was formerly in use as a proper name. See Beames I. 90, "Among the chief authors in Marathi is Mayur Pandit or Moro Pant." So we have Mor-ta and Mor-pur in Meerut and Mor-aila in Jaunpur

KIRTHAL .. Meerut .. 540

Kirat's place. The second T has been dropped. The Gazetteer, Vol. III, 394, "Kirthal, according to local tradition, was founded by one Kirat of the Mali caste who called the place Kirat-sthalam." The tradition may be true or not but there is nothing improbable in it. Other similar names are Kirthala, Aligarh; Karthal, Muzaffarnagar; Kirtua and Kirtupur, Ghazipur.

3. Tha for Thanw, Sanskrit Sthanam.

GAROTHA Jhansi .. 541

The Garos' place. The Garos are a Musulman caste said to derive their name from their burying dead bodies. Crooke s.v. Jhar.

4. HERA for khera.

Jabarhera .. Saharanpur .. 542

Jabal's village. Compare Jabalpur. The Village Directory spells Jhabarhera, as if from dhabar or dabar, marshy soil. But the palatal consonants ch and j are apt to pick up an aspirate without rhyme or reason, and I do not question the spelling Jabarhera. The name Jabal is probably the same as Jwala.

Bhukala's village. Bhukala is the Prakrit form of

Bhupati, -kala being a common affix in Prakrit to all proper names. Compare Bhukarha in Kumaun.

5. WARI, Sanskrit Vāṭikā, a garden or orchard.

BHARWARI .. Allahabad .. 544

Wārī is used as a base in the Eastern districts so universally in the strict sense of the Sanskrit Vāṭikā, an orchard or garden, that it is rather surprising to find it associated with the name of a tribe such as the Bhars who are not given to gardening. The name presumably has reference to some individual Bhar. That is the case also no doubt when it occurs with other tribal names, as Jatwari, Muttra; Lodhwari, Meerut; Panditwari, Dehra Dun.

In Epigraphia Indica of 1892 an inscription from a Jaina temple, A.D. 955, records the gift of seven gardens or orchards, Pahila-vatika, Chandra-vatika, etc., all ending in vāṭikā except the last, Dhanga-vāḍī, where Vāḍī is the intermediate form between vātikā and wārī.

6. Sān, which means apparently a dwelling. The origin of the word is very uncertain. It appears as san, sen, sain, shon, son, saun, and may come from Sanskrit sālah or sadanam or sayanam or saranyam. It is often found with names of trees, as Pipalsan, Muzaffarnagar; Pipalsana, Moradabad and elsewhere; Barsana, Benares and Muttra, but only in the form san or sana. As for the other names, which are numerous, most of them seem to be very old and the characteristics are too much worn for recognition. A solitary name, Chamar-sena, seems to come from sena, an army. Cf. senapati. But this is exceptional.

MURSAN .. Aligarh .. 545

Mor's dwelling. For Mor v.s. Morthal (539). Cf. Morsana, Banda. Note the following from Isaac Taylor, borrowed from Ahlovist Kulturwoerter der West-Finnischen Sprachen. "In Finland the dwelling, Sauna, was a pit "dug in the earth and roofed over."

(A paper read before the United Provinces Historical Society at Lucknow on Saturday, the 31st March, 1923.)

By A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E.

IN this paper my object is not to narrate the events of Babar's life but to study the psychology and development of a most fascinating personality. The great figures of history are often subjects of wild controversies, and very little of their own inner thought can be gleaned authoritatively from the voluminous records which other people write about them or contemporary pictures which fix their gaze on particular achievements according to the standpoint of the writers. Even despatches and personal memoranda, written in an atmosphere of power and authority, are apt to be overladen with ponderous matter, and to lack the sincerity and artlessness of notes and reflections jotted down from time to time and reflecting the moods of the moment, which taken collectively constitute life and personality. In Babar's case we have such a simple and private record in his Diary. It is artless in the sense that it comes direct from the heart, proceeds swiftly, and takes the reader into its confidence without any arriere pensée. But in truth these qualities are the very stuff of the highest art. The simplicity, candour, and fulness of the record make it one of the most valuable human documents in history.

Babar's Diary (or memoirs), the Babar-nama, was originally written in the Chagatai dialect of Turki. We have available what is considered a direct copy from the manuscript written by Babar in his own handwriting.

This manuscript was discovered in the Salar Jang library at Hyderabad. Deccan and centupled in facsimile in 1905. We also know that Humayun himself copied his father's Babar-nama and added at least one marginal note. Akbar's time it was translated into Persian for the use of the Court. Jahangir in his Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri (year 1607 A.C.) speaks of his having seen the manuscript of Babar in Babar's own "blessed handwriting," to which he himself added four passages. Shah Tahan also is known to have possessed Babar's autograph manuscript. From internal evidence it is supposed that the Hyderabad manuscript dates from about 1700 A.C. the reign of Aurangzeb. We have thus strong testimony to the fact that Babar's own autograph manuscript existed in India and was highly prized among his Imperial descendants for nearly 200 years after it was written. The internal evidence of the text leaves no doubt that he wrote it in India. Unless the manuscript was destroyed during the revolutions which brought about the fall of the Mughal Empire, we may still cherish the hope that the original may be found some day and possibly fill up the gaps that now exist in the text.1 It is however more probable that the gaps in the text were Babar's own, and that he had no time to complete his autobiography. The agreement of the different manuscripts, Turki and Persian, implies that we have the text substantially as it was written by Babar.

In Turki literature Babar deservedly occupies a very high place. What I have said about the manuscripts shows that his memoirs were equally prized in India. Over European scholars they have exercised such a fascination that we may practically study his life and personality completely from European translations and monographs alone. The Russian Ilminski produced a text which was printed in 1857, and afterwards translated into

¹ See the notes on the manuscript in Mrs. Beveridge's valuable English translation of the Babar-nama. Pp. xl-xlix.

French by Mr. Pavet de Courteille. Ilminski also collected some fragments to supplement the autobiography. Leydon and Erskine produced in 1826 an excellent English translation from an imperfect manuscript, to which was prefixed a valuable historical and geographical introduction. This translation has been edited, revised and brought up to date by Sir Lucas King and published in two volumes by the Oxford University Press in 1921. Mrs. Beveridge also published her own independent scholarly translation in two volumes with complete analytical indexes in London in 1921. Her translation is closer to the original, but Sir Lucas King's is more handy for the general reader. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has published a most admirable summary of Babar's memoirs in what is rightly considered by Mr. Vincent Smith to be the best volume of the "Rulers of India" series. Mr. Rushbrook Williams, whom we know so well in the Department of Modern History in the Allahabad University, gave some lectures on Babar in 1915-16, and published them under the title of "An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century." Erskine's history and Caldecott's Life of Babar are other contributions to Babar literature in English. There is thus abundant literature in English alone from which the Indian student and publicist may study with advantage that most interesting period, the beginning of the sixteenth century in India, and that most remarkable personality, whose character and pioneer work have so much significance for us after the lapse of four centuries.

As I have said already, the diary is not complete. It begins abruptly in the year 899H/1494C when Babar became king of Farghana. He begins with a description of the boundaries and divisions of his kingdom, and a short account of his father, including a psychological analysis of his character, a narration of his wars, an account of his family including the ladies, and brilliant sketches of the Amirs of his court. Babar's geographical method almost reminds us of Caesar's commentaries. There is no doubt

that the memoirs as Babar wrote them began as we have them. There is a careful summary of Historical events leading up to his own life-story. In many places reference is made to later events, including those that occurred after his conquest of Hindustan. We may conclude that this part was written up carefully in India towards the end of Babar's life. This portion covers the years from 899H/ 1494C to the early part of 914H/1508C, with a short break for the period from the end of 908H/1502C to the begining of 900H/June 1504C. Another and more serious break, covering eleven very important years occurs from 914H/ 1508C to 925H/1519C. This was a dark period in Babar's fortunes, though not nearly as dark as some of those which he had passed through in the earlier portion of his adventurous career. We should like to have known Babar's comments on the conflict of his great Uzbeg opponent Shaibani Khan with his Persian rival Shah Ismail.

When the memoirs re-open from the beginning of the year 925H/1519C they assume the more informal shape of jottings day by day. Obviously from this time onwards we have the uncorrected daily diary, though here again we have a break from 936H/1520C to 932H/1525C, a period covering some of Akbar's preliminary expeditions into the Indian frontier. In some cases the day's entry is about quite trivial matters and runs to only two or three lines. There are however a few long passages which are evidently carefully and systematically compiled and practically form independent treatises. For example, after the entry of 28th Rajab, 932H/10th May, 1526C he inserts a carefully compiled description of Hindustan, prefaced by some reflections on his conquests, in which he reviews very rapidly the past history of the country. He expressly refers to the "Tabqat-i-Nasiri," showing that he had been studying Indian history after the conquest. He gives an account of the five contemporary Muslim princes and the two great Hindu Kingdoms of Udaipur and Vijayanagar. he incidentally refers in the course of the passage to events

that took place two years later, such as his storming of Chanderi (January 29, 1528) and his seeing the piebald sharak (maina) in Lucknow (March 28, 1528) we are justified in concluding that all this part was inserted in the diary towards the end of Babar's life. To us in Lucknow it is interesting to note that on March 21st, 1528, Babar records: "The same day I bathed in the river Gumti. I know not whether any water got into my ear or whether it was the effect of the air, but I became deaf in the right ear, though it was not long very painful."

Babar's description of India is both full and accurate. Geographically it takes a great sweep from Kabul and Kashmir to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean. He also describes the principal hills and rivers of Northern India. He wonders that there are no canals, as there were in the countries of Central Asia which he had left behind. He describes however the two methods of well-irrigation which are practised at the present day, namely the Persian wheel and the leather bucket charsa. The monotony of the level plain and the ugly surroundings of the towns seem to have impressed him. He is in his element in describing the animals, birds, and aquatic life of the country. He follows up with a fairly full description of its fruits and nuts. Most of his description is obviously founded on personal observation, and his shrewd thrusts are excellent. As is inevitable in personal descriptions, he always goes back for comparison to the things that were already familiar to him in Central Asia. The mango takes the first place among the fruits of Hindustan, but adds Babar: "Such mangoes as are good are excellent. Many are eaten, but few are good of their kind."3 From natural history and the seasons, Babar goes on to the mode of

¹ Memoirs King, ii. 216.

All references to the memoirs in future except where otherwise specified will be to Sir Lucas King's edition, of which the volume and page will be quoted.

² King, ii, 332.

³ King, ii. 225.

reckoning time, and notes the improvements which he introduced into the striking of the hours on brass gongs by the gharvalis. The inhabitants and their houses and customs are described in very uncomplimentary terms. At the same time Babar is not blind to the advantages of India, the chief of which in his eyes are that it has abundance of gold and silver, that the climate is pleasant during the rains, and that there is abundance of labour. contrasts the 200 workmen employed by his ancestor Timur in building a mosque, presumably in Samarkand, with the 1,491 stone-cutters he employed everyday on his public works in India.1 Occasionally, as in the entry for Friday 16th Rabi I, 933H/December 21, 1526 he inserts a whole letter which he wrote to Kabul, describing his fortunate escape from an attempt to poison him.2 His description of his campaign against Rana Sanga of Udaipur has the dignity of a noble story candidly told, and contrasts forcibly with the pompous farman drafted by his Secretary, interlarded with Arabic quotations and inserted in full in the Persian copies, though it is wanting in the Turki copy used by Leyden. With unimportant gaps the diary proceeds to the end of the year 935H/September 1529C, and ends abruptly with a brief entry for the beginning of 936H, about 151 months before Babar's death.

Such is the framework of the Diary. Let us see what manner of man it was who wrote it, and what was the setting in which he lived. Although, as I have already stated, the diary appears to have been revised in places, we can see a progressive development of Babar's character, from the boy of twelve who had to fight against his own brothers and uncles for his kingdom of Farghana in Central Asia, to the seasoned young soldier who captured his ancestral seat of Samarkand more than once, the statesman who endeavoured to stand between the flood of Uzbeg aggression from the East and Persian

¹ King, ii. 242-244.

² King, ii. 267-271.

expansion from the West, the masterful ruler who established himself in Kabul and brought the mixed and unruly population of Afghanistan under his sway, and the mature warrior of imperial dreams who overthrew the Muslim Lodi Dynasty at Panipat, and after having defeated Rana Sanga of Udaipur and his mixed Rajput and Muslim followers in a Holy War, took a pride in adorning his capital at Agra with wells, gardens, roads, and public works of many kinds, until he had established some sort of order in Northern India.

Parallel with this development of his public character went on the development of his remarkable personality. As a boy he was strong and energetic but impulsive and adventurous, and gained and lost kingdoms like a young spend-thrift heir to a private estate. He prided himself on his Turki ancestry, which gave him his manliness and vigour, but he ignored his Mongol ancestry on his mother's side, although he inherited many of the virtues and vices of the Mongol race. As he grew up, his experience taught him to be more cautious even of his friends, but he never lost the character of generosity to his friends and relatives, and chivalry to women. To the end of his life he retained his fondness for sport and his love of nature, and his habit of personal investigation of her secrets. We find in his campaign against the Rajput Rana Sanga a serious and religious spirit which we miss in his earlier His belief in Muslim Shaikhs, Khwajas and adventures. saints was perhaps of a more child-like nature in his earlier life, but he never abandoned himself to superstition, and was always anxious to test any claims by his own independent observation and reason. He was always ready to learn about improved methods of warfare or ad-In Afghanistan and India he cast improved ministration. cannon through his chief gunner Ustad Ali Kuli, and employed the tactics of the Western (Rumi) Turks in chaining his guns and making strong lines of defence in order to give confidence to his army.

There was a strain of Mongol cruelty about him, but he was never revengeful. At any rate in his later campaigns he distinguishes between the tribes and individuals that had resisted his advance or shown themselves intractable or unfair, whom he chastised severely, and those who were helpless, whom he protected and pardoned. Thus he plundered the stiff-necked Hazaras and Ghilzais,1 and severely punished the Bajauris,2 but protected the Hindustani merchants.3 As regards the latter he remarks, "When we reached Kalat the merchants of Hindustan. who had come to Kalat to traffic, had not time to escape, as our soldiers came upon them quite unexpectedly. general opinion was, that, at a period of confusion like the present, it was fair to plunder all such as came from a foreign country. I would not acquiesce in this. I asked. what offence have these merchants committed? If for the love of God, we suffer these trifling things to escape, God will one day give us great and important benefits in return." Here his Mongol ancestry was subdued by his Islamic religion, but he was not above a shrewd understanding of the circumstances in which policy and conscience pointed in the same direction.

In regard to drink Babar's evolution is instructive. Among the Mongols, Turks and Persians, drunkenness was fairly common, and he describes the early drinking bouts at which he did not drink, with a good deal of wistful reserve. At Herat he still abstained, although the parties of pleasure threw great temptations in his way. He was then about 23 (solar) years old. He says: "Although till that time I had never been guilty of drinking wine, and from never having fallen into the practice, was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander into this desert, and my heart was much disposed to cross the stream. In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures and pains.

¹ King, ii. 44.

² King, ii. 82.

³ King, ii. 45.

When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwaja Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled. I abstained even from forbidden foods; how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards, when from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional impulse I got a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my longing for it. Though I had the appetite, therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge in such unlawful desires. came into my head, that as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Heri (Herat), in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection,.....if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another. I therefore resolved to drink wine. But it struck me that, as Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hands and in his house, he might now take offence (if I took it from his younger brother). I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me. My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more at this party to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas."1

There could not be a finer analysis of motives and feelings in regard to drink than this, told by a refined experienced and introspective man, probably many years afterwards. The proposal, however, came to the ear of

¹ King, ii. 11-13.

Mrs. Beveridge, Babur-nama, p. 83^{nl} takes this passage to mean that Babar first drank wine on this occasion. That is not correct: he felt the temptation but resisted it. Probably she is right in assuming from the passage to which her note is affixed (corresponding to King, i.85) that Babar first drank wine at Samarkand and it was Bukhara wine; this must have been somewhere about 917H/1511C. about which we have a break in the diary, but we know that Babar was then in Samarkand, although not for the first time.

his faithful Amir Kasim Beg, who had been appointed master of the Household 12 years before. He sent remonstrances to the Mirzas, and the idea of urging Babar to drink at the next entertainment at Badi-uz-zaman's was entirely given up. Babar, however, does not omit to note the propensities of his courtiers. They could not drink at parties if he did not. They used to compensate themselves every month or 40 days, by shutting their doors and getting royally drunk. Babar on this occasion permitted them to drink, and this marks a further step in his progress. He now at least tolerated drinking.

We do not know when he actually began to drink himself, as there is a gap in his diary covering the long period from 914H/1508C to 925H/1519C. From an incidental reference (see note, last para. it is probable that he drank in 917H/1511C. When the diary reopens in 1519C he was in Bajaur, on the borders of India. He was then 36 (solar) years old. Now we find frequent mention of drinking parties, quite casually, as if they were an everyday occurrence.1 But a more serious habit even than that of drinking wine was the habit of taking intoxicating drugs. He mentions a pleasant but highly intoxicating confection called Kamal. Although he took in the beginning only the third part of a pill, it affected him so much that he was unable to attend the council meeting of his Begs.² After that he went from bad to worse. He drank wine and spirits (araq) 3 and took intoxicating drugs, such as opium, almost daily, and the maajun which he took so frequently was probably composed of bhang. He was however mindful of the feelings of others. Once, not long afterwards, he was staying at a local Kazi's house. They made preparations for a jolly party, but the Kazi came to him and said: "Such a thing was never yet seen in my house; however, you are emperor and master." Though all the preparations for a convivial party were ready, they

¹ King, ii. 83.

² King, ii. 85.

³ Mrs. Beveridge, Babar-nama p. 385.

gave up their intention of drinking wine in deference to the feelings of the Kazi.1

Later in life Babar definitely formed a resolve to give up drinking at the age of 40, but he actually carried out this resolution much later. There was a dramatic scene on Monday the 1st Jamad I, 933H/February 25, 1527C when Babar was 44 (solar) years of age. At that time he was just about to undertake his most important campaign in India, that against Rana Sanga, for which he had made careful preparations in the spirit of a Holy War. He thought of his firm resolve to make an effectual repentance. He wrote some Turki verses, in which he vowed to resist all temptation and never more to drink wine. sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, and directed them to be broken. The fragments of the precious metals he divided among dervishes and the poor. His army and courtiers, soldiers and non-officials, to the number of nearly 300 men, made similar vows of reformation. The wine which was actually there, was poured on the ground, and a stone well and almshouse were erected on the spot to commemorate this great event. Other stocks of wine were converted into vinegar by admixture with salt. An ethical farman was issued, in which verses were quoted from the Quran, and stress was laid on self-conquest as greater than any victory. "We have directed" he says, "this holy warfare to commence with the grand warfare, the war against our passions." Such was the spirit in which, inspite of the evil prognostications of astrologers, and a feeling of depression in the army, Babar undertook his campaign against Rana Sanga and carried it through with brilliant success.2 It were very much to be wished that Babar had at the same time given up the habit of taking drugs and maajuns, which greatly affected his health, and inspite of his iron constitution, brought on an early death at the age of 47 (solar) years.

¹ King, ii. 116.

² King, ii. 280.

A few of Babar's epigrams demand notice. Wali, a courtier of his brother Sultan Mahmud Mirza, "never approved of anything or any person but himself and his own." This almost recalls the famous character in Tacitus, who never approved of a plan that was not his own. Of Mahmud Mirza's poetry he had no high opinion; his verses were "flat and insipid, and it were surely better not to write at all than to write in that style." 2 Further on he speaks of him as "a man equally devoid of courage and of modesty." 3 Of the saintly Khawaja Kazi he says: "He was a wonderfully bold man, no mean proof of sanctity. The bravest of mankind sometimes falter or tremble. He never did either." 4 Babar left his ancestral capital, Samarkand, in order to save Andijan, but he "lost Andijan in the process also." 5 At one of the tight corners in his fortunes. Babar was confronted with a cabal, whose method of seducing his troops he epigrammatically describes as "seasoning eloquence with bribes." 6 temporising Amir, who sold his honour, he writes: "From over-anxiety to preserve this transitory and mortal lip, he left a name of eternal infamy behind him." 7 Once, after he was deserted by his men in a pursuit by Shaibani Khan, and he wandered as a fugitive, he had a spill from his horse, with concussion of the brain. This, however, did not stop him from riding immediately afterwards. He at length came to Dizak, where he passed from the extreme of famine to plenty. His comment is: "Enjoyment after suffering only increases the relish."8 These epigrams get less pointed in the later and more rapid portions of his Diary. The less polished literary finish is a small matter. but we miss the keen human relish, physical, moral and intellectual which must have made Babar a delightful companion and an inspiring leader.

The epigrams which I have quoted will have shown that Babar was a very shrewd judge of character. His

King, i. 50.
 King, i. 44.
 Ibid.
 King, i. 93.
 King, i. 94.
 King, i. 134.
 King, i. 158.

memoirs are full of character sketches of all sorts of people. men and women, and include even an obituary notice of a favourite hawk. Says Babar on approaching Kabul, "This same day I lost my best hawk..... It pounced so unfailingly at its quarry as to make even one with so little skill as myself the most successful of fowlers"1 his character sketches of human beings I will just quote three. The first is about a wonderful Wazir (minister) of Khurasan, whose master wanted money but was told that there was none in the treasury. The Wazir smiled. When the master asked him the reason, he said: "If your Majesty will give me full power and not deviate from my plans, I will undertake in a very short time to make the subjects comfortable, the army satisfied, and the treasury full." The Mirza agreed, and what is more, this wonderful Wazir of Khorasan made the people happy, the army contented and the treasury full.2 They evidently knew finance in those days.

Of his grandmother he says: "There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother, Isan Daulat Begam, in sense and sagacity. She was uncommonly far sighted and judicious. Many affairs of enterprise and importance were conducted by her advice. Hasan Yakub was at this time in the citadel and my mother and grandmother in the stone fort." 3

Of his father he gives a very lengthy and life-like sketch, including an account of his personal appearance, his dress, his theological views, his readings, his friends and court, his wars and his ladies. Of his justice he says: "He was so strictly just that when a caravan from Khita (North China) had once reached the hill country to the east of Andijan, and the snow fell so deep as to bury it, so that of the whole only two persons escaped; he sooner received information of the occurrence than he despatched overseers to collect and take charge of the property and effects of

¹ King, ii, 112.

² King, i, 311.

³ King, i, 42.

the people of the caravan; and wherever the heirs were not at hand, though himself in great want, his resources being exhausted, he placed the property under sequestration and preserved it untouched; till, in the course of one or two years, the heirs coming from Khurasan and Samarkand in consequence of the intimation they received, he delivered back the goods safe and untouched into their hands. His generosity was large, and so was his whole soul; he was of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent, and sweet in his conversation, yet brave withal and manly." 1 The loyal son, however, is also candid, and does not suppress other sides of his character. "He was a middling shot with a bow. He had uncommon force in his fists and never hit a man whom he did not knock down. From his excessive ambition for conquest he often exchanged peace for war and friendship for hostility. In the earlier part of his life he was greatly addicted to drinking..... Latterly, once or twice in the week, he indulged in a drinking party. He was a pleasant companion, and in the course of conversation used often to cite with great facility appropriate verses from the poets..... In his latter days he was much addicted to the use of maajun...... He played a great deal at back-gammon and sometimes at games of chance with the dice." 2 One wonders how much of this description was a more or less conscious sketch by Babar of his own character.

Babar's love of nature is a special feature of his Diary. When he captures Nasukh in 903H/1498C, he records that it was the season when melons were ripe, and describes a special kind of melon called Ismail Shaikhi, the skin of which is yellow and puckered like shagreen leather, the seeds of which are about the size of apple pips, and the pulp four fingers thick, while the taste is remarkably delicate and agreeable. One of the things he missed in India was fruit. But he planted vineyards and orchards, and got the best fruit trees from Kabul and Central Asia.

¹ King, i. 12.

² King, i. 12-13.

³ King, i. 96.

Towards the end of his life he was truly delighted with having produced excellent melons and grapes in Hindustan.1 He takes considerable interest in astronomy and notices the star canopies for the first time from the top of a hill near Kabul. He and his companions are equally delighted and they recall a poet's apostrophe.2 In his account of Samarkand he mentions with pride Ulugh Beg's observatory, and adds a note about other observatories in the world.3 His description of all the important cities makes a point of including an account of their gardens, streams, and natural beauties. At Agra he planted several gardens and sank large wells, one of which still exists. He was fond of neatness and order, and especially criticised haphazard way in which things were planned in India. He excavated tanks and built baths, and tried to seek alleviation from the three nuisances from which we all suffer in Hindustan, namely, the heat, the strong winds, and the dust.4 One November morning, on the Afghan frontier, he noticed an apple tree, and stopped to admire the autumn tints on its decaying leaves. He says: "On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained and exhibited a beauty which a painter with all his skill might attempt in vain to portray." 5 This was not merely a sentimental effusion, but an expression of genuine feeling for nature in the scanty record of a very rapid march on the Indian frontiers of Afghanistan. He had an eye for the beauty of camp-fires as seen from the top of a hillock.6 In describing the rhinoceros, he finds an analogy in its anatomical structure with the horse, an analogy which is fully borne out by modern science.7 His early barefoot wanderings among the hill-side shepherds of Farghana 8 had not only inured him to the hardships of a life of nature, but had deeply impressed him with a love of nature in all her moods, gentle as well as austere.

¹ King, ii. 416.

² King, i. 212.

³ King, i. 81.

⁴ King, ii. 258.

⁵ King, ii. 140.

⁶ King, ii. 159.

⁷ Beveridge, Babur-Nama, p. 490.

⁸ King, i. 160.

There is something wonderful in his cheerful faculty of adapting himself to different circumstances. The discipline of his army was perfect, and when circumstances demanded it, he enforced it with the utmost severity. And yet, when he and his companions were overwhelmed in a snow storm after they left Khurasan, he was willing to share their dangers with the philosophy of the Persian proverb that "death in the company of friends is a feast." 1 did not take shelter from the snow if his companions had to be left to perish in the cold. He was amongst the foremost to beat down the snow and make the path for his men, and when some of his proud Begs felt a disinclination to dismount and help in trampling down the snow, his only reflection was "that this was no time for plaguing them or employing authority." He left it to every man's spirit of emulation to follow his own fine example and won through.2 Iron discipline is often less potent than an understanding sympathy.

His religion was tempered with reason and common sense. His conservatism, and pride in his ancestor Timur and Timur's and Chenghiz Khan's institutions, did not prevent him from adopting new methods if they were more effective for his purposes. His love of poetry and music and song did not prevent him from speaking his mind outright if there were faults of taste that offended his sensitive nature. There must have been some sort of musical notation in his time, as he records that Ali Sher Beg "left excellent pieces of music." 3 He had in his youth written caustic verses, but in the month of Safar 932H/December 1525 C his heart was struck with regret that the tongue which was capable of sublimity should be degraded to satirical or vituperative verses. He abjured such lapses from refinement,4 at the same time that his mind was contemplating the abjuration of the use of wine.

His reading had been very wide and had extended to

¹ King, ii. 21.

² King, ii. 22.

³ King, ii. 301.

⁴ King, ii. 158.

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such pure gems of literature as the Ouran, Firdausi's Epic, the poems of Amir Khusrau, the masnavi of Maulana Jalal Uddin Rumi, the mysticism of Hafiz and Nizami, the ethics of Sadi, and the allegories of Jami (who was almost his contemporary). Most of his studies and education could only have been possible before the age of eleven. But late in life, only eighteen months before his death, we get a picture of Babar burning the midnight oil. He was marching back from his expedition to Bengal and Bihar towards his capital. It was the month of Ramazan, and he had finished his night prayers. Shortly before midnight, a great storm arose and blew down his tents. Babar was surprised in his own tent writing, and had scarcely time to gather up his loose sheets of paper before his pavilion came down and nearly killed him. After he escaped he did not sleep, but was busily employed in drying his papers till the morning.1

Babar's chivalry to women appears from many episodes in his life, though he was practically devoid of sentimentalism. The ladies of his household usually shared his marches in his days of adventure, and he often gave up his own tent to his mother when ampler accommodation failed. In the days of his prosperity in India he remembered all his aunts and cousins far and near and sent costly presents to each one by name.2 More than one of his marriages was an affair of arrangement, but his wife Masuma fell genuinely in love with him and he with her.3 Afghan tradition mentions a romantic episode ending in Babar's love match with a Yusufzai princess, and though Babar with his usual avoidance of sentimentality merely refers to the fact, we have no reason to reject the Afghan tradition, as it is in perfect consonance with all that is known of the Lady Mubarika.4 He happened to see her in disguise and fell in love with her. When he married her, her whole tribe came into favour. He inserts in his

¹ King, i. 408. 2 Gul Badan Begam's Humayun Nama gives the details.

Diary letters to and from his wife Maham. After defeating Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat he bestows a Jagir of seven lakhs on the defeated Sultan's mother and gives her a palace to live in,¹ although the object of his generosity showed her ingratitude by trying afterwards to poison him.² We know from the later history of Babar's descendants in India, and from records left by Imperial ladies like Gulbadan Begam, what an important part women played in the Mughal Empire. If only the Mughals had been able to purify their home life by avoidance of indiscriminate and polygamous marriages, the history of Mughal India might have been entirely different.

What did Babar do for India and how did it affect his personality? When he crossed the river Indus in his final expedition, he had no more than 12,000 persons, good and bad, servants and no servants, combatants and non-combatants.3 But Babar, by his persistence, perseverance, and self-confidence, carried all before him. The state of India in December, 1525 was one which will repay very close study. The old Afghan dynasties which had ruled over Northern India had broken up into petty warring principalities, and their men had degenerated, partly under the influence of climate and partly because they relaxed their hold on the institutions and character which they had brought with them. The Southern Muslim rulers, Turki or Persian, Abyssinian or mixed Indian, were in no better state. The only two Hindu powers of note, viz. Udaipur in Rajputana and Vijayanagar in the Deccan, though strong, full of martial ardour, and capable of much organisation, were no match for the Muslims even in their disorganised state, as subsequent events showed. The Muslims commanded the results of advanced methods in warfare and national organisation, and were not cut off from world movements and world experiences. The anarchy that existed in the country could only be put

¹ King, ii. 192.

² King, ii. 268.

³ King, ii. 160.

down by a strong government, acting with a sense of justice and upholding its own standards with firmness and wisdom. Babar came to supply these needs, and although his authority was soon swept away under his son Humayun, the seeds which he had sown produced a good harvest, indirectly through Sher Shah's administration, and directly through the genius of Babar's grandson Akbar.

It is not within our province here to discuss the causes of decay that attacked the later Mughal Empire. But Babar's own period is most instructive not only in the history of India but in the general history of the world. Western and Central Europe were then working out a religious revolution, which also meant a political revolution. The Western Turks were still in their prime, and were acting as links between Europe and Asia. institutions indirectly supplied the pattern for Persia's reorganisation. Persia's religious revolution, under the Safavid dynasty opened up the doors of one of the mansions in the House of Islam. The age-long conflict of Persian, Turkish, and Mongol civilisations in Central Asia kindled forces whose waves engulfed India in Central Asian Politics. If any Indian dreams of an isolated India, history does not support him.

I wish that it were possible to discuss Babar's revenue system. It is impossible to dismiss it with the remark that he had no revenue system. The figures he gives ' in his "particular and detailed statement" are obviously an abstract by provinces of careful registers and accounts maintained by his Treasury. They are not merely in round sums, but descend in one case to the half of a Tanka. In summing up, he says that the total revenues of the countries under his dominion from Behreh to Bihar was fifty two crores, presumably of Tankas. This does not help us much for comparison. We can however put together from the detailed statement figures for the tracts

¹ King, ii. 244-245.

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THE SELF-REVELATION OF BABAR.

which roughly represent our modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. I work them out to about 15 to 16 crores of Tankas. The question is, how much do these Tankas or Dams represent in modern currency? I have not been able to go into this question in detail, but if Sir Lucas King's estimate is correct, that 52 crores represent £1,300,000, then 15 crores for our modern United Provinces would work out only to £375,000 or 561 lakhs of rupees. If so, the revenue was very light, but we have no figures for the cultivated area or the population. me it is incredible that Babar, who fixed accurate measures of length and made some changes in indicating accurate measures of time in India, would have neglected a systematic examination of his revenue, or left it to be assessed in haphazard fashion. We can only regret that we have no knowledge of his revenue organisation.

To Babar himself India opened out a whole new world. His character was completely changed after he actually mixed himself up with the tangled politics and the intriguing atmosphere of Lodi and Afghan families and the jarring Hindu principalities of India. The frank outspoken soldier of fortune, who disliked hypocrisy and scorned treachery or meanness, becomes the great Ruler, who applies to himself the titles of Nawab,1 Khalifa 2 and Ghazi.3 His Diary also runs less like a gentle crystal stream of the hills, and flows more turbid like a lazy river of the plains. His storms and passions have abated, but so have his fiery zeal and his infectious gaiety. has given up intoxicating drinks, but has fallen more and more deeply into the drug habit, which kills more surely if more slowly. His son Humayun, on whom at the age of eighteen he had conferred the highest commands and responsible administrative positions, was the most covetous enough to seize his treasure at Delhi while Babar was at Agra.4 Babar never expected such conduct

¹ King, ii. 291.

³ King, ii. 307.

² King, ii. 292.

⁴ King, ii. 315.

from him, was extremely hurt, and wrote to him strongly. Nor does his letter to Humayun in 935H/1528C, when Humayun was in Afghanistan, show that Babar was satisfied with Humayun's conduct as a wise ruler or a dutiful son or a man of refined or accurate learning. The canker was already working at the heart.

It is true that Babar builds roads and post-houses (his Grand Trunk road was from Agra to Kabul) 2 and fixes the length of the Kos, but the presents of the Tipchak 3 horses get less and less common, and we miss the free parties of jolly companions and the old time parries and thrusts of wit and poetry. Instead we have a great garden party, with a pavilion provided with Khas tattis in the month of December (sic) for coolness, we have the large and formal darbar of Kizilbash, Uzbeg and Hindu representatives seated at regular intervals.—a medley without unity. There is much show of gold and silver and fine raiment. There are fights of beasts and matches of wrestlers and Hindustani jugglers and tumblers, as well as the performances of paturyas (dancing girls).4 Babar, though he has not given up riding on horse-back, now moves about in a Takht-i-rawan 5 (litter or palki), or uses boats. He suffers from painful boils and from fever, although he never gives in, and keeps moving about, hardly ever celebrating Id in the same place for two years in succession. It is quite possible that his disappointment with his son Humayun may have given rise to the conspiracy among his nobles to set aside Humayun from the succession, but Babar nips all such conspiracies in the bud, and finally gives his very life for his son. In the ties of friendship and family, he is never remiss, and we should like to believe that the story of his last supreme sacrifice for his son is psychologically true.

¹ King, ii. 351-355. ² King, ii. 357.

³ Tipchak or Tipuchaq in Turki denotes quality or training in a horse, rather than race, but no doubt these horses were imported from or through Kabul. See Beveridge, Babur-nama, p. 38 n. 1.

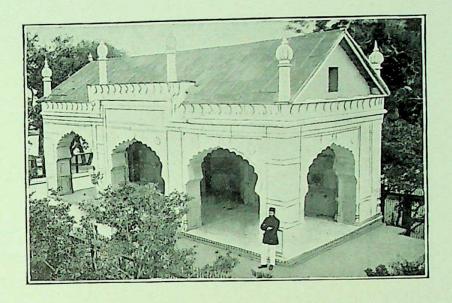
⁴ King, ii. 358-361. 5 King, ii. 377.

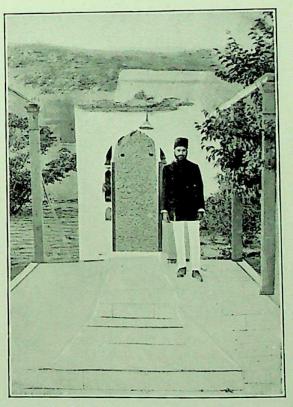
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Thus lived and died a brave and generous man. His hardy life fitted in with his love of nature. His adventures, failures, and successes, never dried up the milk of human kindness in him. His reading was refined by what he learnt from life. The sincerity of his soul, in strength and weakness, shines from every page of his self-revealing record.

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Babar's Garden and Grave at Kabul.

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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THE AHAR STONE INSCRIPTION.

By C. D. CHATTERJEE, M.A., University of Lucknow.

IN February 1924, the Hon'ble Mr. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S., M.L.C., Member of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, supplied me with a rubbing of a certain stone inscription, sent to him by the Collector, Bulandshahr District, and asked me to edit the same. I, however, found the work of transcribing and editing not very easy, as the rubbing was not sufficiently clear, and presented doubtful points almost at every step. So I requested Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, to make an early arrangement for the removal of the stone from its original find-spot, where it was still lying, and to acquire it on behalf of the Museum. Negotiations were accordingly carried on by him, and ultimately in the month of April, the stone was removed to the Lucknow Museum, where it has found a place in the archæological gallery. The Curator then furnished me with an excellent inkedimpression, taken under his personal supervision, upon which my transcript of the text is based. I have also carefully examined the original stone, specially with the object of restoring the mutilated portions of the inscription, but unfortunately my endeavour has failed to a certain extent, as the letters in some places have either disappeared altogether, or have become utterly illegible. best thanks are due to the Curator and to the Committee of the Provincial Museum for giving me an early opportunity of examining the stone, as well as to W. E. J. Dobbs, Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Bulandshahr District for supplying me with the necessary information regarding the find-spot and the circumstances under which the present stoneinscription came to light.

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AHAR STONE INSCRIPTION.

Ahar, or more precisely Ahar (28°-28' N. by 78°-15'E) is a small but ancient town situated in the pargana of the same name, in the Anupshahr tahsil, of the Bulandshahr District in the United Provinces. It is on the bank of the Ganges, and at a distance of 21 miles east of Bulandshahr city, and 7 miles north of the town of Anupshahr with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. It appears from the report of Mr. Dobbs that when he was about to leave Ahar, where he had been in camp for some days, he came to learn that an inscribed stone had been discovered by a certain Nand Kishore in a ruined portion of his house. The stone had been lying there probably for years with the inscribed face downwards. On the day of the departure of the Collector, Nand Kishore happened to turn the stone up and found the inscription. On the receipt of this interesting information Mr. Dobbs went to the spot, and took a rubbing, which was afterwards sent to the Hon'ble Mr. Burn. It further appears from the report of the Collector, that the stone is supposed to have been brought some time ago from the high bank of the Ganges,2 where it was disclosed by a wash-away. There are several mounds near the find-spot which are "Protected Monuments." 3

The inscription is engraved on a rectangular buff-coloured sand-stone slab measuring 3'-5'' in length by $1'-9\frac{1}{2}''$ in breadth, and is about $3\frac{1}{2}''$ thick. It contains

² The Ganges (Gangādēvī) has been mentioned in line 10 of our inscription.

³ From the report of the District Collector (13th Oct., 1924).

twenty-eight lines of writing, which cover a space of about 3'-3'' broad by 1'-8'' high. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}''$ and $\frac{5}{8}''$.

The writing is on the whole well-preserved, but owing to the rough treatment which the stone has undergone, a portion of the surface on the left-hand side of the inscription, towards the top, measuring about 8" by 5" is greatly damaged, and has resulted in the complete loss of a certain number of letters in the first eight lines. Thus four letters are missing at the beginning of line 1, six in lines 2 and 3 each, sixteen in line 4, from eighteen to twenty-four in lines 5 to 8 each, and also a few letters in line 9. The missing letters in some of these lines can be restored with some amount of certainty by conjecture. Besides these, a certain number of letters either has been obliterated or has become indistinct in some places.

Judging from the inscription, it appears that the engraver has executed his work with great care, though it does not seem to have been incised by one and the same person¹. The epigraph, on the whole, shows an amount of neatness and finish of execution, rarely exhibited in such stone-inscriptions.

The characters of the inscription are of the Nāgarī type current in Northern and Western India during the 9th and the 10th cent. A.D., with some ornamental additions here and there. No less than six different types of auspicious symbols, which have been used as full-stops are to be found in this document.

With regard to paleography, it may be remarked that the inscription exhibits some notable peculiarities

¹ The inscription from the beginning upto the word puttra (puttrapautrātva-yasahitêna) in line 6, seems to have been engraved by one lipikara, and the rest of the inscription by another, from the difference in the style of the hand-writing shown in these two parts of the inscription. It might also be that there were employed two persons to write out the whole inscription on the stone, for the guidance of the engraver, whose duty was then simply to follow the writing, and incise it with his tools.

in the signs of kra, kha, ñcha, na, and sa. The sign of kra is not regular, and as such two different forms are to be met with occurring even almost side by side. In some places it is formed by joining one extremity of the bent cross-bar with the wedge at the foot of the vertical. whereby it forms a loop on the left, while the other extremity of the cross-bar to the right of the vertical is projected below and joined on to the short stroke of the subscript ra, slanting upwards towards the left (11. 12. 15, 22). In other places the sign of the subscript ra joins itself with the wedge at the foot of the vertical of the archaic ka (11. 3, 14, 16, 18, 20, etc.). The retrograde archaic type of ka is, however, not rare in this inscription, and is also to be found throughout in ku, kta, kma, kva, ksha, and even in rkka (1. 3). Two forms of kha are noticeable. In one, the triangle of kha comes between the two verticals (II. 3, 5, 6, etc.); but in the other, it is taken much lower down, and as such, the second form looks almost like gva rather than kha (11. 9, 18, 20, 21, 26, etc.; cf. specially ll. 7, 12, 15, 16, and 23). Two different types of ncha also occur in this inscription. In one type of $\tilde{n}cha$, the right limb of the cursive and round $\tilde{n}a$ (which looks almost like na) is attached to the upper portion of the vertical of cha (11. 2, 3, and 24); whereas, in the other, the right limb is turned upwards, and the left limb is made cursive (l. 3 kañchuka, and l. 5 kañchana). Accordingly the second type of ñcha bears some semblance with the same of the Pehoa Prasasti of the reign of Mahêndrapāla I1, the difference only being, that in the first place, the right limb of $\tilde{n}a$ of our inscription is turned upwards. like the independent $\tilde{n}a$ of the Horiuzi Palm-leaves² instead of downwards as in the aforesaid prasasti; and in

¹ Epig. Ind. I, Plate XVII, l. 4; Bühler, Indischen Palaeographie, Plate V, 19, III.

² Ind. Palaeo, Plate VI, 24, V.

the second place, the difference lies in the absence of the wedge-like mark to be found in it, just above the triangle of cha. Two different forms of lingual na are to be found in this inscription. In one, the more archaic of the two types, we find a division of the original vertical of na and of its upper bar, which ends in a hook on the right and a cursive loop on the left (II. I, 3, 4, etc.); but in the other, we come across the common Nāgarī na with its three pendant 1 lines. The left-hand stroke of the second type in most cases slants considerably towards the right. while the middle one is made shorter than the right-hand vertical stroke (11. 9, 10, 23, etc.). The sign of the medial \bar{a} in $n\bar{a}$ is also not regular. In some places, it is a downward vertical stroke placed on the right side of na (11, 25, 28); while in others, it goes up (ll. 4, 12, 17, etc.). Nearly similar forms of nā are also met with in the Pehoa Prasasti.1 Two different forms of sa also occur in this inscription. In one variety we find a short stroke lying horizontally across the interior, with its one extremity touching the right-hand vertical only (Il. I, 2, 3, 4, etc.). This central stroke, in several places has been converted into a curve (Il. 1, 2, 4, 10, 17, etc.). The second variety is altogether different from the first, and consists of a straight top-stroke, with three lines hanging down from it, of which the middle one is shorter than the other two (11. 6, 7, 8, 9, etc.). These two types of sa bear in common a wedge at the foot of the left-hand vertical.

We may be permitted to point out *en passant*, that in line 10 of this inscription, we notice a figure, which may be easily mistaken for an independent long I as it exactly resembles the same letter of the Horiuzi palm-leaf MS.² We, however, prefer to read it as Im rather than I (Imdra = Skt. Indra). Like most of the epigraphic documents of

¹ Epig. Ind. I, Plate XVII, 1. 16; 11. 8 and 12.

² Bühler, Ind. Palaeo., Plate VI, 4, V.

this period independent long I is also conspicuous by its absence.

The sign of avagraha occurs once only in this inscription (1. 2), and is more cursive in form than the one which is to be found in the Gwalior Inscription of the year 933 1 . The sign of $vir\bar{a}ma$ occurs several times in connexion with the vowelless k, 2 t, and t, and stands as usual, in a slanting position below the consonant. The $Jihv\bar{a}m\bar{u}l\bar{v}ya$ (h), as well as the $Upadhm\bar{a}n\bar{v}ya$ (h) signs do not occur in this epigraph.

Dates in this inscription, are expressed in words, in numeral symbols, as well as in decimal figures. In the first six lines, the different samvats and tithis are at first expressed in words, and then by numeral symbols. But from line 7 downwards (excepting in 1. 24) all the dates are expressed in decimal figures. The syllable srô, which is one of the numeral symbols is written in ligature, e.g., samvatsrô, and stands for 'hundred.' Another point which calls for remark in this connexion is that the multiples of hundred are formed by placing the unit-figure a little below on the right-side, of the symbol in letter for that number. The vowel lri which is used to represent the number 10 is, however, not exactly identical in form with the one which is to be found, either in the Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahêndrapāla I,3 or in the Pratābgarh Inscription of the time of Mahêndrapāla II.4 A bindu i.e., 'zero' is also placed a little below on the right-hand side of the vowel lri. The numerical value of the different symbols figuring in this inscription is as follows:—

- (I) Srô=100
- (2) Anunāsika (facing the right) = 50

¹ Epig. Ind. I, Plate, XII, l. 5.

² Missing in l. 23 only.

³ Indian Antiquary, XV, facsimile-plate, l. 14.

⁴ Epig. Ind. XIV, facsimile-plate, 1. 13.

⁵ See 1. 2.

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- (3) $L_{ri}=10$
- (4) 0=9
- (5) $Hr\bar{a}=8$
- (6) Ja (without the top-stroke)¹ = 6.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the entire text is in prose. The violation of the grammatical rules, as well as loose construction, are the two prominent Regarding the language and features of the text. grammar in general, attention may be drawn to the fact that: first of all, neither of the following vowels viz., $\bar{\imath}$, \bar{u} , ri, ai, o, and au figures here as the initial letter of a word; secondly, anusvāra has, in most cases taken the place of the nasals; thirdly, proper regard has not been paid to the orthography of the language; fourthly, influence of the local vernacular of the age is traceable in the language to a remarkable degree; fifthly, common verbs are almost rare, and excepting bhavanti which occurs several times, our inscription is remarkable for the extreme dearth of the finite verbal forms; and lastly, the number of the verbal derivatives is greater in proportion than the number of the common verbs. Judging from the composition, it may be remarked that the compiler had a meagre knowledge of the language and of its grammar, in which he has drafted the record. Clerical mistakes, at the same time, are by no means scarce in this inscription.

In respect of **orthography** the following points call for remark:—

(I) substitution of the vowel a in place of \bar{a} , e.g., Kañchana throughout for Kañchana; Margaśira for Mārgaśira (Mārgaśirsha) l. I, also perhaps in l. 2, excepting in l. 14; (2) i for \bar{i} , e.g., Iśāna (also Isāna) for Īśāna ll. 25, 28, Jayamti for Jayantī l. 16, Iśvara for Īśvara

¹ See line 24.

11. II, I4, etc.; (3) \$\bar{i}\$ for \$i\$, e.g., avari throughout for avari, sita for sita 1. 6; (4) the vowel ri has often been used in place of r when the latter is joined with a consonant along with the vowel i or \bar{i} , e.g., kshatriya for kshatriya 11. 14. 16. 20, śri for śri, e.g., ll. II, 27, but in other lines it has been correctly spelt, patrikā for patrikā 1. 24; (5) substitution of anusvāra in place of the fifth letter of a varga, e.g., kumkuma for kunkuma 11. 5, 28, mamgala for mangala 11. 9, 19, 21, bhavamti for bhavanti 11. 9, 15, 19, 23, etc., abhyamtarê for abhyantarê 11. 12, 15, 18, 23, etc., vamţta for vanta 1. 27, Imdra for Indra 1. 10, etc., etc.; (6) tt for t, e.g., āghāṭṭa for āghāṭa throughout, excepting in 1. 4, bhāttaka for bhātaka 11. 10, 11, 21, 28, vāţţikā for vāţikā 1. 19, sphuttita for sphutita 1. 28, but it has been correctly spelt in 1. 5; (7) t for tt, e.g., patana for pattana throughout, excepting in line 4, utara for uttara 11. 7, 10, 13, 15, 19 etc., sampradata for sampradatta 11. 16, 24, 28, data for datta 1. 21, even in proper names, e.g., Haradata 1. 27, Isanadata and Isanadata for Isanadatta 11. 25, 28 (twice), upāta for upātta 1. 25; (8) dh for ddh, e.g., vridhyartham for vriddhyartham 1. 10; (9) ddh for dhv, e.g., talôrddha 11. 9, 15, 18, excepting in 1. 4, bhūmyarddha 11. 12, 13, 27, and bhūmyārddha 1. 26 for bhūmyūrdhva; (10) n for n, e.g., Kañchana for Kāñchana 1. 24, probably a clerical mistake, vanrina for vanrina (read anrina) 1. 25 (twice); (II) p for v, e.g., sthāpara for sthāvara 1. 28; (12) s for s, e.g., sīta for sita 1. 6; (13) s for s, e.g., Isāna for Īśāna 1. 28 (twice), but not in line 25, sālā for śālā 1. 9, dasa for daśa 1. 10, vimsôpaka for vimśôpaka 11. 11, 21, pradêsê for pradêsê 1. 15, visuddha for visuddha 11. 13, 27, correctly spelt in other places, vimsati for vimsati 1. 26, pārasvīyam for pārśvīyam 1. 26, but the dental s has not been used in 11. 12 and 27; (14) s for sh, e.g., puspa for pushpa 1. 28, but correct in 1. 5; (15) v for b, e.g., vahula for bahula throughout, Lamvakañchuka for Lambakañchuka 1. 3, vrihat for brihat throughout, vahvricha for bahvricha throughout, vrahmachārī for brahmachārī

throughout, unaspirated 'b' of the labial group does not figure in this inscription; (16) nm for mm, e.g., sanmārijana for sammārijana 1. 5, sanmatena for sammatena 11. 12, 18, 21: (17) consonants are almost invariably doubled after rwhen joined with it, e.g., Marggasira 11. I, 2, Marggasira 1. 14, mārgga throughout, Varkkaţa 1. 3, chāturvvaidya 11. 2, 8, etc., utkīrnnā and utkīrnnitā 11. 2, 7, vinirggata 1. 3, sauvarnnika 11. 5, 6, etc., sanmārijana 1. 5, anayôrnnāmnā 1. 3, vahirddakshina 11. 4, 5, etc., exceptions are very few, e.g., Śarkarākshi 1. 17, svayamārjitā 1. 18; (18) consonants are also doubled before r when joined with it, e.g., puttra, pauttra throughout, excepting in 1. 6, gôttra, pattra throughout, excepting in 1. 3, vattra throughout, āvārīttrayam 1. 26; (19) doubling of a consonant in the middle of a word, e.g., mahāijana for mahājana 11. 6, 20; (20) insertion of an unnecessary consonant as the initial letter of a word, e.g., māvārī (used for āvāri) 1. 26, rāghāṭṭā (used for āghāṭā) l. 27, also vaņrina (see below); (21) insertion of a consonant in the middle of a word, e.g., ādyêśā 1. 20 (read ādêśāt), in 11. 2 and 7 it has been correctly spelt; (22) dropping of a consonant, e.g., asaiva for asyaiva 11. 12, 23. Other orthographical peculiarities have been duly considered in the foot-notes.

The following words of lexical and philological interest deserve consideration: viz., (i) satka (also satkā), (ii) bhāṭṭaka, (iii) vaṇṛina, (iv) dhavalāṭana, (v) ṭpāraśvīya, and (vi) tti. (I) Satka, i.e., "belonging to" which occurs several times in this inscription, is after all a Dêśī word and not Sanskrit. The meaning of this word was, I believe, first ascertained by Prof. Kielhorn, which in his opinion "may be considered a secondary suffix conveying a possessive sense or expressing the meaning of the Genitive case." Besides the Siyadoni inscription where it occurs no less than thirteen times, it has also been traced in other

¹ Epig. Ind. I, 164.

inscriptions1 of the mediæval period, and also in the Jain texts. (2) The word bhāttaka has been used in the sense of "rent," as well as of "respectable person," and accordingly corresponds to both bhātaka and bhatta, though the latter form is also to be found in this inscription. In such passages as "Kôkākādibhih sarvvabhāttakêna nivêditamiti" (1. 22), and "Kôkākādibhih sarvvabhāttakênakravakrītam " (1. 21), it undoubtedly stands for bhatta; but in other passages like "bhāttakanyāsêna.....pradattam" or "bhāttakam yatmutpadyatê" (read yadutpadyatê), it convevs the sense of 'rent' (bhātaka) only. (3) Vanrina in our inscription stands for the Sanskrit anrina, i.e., "free from debt." the difference between the two forms being (a) the insertion of a consonant as the initial letter, and (b) the violation of the natva rule. The euphonic consonant v appears to have been inserted between two vowels, viz.: the final vowels of the preceding words (pitāmahô 1. 25, saha 1. 25), and the initial vowel of anrina, for the purpose of avoiding a hiatus. (4) Dhavalāpana (11. 5, 28) is presumably a mistake for Skt. dhavalalêpana,2 i.e., "whitening," or "whitewashing," but may also stand for Skt. dhavalepana, in which case the preceding part of the compound, is to be taken in the sense of the plant Grislea Tomentosa (Madhura-tvacha). But whether it refers to whitewashing or besmearing with the paste of the abovementioned plant, it is evident from the compound itself,

It occurs in the following inscriptions, viz.: (1) Bāmnêrā Plate of Kêlhana-dêva (Epig. Ind. XIII, 210), (2) Sādadī Inscription of Jôjaladêva (ibid. XI, 28),
 Mount Abu Inscription, No. 2 (ibid. VIII, 219-220), (4) Sunak Grant of Karņa-dêva (ibid. I, 317) (5) Mahôba Plates of Paramardidêva (ibid. XVI, 12), etc.

² The correct form in our opinion is dhavalalepana. One of the two consecutive syllables, probably the latter, having the common consonant l seems to have been dropped through the phenomenon, commonly known as 'Haplology,' which plays a considerable part in phonetic change. The lengthening of the vowel a in the syllable $l\bar{a}$ is perhaps due to the preservation of quantity. As the compound occurs twice in this inscription in the very same form, it is hard for us to believe it to be a mistake of the scribe.

that the author has made a confusion between the two verbal roots: lip and lap, which are widely different in sense, and that he has used the causative form of the latter, in place of that of the former. (5) Pāraśvīyam (11. 12, 27; also pārasvīyam 1. 26) corresponds to Skt. pārśvīyam. The insertion of an extra vowel is due to 'Anaptyxis' (Svarabhakti). (6) Tti (1. 15) is nothing but a modified form of Skt. tri, i.e., "three." The formation of this word is due to 'Progressive Assimilation.' In line 18, it has been further softened into ti, by dropping the initial consonant.

Little or rather no attention has been paid by the author to the grammar of this prasasti, which is therefore sadly disfigured by mistakes of various nature, occurring almost in every line. The following may be pointed out as specimens thereof: -(I) mistakes in elementary Sandhi: e.g., êkūnashashtyādhikê, which stands evidently for êkônashashtyadhikê, l. I. similarly samtatyanukramêna for samtatyanukramêna 1. II, ashtanavadādhikê for ashţanavatyadhikê 1. 6, chêva for chaiva 1. 21, praśastêyam for praśastiriyam 1. 2. vatmutpadyatê for vadutpadyatê 1. 28, pūrvvatô for pūrvvata 1. 4, paśchimata for paśchimatô 1. 23, etc.; (2) sometimes extraordinary Sandhis are resorted to: e.g., gôshti (thì) bhirkrayakrītāh for gôshti(thī)bhih krayakrītāh 1. 14, asyāghāttā for asyā āghāṭā 1. 9, āvāryāghāṭṭā 1. 15, and āvāryārāghāṭṭā 11. 4, 18 (-tā in 1. 4) for āvāryā āghāṭā, pūrvvata 1. 23, dakshinatô ll. 15, 19, paśchimatô l. 27, and utaratô l. 13, for pūrvvatah, dakshinatah, paśchimatah and uttaratah respectively; (3) sometimes Sandhis have been persistently neglected: e.g., Bhatta Imdra 1. 10, Bhatta Iśvara 11. II, I4, and Bhatta Isana 1. 25, for Bhattendra, Bhatteśvara and Bhattêśāna respectively, vanik Ujuvāka 1. 10 for vaņig Ujuvāka, vaņik mahājanêna 1. 5, for vaņig or vanin mahājanêna, similarly, vanik Mādhavêna 1. 24 for vanig or vanin Mādhavêna, dakshinatah 1. 9, for dakshinatô, pūrvvatah 11. 13, 15, for pūrvvatô, etc.; (4)

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sometimes wrong cases and case-endings have been used: e.g., krayakrītāh 1. 14 for krayakrītam; vikrītā 1. 14 for vikrītam; sampradattāścha l. 14 for sampradattañ cha, samêtām 1. 4 for samêtā, dêvyā throughout, for dêvyai, hastê 1. 28 for hastāt, varmmêna throughout, for varmmaņā, āvāryaurāghāţţā 1. 13 for āvāryôrāghāţä, likhitam 1. 7 for likhitā (read likhitêyam), āvāryām 1. 26 for āvārīnām, asya 1. 13 for anayôh, vra(bra)hmachārinā 1. 17 for brahmachārinah, etc., etc.; (5) sometimes the case-endings have altogether been omitted: e.g., suta 1. 12 for sutêna, asya Achyutasivaputtrau 1. 17 for asya Achyutasivasya puttrau, vimsôpakā dasa datvā l. 11 for vimsôpakān daśa datvā, mātu bhattinī Mahādêvī sanmatêna 1. 18 for māturbhaţţinīmahādêvyāh sammatêna, etc.; (6) visarga has been dropped in many places: e.g., Bhaddāka 1. 3, Gôsukaputtra 1. 3, vahisphôţa 1. 4, (read vahih or vahis sphôṭa), suta 1. 8, bhūmi 1, 10, Iśvara 1. 12, Amākayô 1. 13, pattrai 1. 26, bhūmê 1. 27, etc., etc.; (7) 'asya' and 'amīshām' stands for the feminine 'asyāh' and 'amūshām' respectively, see 11. 4, 9, 15, 18, and 26.; (8) wrong gerundial participial, and causative forms are also not uncommon: e.g., êkamatībhūtvā throughout, for êkamatībhūya, prativasamāna 11. 11, 14 (-mānah in 1. 3), prativasamānau 1. 20, and prativasamānā 1. 17, for prativasan, prativasantau, and prativasantah respectively. abhilêkhāpya 1. 3 for abhilêkhya; (9) instances of wrong compounds are also to be found, e.g., tatha chêva (read chaiva) Nāgabhāryā Lachchhikā tathā Mādhavabhāryā-Sampadābhyām sanmatêna (read sammatêna) 1. 21, Mahādêvamātā Iyattā sanmatêna 1. 12, bhatta Chchhitarāka Amākayô (read Amākayôh) 1. 13, daņdapāśika Amarāditya dūtakavachanāt 1. 2, etc.

Apart from the ungrammatical language and the defective style of the author, what strikes us most is the absence of an uniformity in the form of some of the proper names occurring in this inscription. As an illustration of this, the following may be pointed out: Drava

and Dravya; Divākara and Dīyāka; Bhadraprakāśa and Bhaddāka; Kanaka and Kanchana; Sahāka and Sāhāka. Kanchana appears to be a modified form of Skt. Kānchana, and is therefore, evidently a synonym of Kanaka. Another interesting feature of this inscription is that more than fifty per cent. of the proper names end in 'ka'. Thus besides the two corrupted forms: viz., Bhaddāka and Dīyāka, we have a fairly long list of names like: Amāka, Anmavāka, Ichchhuka, Ujuvāka, Kôkāka, Kamalānaka, Kavilāka, Gônāka, Gôsuka, Chchhitarāka,¹ Pisutuvāka, Māumka, Savachandāka, Sahulāka, etc., and also Lachchhikā, which is undoubtedly a vernacular form of Skt. Lakshmī.² Other proper names are, however, mostly Sanskrit in form, and are generally, the attributive names of Vishņu, Šiva, and such other Hindu divinity.

Our inscription, which may be classed with the donative epigraphs of ancient India, records a series of endowments made from time to time for the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ of the goddess Śrī-Kanaka or Kāñchana-Śrī-Dêvī. The very first endowment was made by two merchants, viz.: Bhadraprakāśa and Māumka, along with the third—a banker of the Sauvarnika community (1. 5), whose name appears to be Drava or Dravya, from the rent of which the materials for the daily worship of the deity are to be provided by the committee $(g\hat{o}shth\bar{\imath})$ entrusted with the management of the same (1. 28). The immovable property with which the worship was endowed comprised shops as well as buildings which were purchased mostly by Drava

¹ Another form of this name is Chchhittaraka. Epig. Ind. I, 177.

² Various forms of this name are to be found, in the epigraphic records. Thus besides the regular Sanskrit forms: viz., Mahālakshmīdēvī (Epig. Ind. Vol. viii, Supplement to Northern List, p. 10), Lakshmīvatī (ibid. p. 11), etc., we have corrupted forms like: Lachchhiyavvā (Epig. Ind. vol. viii, Supplement to Southern List p. 12), Lachhinika (-kā) (Junnar Ins. No. 14, Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples, Archaeo. Sur. West. India, Vol. iv), and Lachchhikā (see above). Other Prākritic forms: viz., Lakkhī, Lachhamī, etc., are also to be met with in literature.

himself. The dates occurring in this inscription are ten in number, of which no less than seven refer to the purchases of buildings. Likewise the four boundaries of each individual property have been described with an extra-scrupulous care, mentioning at the same time the names of the persons to whom it originally belonged. Our inscription is thus a collective copy of several deeds executed in favour of the temple, so that their purposes may be given effect to by the "gôshṭhī" placed in charge of the trust-properties. The name of the scribe does not occur in this inscription, probably for want of space.

The inscription records the following gifts:-

- (I) In the year 258 H.E.¹ (864-865 A.D.) during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhôjadêva a shop was purchased for the goddess Śrī-Kanaka or Kāñchana-Śrī-Dêvī. In pursuance of the system of the time, a certain dūtaka by the name of Amarāditya, the police-officer (daṇḍapāśika) of the locality along with the chāturvedin brahmins (constituting the sabhā of Tattānandapura) sanctioned the gift, and permitted the same to be recorded and engraved. The record appears in the first six lines of the inscription.
- (2) Again, in the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.) in the month of Chaittra (March-April), a date which falls in the reign of Mahêndrapāla I, purchases of immovable property, and such other transactions, which were made in behalf of the same goddess, in course of the years 943 V.E. (886 A.D.), 280 H.E. (886-887 A.D.), 282 H.E. (888-889 A.D.), and 296 H.E. (902-903 A.D.) were recorded and engraved by order of Kaluvā, the *dūtaka*.
- (3) Again, somewhere between the months of Chaittra and Jyaishtha, of the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), the buildings belonging to the descendants of Manigalavarmma, the rent of which was assigned to the goddess Śri-

Kanaka-Śrī-Dêvī, by common consent, by four donors, viz. Mādhava, Madhusūdana, Kêśava and Dêvanāga were sold about 19 years later, after their time, to Drava, by two sons of Madhusūdana, viz., Kôkāka and Padmanābha,1 with the consent of the wife of Nāga (i.e., Dêvanāga), as well as of Mādhava. The original endowment to the goddess was made in the year 943 V.E. (886 A.D.), but was actually registered as late as in the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), in the month of Chaittra (March-April). But as the inheritors sold them to Drava, a fresh occasion for registration arose, and it was executed in the same year, i.e., 208 H.E., in the month of Jyaishtha (May-June). This time Kavilaka, the dūtaka, carried the orders for the drawing up of the agreement, but it is evident from the inscription, that it was not engraved in the month of Ivaishtha (May-June).

- (4) Our inscription also records another gift: the purchase of a building, belonging to Mādhava, of the Gandhavaṇika community made in the year 261 H.E. (867-868 A.D.), in the month of Āshāḍha (June-July). But the name of the *dūtaka* is not given.²
- (5) The last transaction recorded is another purchase by Drava of the property of a certain brahmin named Īśānadatta, in the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), in the month of Bhādrapada (August-September). But here also the name of the $d\bar{u}taka$ is not mentioned.

¹ We learn from the inscriptional passage in question, that the original endowment in the shape of buildings, made by four persons, referred to above, was afterwards purchased by Drava, but there is no mention that it was sold. The word vikrītam, which is expected immediately after the word navanavatipattrēņa seems to have been dropped by an oversight, and is one of the few sad omissions which are to be found in this inscription. Fortunately for us. the construction and the context of the passage clearly point to this textual error, which may also be detected by a comparison of the concluding portion of the record of this gift, with the same of similar transactions, which were made in other years, in favour of the goddess.

 $^{^2}$ This particular transaction ought to have been recorded by Kaluvā, the $d\bar{u}taka$ (see above).

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The inscription is alleged to have been incised in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhôjadêva (Bhôja I), son of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Rāmabhadradêva, evidently of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, in the year 259, on the 10th of the dark fortnight, in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. It is now admitted on all hands, that the period of administration of Bhôjadêva extended, roughly speaking, from 840 to 890 A.D., and that after his demise, he was succeeded by his son Mahārājādhirāja Mahêndrapāla I, alias Mahêndrāyudha, who ruled from 890 to 908 A.D. circ. The available epigraphic records of the time of Bhôja I are dated in the Śaka, the Vikrama and the Harsha eras, and supply the following dates:—

Table I.

Daulatpura Grant Deogarh Ins.	 -	Vikrama			
Gwalior Ins. No. I	919	Vikrama Vikrama			
Gwalior Ins. No. II	932	Vikrama			
Deogarh Ins.		Śaka		862	
Peheva Ins		Harsha			

The present inscription furnishes us with the undermentioned dates, which, for the sake of convenience have been arranged in the following way:—

Table II.

I	258	Harsha	Āshāḍha	864-865 A.D.	June-July.
2	259	Harsha	Mārgaśīrsha	865-866 ,,	NovDec.
3	261	Harsha	Āshāḍha	867-868 ,,	June-July.
4	943	' Vikrama	Pausha	886 ,,	DecJan.
5	280	Harsha	Phālguna	886-887 ,,	FebMar.
6	282	Harsha	Mārgaśīrsha	888-889 ,,	NovDec.
7	296	Harsha	Bhādra	902-903 ,,	AugSept.
8	298	Harsha	Chaittra	904-905 ,,	MarApril
9	298	Harsha	Jyaishtha	904-905 ,,	May-June
10	298	Harsha	Bhādra	904-905 ,,	AugSept.

It is to be noted that the inscription itself does not specify the eras in which its different dates are given, but if we assume, in accordance with the epigraphic practice of the time, that both the Vikrama and the Harsha eras were then used in the reckoning of dates, we find, as is shown in Table No. II, that the assumption is justified by

the results of our calculation. Thus nine of the ten dates may be taken to refer to the Harsha era, and the remaining one to the Vikrama era, so as to bring them near to each other, and falling within the life-time of two successive kings. What interests us most is the occurrence of such later dates as 261, 943, 280, 282, 296, and even 208, though the inscription is alleged to have been incised [brasastīvam (Sic) utkīrnnā] in the year 259. This is, however, not all. We must not fail to notice that each of the aforesaid dates is noted as atīta samvat, i.e., 'the year gone by,' and accordingly, the inscription cannot have been engraved in any case in the year 259. The earliest inscription of the time of Mahêndrapāla I is dated 574 of the Valabhi Samvat corresponding to 893-894 A.D., and his rule extended, as we have noticed already, from 890 to 908 A.D. circ. Thus the samvat 298 of the Harsha era, the latest date occurring in this inscription, which corresponds to 904-905 A.D. falls not in the reign of Bhôjadêva as the compiler of the prasasti wants us to believe, but in the reign of his successor Mahêndrapāla I. When and in whose reign was, then, the inscription really engraved?

Taking it for granted as a working hypothesis that the inscription was actually incised during the reign of Bhôja I, it is to be admitted either that his rule extended even beyond the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), or that all the dates, with the exception of the samvats 258 and 259 are incorrect. With regard to the first point, it may be remarked that on the basis of the evidence available from the copper-plate inscription of the Chālukya Mahāsāmanta Balavarman, the ruler of Nakshisapura (in Kathiawar) and feudatory of Mahêndrāyudha (Mahêndrapāla I) of Kanauj, it is hard for us to believe that Bhôja I was

¹ Nachrichten der K. Gesellsch. der Wiss. Zu Göttingen, 1904, p. 204; Epig. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 6.

ruling even in the year 893 A.D. (Valabhi Samvat 574). Regarding the second, we must not fail to notice that from the year 261 H.E. (867-868 A.D.) to 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), shops and buildings were purchased by the Sauvarnika banker Drava on behalf of the goddess Śri-Kanaka-Śrī-Dêvī. It will really be a strain on our imagination, if we are to admit that most of the dates are incorrect, when it is evident in the inscription, that the purchases were made by a single man in the course of nearly thirtyseven years of his life-time, and when the names of the dūtakas, who were directly concerned with the work of registration appear no less than three times in the body of the text of our inscription, to vouchsafe the final execution of such transfers. All these facts taken together prove conclusively that there can be no mistakes so far as the dates are concerned.

It may be argued, however, that the year 259 H.E. is incorrect, and that Bhôja I was alive even in the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.) though he abdicated the throne some time ago on behalf of his son Mahêndrapāla. And possibly for this reason the inscription has come to be associated, though quite accidentally, with his name, rather than with the name of his successor. Against this hypothesis it may be remarked that first of all, either this or any other available inscription does not afford directly or indirectly any tangible evidence whatsoever, regarding Bhôja's abdication; and secondly, it can easily be assumed that such gross historical blunders can possibly be committed by an ignorant and misinformed donor, or by a disinterested compiler, but certainly not by the dūtakas, who are at least expected to be well informed as to the name of the ruler of the land, in whose service they have been working. Arguments like these appear in every way to be unsound, and cannot be worked up into a consistent theory.

There are no fewer than two ways by which this anomaly can be explained. One of them is to assume that

a portion of this inscription was engraved in the year 259 H.E. (865-866 A.D.) during the administration of Bhôja I, but other portions were added later on. It might also be that the mention of the different dates, for the different gifts brought together for record in one and the same inscription, indicates that there was a transfer to stone of a copy of all the deeds made on less durable materials, later than 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.). The latter conclusion seems to be borne out by the facts, which we should not fail to notice, that of the two words likhitam and utkirnna (written and engraved) which occur twice in this inscription in connexion with the two dūtakas, viz., Amarāditya and Kaluvā, the word likhitam is alone used in the case of the third dūtaka Kavilāka. This clearly shows that there were two distinct operations in connexion with the gifts, viz.: (i) writing down their deeds on ordinary materials, and (ii) inscribing them on stone. The occurrence of such dates as are later than the year 259 H.E. is possibly due to either of these two causes.

If our inscription, therefore, is to be dated later than the year 298 H.E. (904-905 A.D.), it should be assigned to the reign of Mahêndrapāla I, and not to the reign of his father Bhôja I, of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

Apart from the names of the two successive rulers: Rāmabhadra and his son Bhôja I, and a series of dates falling in the reign of their immediate successor Mahêndrapāla I, this inscription does not yield any new evidence which from the point of view of the political history of the period may be counted as important. The only other notable point on which our inscription throws some light is the emigration and settlement of the subjects of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings in the Gangetic provinces, with the expansion of their territory. We are told that two merchants, viz., Bhadraprakāśa and Māumka came from Bhillamāla (Bhinmāl), and settled at Tattānandapura which can safely be identified with the modern Ahar—

the find-spot of this inscription. Bhillamala, we know for certain, was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihara kings till the time of Nāgabhata II alias Nāgāvalôka, who after defeating Chakrāvudha, the ruler of Pañchāla, and the protégé of Dharmapāla, King of Bengal and Behar, fixed his headquarters at Kanauj. With the transfer of the seat of the government, those two merchants, perhaps purely out of commercial motive, migrated from Western India, and settled near the new capital. It is probable that they were Gurjaras themselves, and that their familynames Varkkata and Lambakañchuka refer to the different sections of the Gurjara stock. Again, the term rājakshatriya, i.e., 'royal Kshatriyas' (1. 14), which appears to have been purposely used in this inscription, to make a clear distinction between the indigenous kshatrivas, and the foreign ruling tribes, who were also admitted into the Hindu society as kshatriyas, suggests that the merchant Sahāka, the son of Ichchhuka is also another foreigner, presumably a Gurjara, who had emigrated and settled in this part of the country. Instances of emigration from Western India during this period are, in fact, not uncommon in the epigraphic documents. One of the two inscriptions of the Vaillabhattasvamin temple at Gwalior bears a clear testimony to the fact that Nagarabhatta, father of Vāillabhatta (margrave in the service of King Rāmabhadradêva alias Rāmadêva), had emigrated from Anandapura (Vadnagar)—'the ornament of the lovely Lāṭamandala' (Gujrāt).1

Two classes of coin have been mentioned in this inscription, viz., *Dramma* (l. 3) and *Vimsôpaka* (ll. 10, 11, 21), which were apparently current in the reign of Bhôja I and perhaps afterwards. Several kinds of *Dramma*

¹ Epig. Ind. I, p. 157. The Gujärs form an important section of the population of the Bulandshahr district even in our days. (See District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, Vol. V, Bulandshahr. pp. 79, 89, 144.)

have been noted in the epigraphic records,¹ which were issued by different kings belonging to the mediaeval dynasties. But the particular variety referred to in our inscription is, undoubtedly, Śrīmad-Ādivarāha-dramma, a class of silver coins² struck and circulated by Bhôja I, who is otherwise known as Śrīmad-Ādivarāha: 'the fortunate primaeval boar' (from the Gwalior inscription).³ Vimsôpaka, which is nothing but a sub-division of the Dramma, being one-twentieth part of it in value, here perhaps refers to Varāhakaya (Varāhakīya)-vimsôpaka as mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription.⁴ The expression Varāhakaya in all probability tends to show that the Vimsôpakas constituted the copper currency of Bhôja-Ādivarāha.

Epigraphic records considered as a whole, have highly furthered our knowledge in the domain of the religious history of India, by bringing to our notice many new and interesting names of the divinities, both male and female, of the Hindu pantheon. Our inscription is, however, somewhat interesting from the socio-religious point of view. No fewer than five of the Hindu deities have been mentioned here. Of these the only male god in favour of whom some endowments are recorded appears to be Vishnu, mentioned under two different names: viz., Śrī-Dasāvatāra-Dêva and Vāmanasvāmi-Dêva. The latter evidently refers to the descent of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation, and we know for certain that it has also found a place in the list of the different names under which the images of the same god were set up, as recorded in the Siyadoni inscription.5 The remaining four are

¹ Epig. Ind. 1, pp. 174, 175, 176, 177 (Vigrahapālasatka-dramma; Vigraha-tungīya-dramma; Vigrahapāliya-dramma; Vigrahapāla-dramma); ibid. I, pp. 175, 178 [Varāha-dra (an abbreviation of Śrīmad Ādivarāha-dramma); Śrīmad-Ādī (di)-Varāha-dramma]; ibid. I, 187 (Here dharmma, in dharmmadvayal. 12, and in dharmmaikasya l. 14 should be read as dramma. It also refers to Śrīmad Ādivarāha-dramma); ibid. I, 173, 178 (Panchiyaka-dramma) etc.

² Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I, 241.

³ Epig. Ind. I, 156. 4 Epig. Ind. I, 174. 5 Epig. Ind. I, p. 176.

apparently, the names of the goddesses, viz., (I) Śri-Sarvvamamgalā-Dêvī, (2) Śrī-Gandha-Śrī-Dêvī, (3) Śrī-Kanaka or Kañchana-Śrī-Dêvī, and (4) Gangā-Dêvī. Śrī-Śarvvamamgalā-Dêvī, i.e., 'All-Auspicious-goddess,' is identical with Pārvatī, Śiva's consort, and is worshipped by the followers of the Sakti cult as 'Divine-mother.' Srī-Gandha-Śrī-Dêvī is undoubtedly the same goddess as Gandhêsvarī Dêvī; the impersonation of perfumery. She is the tutelary deity of the Gandhavanikas, the dealers in incense and perfumery, and is worshipped only by them even in the present days. Śrī-Kanaka or Kañchana-Śrī-Dêvî appears to be the personification of gold as Kanaka and Kañchana (Kāñchana) evidently means the same, and is probably identical with Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. We are not, however, sure of the fact whether Kanaka or Kānchana Dêvī as a separate goddess from Lakshmī is still being worshipped by the Suvarnavanikas of our days.

Of the three geographical names occurring in this inscription, Bhillamala (Bhilmal or Bhinmal) is well known to the historians, as being the former seat of the government of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty. It is otherwise known as Śrīmāl, and is about 50 miles to the north-west of Mount Abu, in Rajputana. Of the remaining two, Śrī Tattānandapura, in my opinion, ought to be identified with the modern Ahar, in the Bulandshahr District. The presence of numerous mounds in and about Ahar, and fragments of ancient stone sculpture, which have already been discovered within the town, bear sufficient testimony to the fact that Tattanandapura was undoubtedly one of the populous and prosperous towns of Antarvêdī¹ prior to the advent of Islam, and that Ahar has been established on the ruined site of that ancient settlement. The third name, Śrī Madapāpura, I am afraid.

¹ Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, pp. 69-70.

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cannot be definitely identified at present, for want of epigraphic evidence, or such other reliable data.

In conclusion, I may add that, as suggested by Mr. Dobbs, a systematic excavation in Ahar by the Archaeological Department is likely to result in important historical finds.¹

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Transcript.

- I. [Ôm || Parama-]bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-param-êśvara-Śrī-Rāmabhadra-dêva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-param-êśvara-Śrī-Bhôja-dêva-pādānām = abhipravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyê samvatsara-śata-dvayê êkūna-shashṭy-ādhikê¹ Marg-gaśira²-māsa-vahula-paksha-dāśamyām samvat 100³×2, 50,⁴ 9.⁵
- 2. [Ma]rggaśira⁶ [va di 10 asyā]m samvatsara-māsadivasa-pūrvvāyān=tithāv=iha Śrī-Tattānandaparê⁷ śrī-mad=ārya-chātur-vvaidy-ādêśād⁸=daṇḍapāśika Amarāditya⁹-dūtaka-vachanāt=praśast=êyam¹⁰=utkīrṇṇā||[1*] Tathā \mathfrak{s}^{11} tīta samvatsara-śata-dvayê ashṭa-pañchāśad-adhikê Āshāḍha-māsa-vahula-paksha-daśamyām samvat 100¹²×2, 50,¹³ 8,¹⁴ Āshāḍha va di 10¹⁵† asyām samva-

¹ Read êkônashashtyadhikê.

² Read Mārgaśira or Mārgaśīrsha.

³ Expressed by a symbol (Sr6)

⁴ Expressed by a symbol (Anunāsika facing the right).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol (6)

⁶ Read Mārgaśira or Mārgaśīrsha.

⁷ Read Tattanandapurê.

⁸ Probably châturvvaidyasabhadêśād has to be restored; cf. ll. 7, 20.

⁹ Read daņdapāśik-Āmarāditya.

¹⁰ Read praśastiriyam.

¹¹ This avagraha stroke is redundant.

¹² Expressed by a symbol (Srô).

¹³ Expressed by a symbol (Anunasika facing the right).

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol (Hrā).

¹⁵ Expressed by a symbol (Lri).

[†] Here we find a bindu.

3. -tsara-māsa-diva[sa-pūrvvāyān=tith]āv=iha Śrī-Tattānandapurê prativasamānaḥ¹ Śrī-Bhillamāla-vinirg-gata-vaṇig=Varkkaṭa-jātīya-Bhadraprakāśa-nāma² Bhaddāka Anmavāka-puttra tathā³ Lamva(mba)kañchuka-vaṇig=jātīya-Māumkaḥ Gôsuka-puttra⁴[|*] anayôr=nnāmnā patram=abhilêkhāpya⁵ Śrīmat=Kañchana-Śrī-Dêvyām⁶ drammaiḥ krayakrīt=āvārī²ih=aiva pattan-ābhya-

4. -ntarê pūrvva-ha[tṭa-madhya-pradêśê].....

*m [tal-ô]rdhva-samast-ôchchhraya-samêtām³
[|*] asy=āvāryār=āghāṭā¹⁰ yattra bhavanti pūrvvatô¹¹
ih=aiva pattanād=vahir=ddakshiṇasyām diśi yā Nandā
-bhagavatī-Dêvī tasyās=satkam pakv-êshṭakam gṛiham
dakshiṇatô bhaṭṭa-Gôṇāka-vahisphôṭa¹²-satk-āvārī¹³ paśchimatô haṭṭa-mārggaḥ¹⁴ uttaratô Vāmana-svā-

¹ Read prativasau.

² Read Bhadraprakāśônāma.

³ Read Bhaddākô(5)nmavākaputtrastathā.

⁴ Read Māumkô-Gôsukaputtrah.

⁵ Read abhilêkhya.

⁶ Read Dêvyai.

⁷ Read āvārir.

⁸ Here about eight aksharas are gone.

⁹ Read samêtā.

¹⁰ Read asyā āvāryā āghāţā.

¹¹ Read pûrvvata.

¹² Read vahis sphôţa or vahih sphôţa.

¹³ Read āvārih.

¹⁴ Read mārga.

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5. [-mi]-dê[va]-satk - āvārī¹ [*] ê[vain]
² [pa]ttanād=vahir=ddakshiṇasyām
diśi Śrī-Kañchana-Śrī-Dêvy-āyatanasya ih=aivaŚrīmat=
Tātānandapura ³ -nivāsi- sauvarņņika-vaņik ⁴ =mahā-
janêna ⁵ Bhadra-Māumkābhyām cha sadā sanmārj-
jan-ôpalêpana ⁶ -[ku]mkuma ⁷ -pushpa-dhūpa-pradīpa-dhvajā
-dhavalāpana ⁸ -sindūra-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-
6
9 pratipāditā yatô=(s)dya-prabhṛiti samasta-sau-
varnnika-mahājianêna ¹⁰ puttra-pautrātvava ¹¹ -sahitêna

[2*] Tath=ātīta samvatsara-śata-dvayê ashṭa-navad= ādhikê¹² Chaittra-mäsa-śīta¹³-paksha-ashṭamyān samva-

yath=ābhilikhita-pālan=êyam karttavy=êti

¹ Read avarih.

² Here 14 aksharas are gone. We might very suitably supply the lacuna by reading: chaturāghāṭṭa(ṭa)viśuddhā āvārī (rih) ihaiva.

³ Read Tattanandapura.

⁴ The merchant referred to is Drava (or Dravya).

⁵ Read either vaņig mahājanêna or vaņin mahājanêna.

⁶ Read sammārjjanôpalēpana.

⁷ Read kunkuma.

⁸ Read dhavalalêpana, cf. 1. 28.

⁹ Here about 24 aksharas are gone.

¹⁰ Read mahājanêna.

¹¹ Read pautrānvaya.

¹² Read ashţanavatyadhikê.

¹³ Read sita.

¹ Traces of the vowelless t and of the numerals are visible on the stone.

² Here about 18 aksharas are gone, but the superscribed ra of the last akshara, as well as the sign of the medial ā, which has been treated ornamentally are very clear. The lacuna may be filled up thus: Chaittra su di 8 asyām samvatsara-māsa-divasa-pū[rvvā-].

³ Read uttarasabhādêśāddūtaka.

⁴ Read likhitêyam.

⁵ Read Tathātīta.

⁶ In the lacuna the name Maingalavarmma is expected, cf. ll. 9 and 21.

⁷ Here about 16 aksharas are gone.

⁸ Restore Sarvvasa, cf. l. 21.

⁹ Read sutô Nagô. 10 Read sutô Madhavô(s)sya.

¹¹ Read Madhusūdanas.

¹² Read sutô Gôvindô(5)sya.

¹³ Read sutah Kêśavas.

¹⁴ Read sutô.

¹⁵ Read Dêvanagah.

¹⁶ Read chatvārôpyêtayêkamatībhūya.

[†] It appears that the scribe at first wrote $d\tilde{a}$ by mistake but afterwards corrected it into ma.

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- 9. -dya-sāmānya-bha[ṭṭa].....¹[-bhūmi²] asmadīya-pitāmaha-Mamgala-varmmēṇa³ navanavati -pattrēṇa gṛihītā⁴ svayam kārita⁵ pūrvv-ābhimukha -pakv-ēshṭakam=apavaraka-dvayam⁶ viśālaka-stambha -sālā-tal-ôrddham² samast-ôchchhraya-samētam pūrvva -dvāra-bhôgya(m)m³[|*] asy=āghāṭṭā⁰ yattra bhavamti¹⁰ pūrvvataḥ ku-rathyā dakshiṇa-
- 10. -taḥ¹¹ Vijaṭṭa-satkā-gṛiha-bhūmi¹² paśchimatô bhaṭṭa-Imdra¹³-satkā-gṛiha-bhūmi¹⁴ utaratô¹⁵ vaṇik Uju-vāka¹⁶-gṛiha(m)m [|*] êvam chatur-āghāṭṭa¹⁷-viśuddham gṛiham ¹⁶Sôma-grahaṇê Gamgā-Dêvyām snātvā mātā-pit-trôr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśôbhiḥ vṛidhy-artham¹⁶ pratigraha-pattrêṇa dasa-vimśôpakā māsa-pradêya bhāṭ-ṭaka-nyāsê-²⁰

IIO

¹ Traces of the following aksharas are visible on the stone: Sarbhoka(?) satkā-griha-

² Read bhūmim.

³ Read varmmanā.

⁴ Read grihītvā.

⁵ Read kāritam.

⁶ Read pakvêshţakāpavarakadvayam.

⁷ Read viśalastambhaśalatalôrdhvam.

⁸ Insert ayachchhan.

⁹ Read asyā āghāţā.

¹⁰ Read bhavanti.

¹¹ Read dakshinatô

¹² Read bhūmih.

¹³ Read bhatt Endra.

¹⁴ Read bhumir.

¹⁵ Read uttaratô.

¹⁶ Read vanig Ujuvaka.

¹⁷ Read aghāta.

¹⁸ Insert êtaih.

¹⁹ Read puņyayaśô(5)bhivriddhyartham.

²⁰ Read daśavimśôpakamāsapradêyabhāṭakanyāsêna.

- I2. Mahādêva-puttra⁷ asaiva⁸ suta⁹ Mahādêva-mātā Iyaṭṭā-sanmatêna¹⁰ ih=aiva patan-ābhyaṁtarê¹¹ pūrvva -dakshiṇa-dig=vibhāgê svakīya-krayakrītā¹² ubhaya -saptā-viṁśati-hasta-pramāṇā gṛiha-bhūmy-arddhaṁ¹³ dakshiṇa-pāraśvīyaṁ¹⁴ paśchim-ābhimukhaṁ pakv-êshṭa-kaṁ gṛihaṁ dakshiṇ=ābhimukhā āvārī-dvayaṁ¹⁵ samasta apava-

¹ Read Śrī-Dêvyai

² Read santatyanukramėna

³ Read bhātaka.

⁴ Read vimsôpakān.

⁵ Read prativasan.

⁶ Read bhatt Êśvarô.

⁷ Read puttrô.

⁸ Read (5) syaiva.

⁹ Read sutêna.

¹⁰ Read Mahādêvamātr Iyattāsammatêna.

¹¹ Read pattanābhyantarê.

¹² Read krayakritam.

¹³ Read saptavimsatihastapramanagrihabhumyurdhvam.

¹⁴ Read pārśvīyam.

¹⁵ Read dakshinabhimukhavaridvayam.

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- 13. -rakaiḥ samast-ôchchhraya-samêtam¹ ²[|*] asya gṛih-āvāryaur=āghāṭṭā³ yattra bhavanti pūrvvataḥ⁴ bhaṭṭa-Chchhitarāka-Amākayô-satka-gṛiha-bhūmi⁵ dak-shiṇatô vṛi(bṛi)had=rathyā paśchimataḥ ku-rathyā utaratô⁶ Sahulāka-satka-gṛiha-bhūmy-arddham¹ utara-pāraśvīyam⁵ [|*] êvam chatur-āghāṭṭa-visuddham⁰ gṛiha-bhūmy-arddham¹⁰ gṛih-āvārī¹¹- dvaya-samêtam
- 14. Śrī-Kanaka-Śrī-Dêvyā¹² Dravyêṇa gôshṭibhir¹³= krayakrītāḥ¹⁴ [|*] bhaṭṭa-Iśvar-ādibhiḥ¹⁵ navanavati-pattrêṇa vikrītā¹⁶ saṃpradattāś¹²=cha 🍀 [5*] Tath= ātīta saṃvat 282 Mārggaśira va di 11 asyāṁ tithāv=iha Śrī-Tattānaṁdapurê prativasamāna¹³ rāja-kshatṛiy-ānvayaḥ¹⁰ vaṇik Sahāka Ichchhuka-puttra ih=aiva

II2

¹ Read samastāpavarakasamastôchchhravasamêtaii.

² The word vyakrinita is expected here.

³ Read anayôh grihāvāryôrāghāṭā.

⁴ Read pūrvvatô.

⁵ Read bhatta-Chchhitarak-Amakayôssatkagrihabhumir.

⁶ Read uttaratah.

⁷ Read grihabhumyurdhvam.

⁸ Read uttarapārśvīyam.

⁹ Read chaturāghāṭaviśuddham.

¹⁰ Read grihabhümyürdhvam.

¹¹ Read āvāri.

¹² Read Dêvyai.

¹³ Read gôshthibhih.

¹⁴ Read krayakrītam.

¹⁵ Read bhatt-Éśvarādibhir.

¹⁶ Read vikrītam.

¹⁷ Read samprattañ (or sampradattañ).

¹⁸ Read prativasan.

¹⁹ Read rājaksbatriyānvayô.

15. patan-ābhyamtarê pūrvva-hatta-madhya-pradêsê¹ svakīya-krayakrītā² paśchim-ābhimukh-āvārī³ tti -prakôshthā4 tal-ôrddham tālaka-pattaka-samast-ôchchhraya-samêt(ā)⁵ ⁶[|*] ā(a)sy=āvāry=āghāttā⁷ yattra bhavamti8 pūrvvatah9 vanik [Thā]nêka-satka-griham dakshinatô10 Śrī-Gandha-Śrī-Dêvy-āvārī11 paśchimatah12 hatta -mārggah utaratô13 va-

16. -nik14 Jayamti15-suta-Sarvvadêva-satk-āvārī16 [i*] êvain chatur-āghāṭṭa17-viśuddhā paśchim-ābhimukh -āvārī18 Śrī-Kanaka-Śrī-Dêvyā19 Dravêņa sauvarņņika -mahājanêna krayakrītā [|*] kshatriya20-Sāhākêna21 navanavati-varshshānyām dhāvatv-amtika-vikravapattrêṇa²² vikrītā sampradatā²³ cha sainva-

Read pattanābhyantarê pūrvvahattamadhyapradêśê.

² Read krayakrītām.

³ Read avarim.

⁴ Read triprakôshtham.

⁵ Read talôrdhvatālakapattakasamastôchchhravasamētām.

⁶ The word vyakrinita is expected here.

⁷ Read asyā āvāryā āghātā.

⁸ Read bhavanti.

⁹ Read pūrvvatô.

¹⁰ Read dakshinatah,

¹¹ Read āvārih.

¹² Read paschimato.

¹³ Read mārga uttaratô.

¹⁴ Read vanig.

¹⁵ Read Jayanta or Jayanti.

¹⁶ Read avarih.

¹⁷ Read āghāṭa. 18 Read āvāriḥ.

¹⁹ Read Dêvyai.

²⁰ Read kshatriya. 21 Read Sahāka, cf. l. 14.

²² Read navanavativarshshāṇi dhāvatātyantikavikrayapattrēṇa. In line 24 we find navanavatyātyantikavikrayapattrêņa; also cf. navanavatipattrêņa, 11. 9, 14, 20, etc.

²³ Read āvārir vikrītā samprattā (or sampradattā).

- 17. -tsara-śata1 206 Bhādrapada śu di 14 asyām tithāv=iha Śrī-Tattānandapurê prativasamānā2 śrīmad= ārya-chātur-vvaidya-sāmānyāh Śarkarākshi-sa-gôttrāh³ va(ba)hvricha-sa-vra(bra)hmachārinā4 bhaṭṭa-Divākara5 [Bhaṭṭa-Nā]6rāya7ṇa-puttra8 tathā saiva9 bhaṭṭa-Dīyāka -puttrau 10 Achyutaśiva-Dāmôdaraśivau asya Achyutaśi-
- 18. -va-puttrau11 Ānamda-Bhattaśivau mātu bhattinī-Mahādêvī-sanmatêna12 êka-matī-bhūtvā¹³ patan-ābhyamtarê¹⁴ pūrvva-haṭṭa-madhya-pradêśê pūrvv -ābhimukhā15 pakv-êshṭakā16 ti-prakôshṭhā17 tal-ôrddham tālaka-paṭṭaka-saṃyu[kt-ā]vārī¹⁸ samast-ôchchhraya -samêtā19 bhatta-Dīyākêna svayam=ārjitā krayêna20 ²¹[|*] asy=āvāryār=ā-

II4

¹ This sata is superfluous. Read samuat only.

² Read prativasantah.

³ Read gôttrā.

⁴ Read brahmacharinah.

⁵ Read Divakarô.

⁶ These three aksharas are indistinct.

⁷ This ya has been written like sha.

⁸ Read puttras.

⁹ Read chaiva.

¹⁰ Read puttrav-Achyuta.

¹¹ Read Achyutaśivasya puttrau.

¹² Read mäturbhaţţinī-Mahādêvyāh sammatêna.

¹³ Read êkamatībhūya.

¹⁴ Read pattanābhyantarê.

¹⁵ Read pürvvābhimukhām.

¹⁶ Read pakvêshtakam.

¹⁷ Read triprakôshthām.

¹⁸ Read talôrdhvatálakapattakasamyuktávárim.

¹⁹ Read samêtām.

²⁰ Read krayêna svayamarjitam.

²¹ The word vyakrinata is expected here.

19. -ghāṭṭā¹ yattra bhavamti² pūrvvataḥ³ haṭṭa -mār[gga]⁴ dakshiṇatô⁵ Śrī-Daśāvatāra-Dêva-satk-āvārī⁶ paśchimataḥ Śrī-Nandā-bhagavatyā² satka-gṛiha(m)m utaratô⁶ Pisutuvāka-vāṭṭikāyām⁰ Śrī-Sarvvamamgala-Dêvy -āyatanê satk-āvārī¹⁰ [|*] êvam chatur-āghāṭṭa-viśuddh -āvārī¹¹ Śrī-Kanaka-Śrī-Dêvyā¹² Dravyêṇa sauvarṇṇika -mahā-

¹ Read asya avarya aghața.

² Read bhavanti.

³ Read pürvvatô.

⁴ Read mārgô.

⁵ Read dakshinatah.

⁶ Read avarih.

⁷ Read bhagavatyās.

⁸ Read uttaratah.

⁹ Read vāţikāyām.

¹⁰ Read Śrī-Sarvvamangalā-Dêvyāyatanasatkāvāriḥ.

¹¹ Read aghāṭaviśuddhāvārih.

¹² Read Dêvyai.

¹³ Read mahājanêna.

¹⁴ Read avarir vikrīta.

¹⁵ Read Jyaishtha.

¹⁶ Read uttarasabhādêśād.

¹⁷ Read likhitam.

¹⁸ Read prativasantau.

¹⁹ Read kshatriya.

- 21. -dhusūdana-puttrau tathā chêva¹ Nāga-bhāryā -Lachchhikā² tathā³ Mādhava-bhāryā-Sampadābhyām⁴ sanmatêna⁵ upari-likhita-Mamgala-varmma-suta-Sarvvasa -satka-puttra-pauttraiś=cha atīta-kālê⁶ daśa-viṁsôpaka -māsa-pradêya bhāṭṭaka-nyāsêna² pūrvv-ābhimukham gṛiham dat=āsīt⁵ ⁰[|*]=sāṁprataṁ Kôkāk-ādibhiḥ sarvva-bhā-

¹ Read chaiva.

² Read Lachchhikāvāh.

³ Omit tathā.

⁴ Read Sampadāyāś cha.

⁵ Read sammatêna.

⁶ Read châtītakālê.

⁷ Read daśavimśôpakamāsapradēyabhāţakanyāsêna.

⁸ Read dattam.

⁹ Read "..... (yadêva*) pürvväbhimukham griham dattam (tadvyakrīnītām*) [| *]."

¹⁰ Read sāmpratam Kôkākādibhiḥ sarvvabhaṭṭairnavanavatipattrēṇa (vikrī-tam*) [| *]

¹¹ Read Dêvyai.

¹² Read sarvvabhațțair.

¹³ Read prativasan.

¹⁴ Read vanig Madhavô.

- 23. Dêvanāga-puttra ih=aiva patan-ābhyamtarê¹ pūrvva-haṭṭa-madhya-pradêśê syakīya-krayakrītam paśchim-ābhimukham pakv-êshṭanam² gṛiham sarvv-ôch-chhraya-samêtam ³[|*] asy=āghāṭṭā⁴ yattra bhavamti⁵ pūrvvata⁶ Savachandāka-satk-āvārī⁻ dakshiṇatô=(\$)py=as=aiva⁶ Mādhava-gṛiham paśchimata⁶ vṛi(bṛi)had=rathyā utaratô¹⁰ vaṇika Mêchāka¹¹-satka-gṛiha(m)m [|*]êvam cha-
- 24. -tusaghāṭṭa¹²-viśuddhaṁ gṛihaṁ Śrī-Kañchaṇa¹³
 -Śrī-Dêvyā¹⁴ Dravyêṇa sauvarṇṇika-mahājanêna navanavaty=ātyantika-vikraya-pattrêṇa krīta(m)ṁ [|*] vaṇik Mā dhavêna¹⁵ svahasta-patṛikāyāṁ¹⁶ vikrītaṁ sampradatañ¹²

5 Read bhavanti.

¹ Read pattanābhyantarê.

³ The word vyakrīnīta is expected here.

⁴ Read āghāṭā.

⁶ Read pūrvvatah.

⁷ Read avarir.

⁸ Read asyaiva.

⁹ Read paschimatô.

¹⁰ Read uttaratô.

¹¹ Read vaņig or vaņin Mêchāka.

¹² Read chaturaghāţa.

¹³ Read Kāñchana.

¹⁴ Read Dêvyai.

¹⁵ Read vanig or vanin Mādhavêna.

¹⁶ Read patrikayā.

¹⁷ Read samprattañ (or sampradattañ).

¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol (Ja).

¹⁹ Read asyām.

²⁰ Read prativasan.

² Read pakvêshţakam.

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- 25. śrīmad=ārya-chātur-vvaidya-sāmānya¹ Bhārad-vāja-sa-gôttra² va(ba)hvṛicha-sa-vra(bra)hmachārī bhaṭṭa-Iśānadata³ bhaṭṭa-Kêśava-puttra ih=aiva patan-ābhyamtarê⁴ pūrvv-ôtara⁵-dig=vibhāga-madhya-pradêśê pitṛi-pitāmah-ôpāta⁶ pitṛivya-pitāmahô vaṇṛin-āyāta² bhrātṛibhiḥ saha vaṇṛina-pattrêṇ-āyātā⁵ krayakrītā u-
- 26. -bhaya-saptāvimsati-hasta-pramāṇā gṛiha-bhū-my-ārddham utara-pārasvīyam pakv-êshṭak-āvārī laka-prakôshṭha-dvayam tathā dvi-prakôshṭh-āvārī-ttra-yam utar-ābhimukhā tathā paśchim-ābhimukhā dvi-prakôshṭham=êkam êvam māvārī shaṭ āgama-pattrai saha sarvv-ôchchhraya-samêtā [[*] amīshām = āvā-

¹ Read sāmānyô.

² Read gôttrô.

³ Read bhatt Ésanadattô.

⁴ Read pattanābhyantarê.

⁵ Read pürvvôttara.

⁶ Read pitāmahôpāttāh.

⁷ Read pitāmahānriņāyātā.

⁸ Read sahānriņapattrēņāyātāh.

⁹ Read saptavimsatihastapramāņagrihabhūmyūrdhvā.

¹⁰ Read uttarapārśvīyāh.

¹¹ Read āvārīr.

¹² Read êkaprakôshthamāvāridvayam.

¹³ Read dviprakôshthamāvārittrayam.

¹⁴ Read uttarābhimukham.

¹⁵ Read paśchimābhimukhām.

¹⁶ Read dviprakôshthāmêkāmāvārim.

¹⁷ Read êvamāvārīh shat.

¹⁸ Read pattraih.

¹⁹ The word vyakrinita is expected here.

²⁰ Read amūshām.

Facsimile Scale 1 inch=4½ inches.

Journ., U.P. Hist. Soc.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

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- 27. -ryām¹ rāghāṭṭā² yattra bhavamti³ pūrvvatah Kamalānaka-bhatta-Haradata4-puttrānām griham shinatah asy = aiva bhūmê dakshina-pāraśvīyam bhatta -Tatasya vamttan-āyātam⁷ paśchimatô⁸ ku-rathyā utaratô =(5)pi⁰ vri(bri)had=rathyā [|*] êvam chatur-āghāttagriha-bhūmy-arddhami11 pakv-êshţakā visuddhain10 māvārī-shat12 Śrī-Kanaka-Śri-Dêvyā13 Dra-
- 28. -vyêna sauvarnnika-mahājanêna bhatta-Isānadata-hastê14 navanavati-pattrêna krītā(h) [|*] Isānadatêna vikrītā sampradatāś=cha15 | [II*] Êtêshām sthāparānāmi6 bhāttakami7 vat=mutpadvatê18 tat=sarvvam [g]ô[shth]i[bh]ih19 kumkuma20-dhūpa-puspa21-dipaka -dhvajā-dhavalāpana22-khanda-sphuttita23 - samarachanādishu dharmm-ôpayôgyam karttavya(m)m | [12*]

¹ Read avarīņām.

² Read āghāţā.

³ Read bhavanti.

⁴ Read Haradatta.

⁵ Read dakshinatô(s)syaiva. 6 Read bhumerdakshinaparśviyam.

⁷ Read vantanāyātam.

⁸ Read paschimatah.

⁹ Read uttaratô(s)pi.

¹⁰ Read chaturāghātaviśuddhā.

¹¹ Read grihabhūmyūrdhvāh.

¹² Read pakvêshţakāvārayah shaţ.

¹³ Read Śrī Dêvyai.

¹⁴ Read bhatt Ésanadattahastat.

¹⁵ Read Iśanadattena avarayah shat vikrītah, sampradattascha.

¹⁶ Read sthavaranam.

¹⁷ Read bhātakam.

¹⁸ Read yadutpadyatê.

¹⁹ Except the vowel-strokes and the final visarga, which have left some traces, the restoration is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one. The word gôshti occurs in l. 14. Read gôshthibhih.

²⁰ Read kunkuma.

²¹ Read pushpa.

²² Read dhavalalêpana.

²³ Read sphuțita.

THE OPERATIONS LEADING TO THE CAP-TURE OF ALMORA IN 1815.

By J. C. POWELL-PRICE, M.A., I.E.S.

THE accounts of the operations in Kumaon during the Nepal War are somewhat confusing and there are certain tactical points which require elucidation. It is these considerations which have led the writer to attempt a short sketch of what actually took place.

It will be remembered that during the 18th century there had been considerable internal differences among the Kumaonis culminating in the invasion and conquest of the country by the Gurkhas.

The latters' rule was very harsh and was much resented by the people, so much so indeed that the phrase Gurkha Raj has become proverbial for oppression. This is important as it explains the ease with which long lines of communication were held by the British during the operations.

In other theatres of the war the British troops had met with little success. The generals were, with a few exceptions, incompetent. In the eastern theatre Major Generals Marley and Wood had done nothing and the latter had actually deserted his troops in the field. General Gillespie had been killed near Dehra Dun, while General Ochterlony was held up further west.

What were the hopes nourished by the Gurkhas can be seen from the following extracts from a letter of Amar Singh Thapa, the famous Gurkha Commander, to the Nepal Raja:—

"If I succeed against Ochterlony, Ranjit Singh will ride against the enemy. In conjunction with the Sikhs my

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army will make a descent into the plains..... The Raja of Lucknow may be expected to take a part in the cause."

Elsewhere he says, "I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution but cannot manage it, the English being always in a desperate hurry to fight."

It was obviously bad policy for the British to wait, so the design was formed of striking at the Gurkhas' new province of Kumaon.

Here the people were well disposed to any enemy of their tyrants and its possession would divide the Gurkha forces in half. But the means at the disposal of the Governor-General were not very large, and conditions elsewhere prevented him from detaching a body of regular troops for the attempt.

In the circumstances therefore Lt.-Col. Gardner, the founder of Gardner's House, an officer who had won renown in the service of the Raja of Jaipur, was entrusted with the task of raising a body of irregular troops for this purpose. These were largely Rohillas from Rampur and later from the neighbourhood of Hapur. The Artillery consisted of four 6-pounders carried on elephants. Gardner's force was in all about 3,000 men. At the same time a detachment of 1,500 men under Captain Hearsey, who had also been in the service of Jaipur, was to march from Pilibhit via the Timla Pass into Kali Kumaon with the object of preventing the Gurkhas from crossing the Sarda and reinforcing Almora from that direction. His force was afterwards increased to 2,000, all irregulars and he was joined by about a hundred Kumaonis. body of 500 men was to march from Rudrapur to Bhim Tal by the present route, and after they had taken the Gurkha post in that neighbourhood they were to try and effect a junction with Gardner's force via Ramgarh and the Gagar Pass and Peora. This expedition however never got further than Bhim Tal, and in any case was too small to have affected anything except perhaps to keep some of the enemy's forces occupied.

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About February 15th, 1815, Gardner set off followed by a large baggage train. This route chosen was from Kashipur through the Chilkia Pass along the valley of the Kosi. Some Gurkha posts guarding the route were evacuated by the enemy and the advance was not disputed in any force though there were skirmishes here and there. It is not clear whether it was the intention of the British Commander to advance along the Kosi past Khairna to Almora or not, but the orders issued to the small detachment proceeding to Bhim Tal seem to suggest that it was. However, news was received that a force of Gurkhas from Almora had advanced to Bujan near Khairna and were ready to dispute the passage. Here the Kosi runs through a narrow gorge and the position was perhaps a difficult one to force.

It must be borne in mind that the British troops were all raw irregulars, and though they greatly outnumbered the Gurkhas their commander probably did not think they were sufficiently blooded for a regular engagement. The number of Gurkhas available for the defence is not known, but most of their troops were Kumaoni levies commanded in most cases by Gurkhas. There were probably not more than 1,500 Gurkhas all told in Kumaon. They were armed with matchlocks and the celebrated *kukri*, as well as swords and bow and arrows. Their muskets were not good and they had hardly any artillery. But as fighting men they were superior even to the Company's regular troops.

An old Subedar who fought in the Nepal War has left this description of them. "The Gurkhas had the reputation of being very brave soldiers. Everyone feared their *kukris*, the mere touch of which meant death..... Their arrows came from the jungle without a sound or a person being seen and the men said they were the result of supernatural agencies. They fell thick and fast and we replied with volleys but the jungle was so thick that there was no evidence of their effect."

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Such was the awe with which they were regarded by even veteran soldiers and it is no wonder that Col. Gardner resolved not to attempt to force his way through.

Accordingly he turned off to his left along a path that climbed the range between the Kosi and the Ramgunga leaving the valley of the river which comes down below the present Khairna—Ranikhet road on his right. This was apparently the usual route from Kashipur to Almora as it was the one that Bishop Heber nine years later took on his march from Almora to Kashipur. The accounts mention a high hill called Chaumua Debi or Chaumukhia, the same as Bishop Heber's Chamoka probably, on this ridge, which Gardner seized. It is not marked on any map nor has the writer been able to identify it with any certainty but it is obviously opposite the Ranikhet ridge. After seizing this commanding position Gardner advanced a little further along the ridge towards Ranikhet to a hill called Kapena ke Danda separated from the Ranikhet ridge by the valley of Tarkhet. The Gurkhas who had failed to prevent him from occupying Chaumukhia now took up a strong position at Kompore (Ranikhet) and blocked his road to Almora. Gardner reached here on February 22nd and remained a whole month awaiting reinforcements before making a further move. In the meantime the Kumaonis flocked into his camp bringing supplies and promises of support. Many desertions took place at this time from among the Kumaoni levies of the Gurkhas.

A further body of troops now joined Gardner in the shape of a thousand Rohillas from Hapur; and he now thought himself strong enough for further action. Still thinking his levies too undependable for a direct attack on the Gurkha stockades, he determined to try and manœuvre the enemy out of their position. The means he adopted have been greatly praised by the various writers on the war, but have little from a tactical point of view to recommend them save their success. He

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followed the principle, so dangerous against a clever commander, of dividing his forces. There was no apparent military object in doing what he did nor should the Gurkha commander have worried about the movement in the least. Perhaps Gardner with his experience of service in Indian States knew the effect a threat to their flanks has on the 'moral' of Eastern armies. This was very clearly seen during the last war in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

However that may be, on March 22nd he despatched a force of 1,200 men to seize Siahi Devi, a high hill over 7000 ft. to the south-west of Almora but divided from it by a deep gorge and the rivers Kosi and Sual.

The military importance of Siahi Devi in those days of short range guns was nil. As a base for an attack on Almora it was useless as the Almora ridge rises steeply from the river here, and in the words of Bishop Heber is such "that a few resolute men could defend it against an army." But this division of forces was a very dangerous expedient as, if Bam Sah, the Gurkha commandant, had had any military skill at all he could have attacked Gardner's forces piecemeal. The Siahi Devi post was quite isolated and the troops there could not have been supported and were an easy proposition if attacked. The whole manœuvre was a risky one. It was carried out at night and as the Gurkhas were between the British and Siahi Devi, a considerable detour had to be made and very difficult country crossed.

Still it succeeded in its object and the Gurkhas retired from Ranikhet to Katarmal and then across the Kosi to Almora.

This is one of the most perplexing points in the whole course of the operations. The commanders in the Nepal War on the British side were not remarkable for their tactics. It is nothing but a story of terrible mistakes by the generals with the exception of Ochterlony himself. The remarks of the Governor-General on the final capture of Almora in praise of Col. Nicolls and the fact that

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Gardner himself was soon after this superseded in the command seem to suggest that he was considered too rash. Still as has been said before Gardner may have done all this with his eyes open. There were plenty of deserters from the Gurkhas in his camp and he may have learnt from them the small numbers the Gurkha commander had at his disposal and his knowledge of Bam Sah's character may have induced him to take what appeared to him no risk. It is also possible that in his ignorance of the country and having no maps, he did not realise how isolated Siahi Devi was.

It will be seen that Bam Sah at a later period did the very same thing, but he suffered for his rashness.

The Gurkhas now took up their position on the Sitoli ridge about two miles north-west of Almora and parallel to the Almora ridge. They also had a post on Kalimat a high saddle-backed hill to the north of the town. Gardner recalled the majority of the troops from Siahi Devi and took up his position at Katarmal with the Kosi between him and Sitoli.

Meanwhile Captain Hearsey, after some initial successes including the taking of Champawat had been attacked by a force of Gurkhas under Hastidal, one of the royal house of Nepal and a brother of Bam Sah. His levies made no stand against the Gurkhas. Hearsey was wounded and taken prisoner. Hastidal then marched to Almora which he reached on April 6th. His arrival much inspirited the enemy though the reinforcement he brought could not have been very large. Hearsey was lodged in the Almora Fort and well treated.

On April 8th, Col. Nicolls of the 14th, Foot Quarter-master-General (afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief in India), arrived at Katarmal and took over command. He was followed by over 2,000 regular troops consisting of the 1/4th N. I., the 2/5th. N. I., and a detachment of the 15th. N. I. together with two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, two small and two large mortars.

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For some little time there was no movement on either side. The Gurkhas had sent for reinforcements from Nepal but they were not in time. Their Kumaoni levies were leaving them in large numbers and it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain supplies.

On April 22 a force under Hastidal composed of regular Gurkha troops was dispatched in a northernly direction over Kalimat to Gananath.

The object of this move has aroused considerable speculation and some authorities have considered that it was meant as a threat to the British left flank and their communications, but Atkinson is probably right in stating that it was simply to keep communication open with the north and the Gurkha force operating against Ochterlony.

Whatever the intention, however, it was a grave error in tactics and enabled the British Commander to strike a heavy blow and led direct to the fall of Almora. This tendency to divide their forces into "pockets" is noticeable on both sides during the operations in Kumaon. Gardner had escaped from the consequences of his division owing to the lack of initiative on the part of Bam Sah, but Hearsey in Kali Kumaon, who had divided his force to watch the Sarda, was caught and paid the penalty for his mistake.

Now again the same thing happened. The British commander got early intimation of this movement from the country people and at once dispatched Major Paton and about 900 regular troops along the Kosi to try and cut Hastidal off. This was on April 23rd. The British caught up with the enemy on the steep ascent to Gananath before he had time to entrench himself. They attacked at once and Hastidal being killed his force dispersed, but very few returned to Almora. Thus the Almora garrison had lost a large portion of its defenders and a prominent leader.

On receipt of the news Col. Nicolls made immediate preparation for the assault of the Sitoli ridge.

At one o'clock on April 25th he advanced intending

to place his mortars in position and bombard the stockades, but finding that the troops, to adopt a modern phrase, "had their tails up" he went straight on and attacked and took the stockades on the northern end of the ridge. Meanwhile Gardner and his irregulars advanced up a parallel ridge and extending to the right on reaching the summit took the remaining stockades. The two ridges mentioned are probably those which run down towards the Kosi on both sides of the present bridle path from Hawalbagh. It must be remembered that at that time the Sitoli ridge was bare and not covered with trees as it is now. A narrow neck running east and west connects the Sitoli ridge with that on which Almora stands. It rises up into a high hill called Hiradungi and to the north joins the Kalimat hill. Somewhere on this connecting ridge near the Sitoli end was another stockade which the attacking troops took in their stride and then pushed on after the retreating enemy. Col. Nicolls in his dispatch talks of five roads which the retreating Gurkhas took. What is meant by this is difficult to say. The connecting ridge is very narrow and there is not room for more than three columns, one on each side and one on the top. Possibly he refers to the different routes taken by the enemy after leaving the ridge, one to Kalimat and the others to the different fortified positions in the town itself. The Gurkhas on Kalimat had taken no part in this stage of the fighting.

The attacking troops had climbed from the Kosi to Sitoli in a little under two hours. Within three hours from the start they had captured Hiradungi, a third of the town and the Raja's palace.

The despatches are not very clear as to how far the advance was pushed. There were two palaces, one a summer palace on Hiradungi, and the chief one on the site of the present Ramsay High School in the town itself. It appears that this is the one meant and Bam Sah in his account of the day states that the troops occupied the Dip

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Chand temple which is not far from the school. The mortars were mounted on the little eminence where the L.M.S. church now stands and opened fire on the fort at 6 P.M. that evening. That night at II o'clock the Gurkhas on Kalimat made a determined attack on the British post on Hiradungi and actually took it. Reinforcements soon arrived, however, and Col. Gardner led his irregulars to the rescue in a most gallant manner and the enemy were driven out with great slaughter on both sides and the post reoccupied. Bam Sah states that the attack was due to his orders, and at the same time the Gurkhas from the Fort attacked the advanced British post in the town. It was during this fighting that Lieut. Taplev of the 21st N.I. was killed. He is buried on Sitoli ridge and a monument now marks the spot. In this somewhat confused night fighting no less than two hundred casualties occured on the British side, many apparently due to the fire of their own men. There is a local tradition that the enemy disguised themselves as Rohillas and got inside the Hiradungi position before the trick was discovered. But how Gurkhas can disguise themselves as Rohillas is not explained. The next morning early the British advanced post was pushed up to within 70 yards of the Fort. This Fort was the one in the town which is now used as the Kutcherry. Atkinson makes a queer mistake and calls it Fort Moira. This is the present Fort near the Club, now used as married quarters for the regiment stationed there. An inscription at the entrance states that it was captured by the British when Almora was taken, but this is not actually the case as it was then in the course of being built.

At this juncture several of the garrison were seen leaving the Fort and the advanced parties tried to effect an entrance but were repulsed by heavy fire. The position of the defenders was now desperate. The mortars had been firing all night and the levies were, in the words of Bam Sah, "altogether useless."

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The commander of the body which had made the attack on Hiradungi and which retired to Sintola was sent for and after discussing the situation with him and other officers Bam Sah sent over a flag of truce at 9 A.M. requesting a suspension of hostilities while terms were discussed. He was informed that the terms were, as stated before, that they should retire across the Kali and sent an accredited agent to arrange peace. After some hesitation these terms were accepted on the evening of the 27th and it was arranged that the Gurkhas with their arms and baggage should evacuate the country in ten days.

Thus was Almora taken after a campaign which is one of the most interesting in the whole of the military history of the time. The General Order by the Governor-General is significant.

"The Governor-General has singular satisfaction in acknowledging the important service rendered by Col. Nicolls in the reduction of the province of Kumaon.

The judgment of Col. Nicolls in his preparatory measures, the unremitting activity with which he pursued the object entrusted to his management and the gallant promptitude with which he seized and improved every opening that could lead to the fulfilment of his instructions not only reflect the highest credit on himself but afford so salutary a lesson for the army that his lordship cannot let slip the opportunity of recommending it to their attention.

The success of Col. Nicolls under the complicated difficulties presented by the country, the fortification by which the natural strength was assisted, and the obstinate resistence of a courageous enemy, should prove the superiority conferred by military science, and a certainty that strenous application of its principles must entail honourable distinction on a commander.... It is only in unusual situations demanding readiness of resource and animated efforts that the difference between officer and officer can be displayed. And it ought to be always present to the

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mind of every military man that he who tries and fails has to plead those chances from which no operation in war can be secured; while he who contents himself with urging difficulties as an excuse for doing nothing, voluntarily registers his own inefficiency."

Lt.-Col. Gardiner is hardly mentioned. One is somewhat inclined to think that part of the order is aimed at him. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why he does not obtain greater recognition.

The people of the country had had a great deal to do with the success of the British though they did not join to any great extent in the actual operations. Yet by deserting from their service in the Gurkha levies and by bringing in supplies and intelligence, they rendered very great assistance. The influence of Harak Deb Joshi whom Hearsey called the "Warwick of Kumaon" was exerted strongly on the British side; and in one case the country people compelled the Gurkhas to evacuate one of their forts. In Kali Kumaon some Kumaoni levies were actually enrolled in Hearsey's force.

Some of the Gurkha garrison of Almora were enrolled in the Provincial Battalion raised by Sir R. Colquhoum, sanction for which was obtained on June 11th, 1815, as may be seen from a letter in the Naini Tal Kutcherry. This Battalion was paid from Civil funds and is now represented by the 1/3rd Gurkha Rifles who are still stationed at Almora.

It is unfortunate that many of the records dealing with the operations have been lost, while the most important which were once in the Commissioner's office have been transferred to the Imperial Records Office in Calcutta and can only be inspected there. A certain amount of interesting information however is still to be found among the records in the Commissioner's Office at Naini Tal.

Atkinson's Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts is full of information and J. B. Fraser's Journal of a Tour of the Himalaya Mountains published in 1820 contains several

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of the despatches. Prinsep's Political and Military Transactions which appeared in 1823 has a good account of the earlier operations under Gardner but his account of the actual attack on Almora is poor and inaccurate.

THE Mosque is admittedly the oldest of all the known Muslim Monuments of its kind in India.

It lies in the midst of a densely populated quarter (Moulvi Mohallah) near the western parapet of the fort, and owes its construction to Abul Mozzaffer Shumsuddin (subsequently Sultan Altamash). While he was the Satrap of Budaun (602 A.H. (1205) A.D. to 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.)). Shumsuddin constructed an extensive Eedgah which still stands at a distance of 3/4 mile, west of the Shumsi Mosque at the entrance of the Tomb of Hazrat Budruddin Shah Velayet Sahib. After his accession to the throne of Delhi he supplied Budaun with the Mosque in question. It was completed in 620 A.H. (1223 A.D.) as would appear from the following inscription on the main east gate:—

بسم الله الرحمس الرحيم

من دخله كان امنار لله على الناس حج البيت من استطاع الله سبيلا - الدخلوها بسلام - بامر السلطان المعظم السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس الدنيار الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين اعدل الملوك و السلاطين ابو المظفر الشمس السلطان ناصر امير المومذين خلد الله ملكه سنه ١٢٠ عشرين و ستمائت .

"In the Name of God who is all merciful and kind. One who enters this enclosure secures peace. Every person whom God grants the necessary means is in duty bound to proceed for the sake of *Haj* to *Kaba* which is the Home of peace. This abode of peace (Mosque) has been completed under the command of the Great King, the August Ruler, the Master of the neck of nations, Shumsud-

din, the Sun of both the worlds, Redressor of the wrongs of Islam and Muslims, the justest of all the kings and Emperors. Abul Muzzaffar Altamash as-Sultan, the helper of the Amirul Momineen (i.e. Khalifa) May God make his Kingdom eternal in the year 620 A.H.¹"

A century after i.e., in 726 A.H. (1325 A.D.) Mohammed Bin Tugluq added the North-gate to the Mosque which bears the following Arabic inscription, which General Cunningham was unable to fully decipher:—

عمر بهذه العمارة الحضرة المعلى ظل الله الرحمن ابو المجاهد المحمد بن تغلقشاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في سنه ٧٢٩ ستته و عشوين و سبعماية - معمارة حسن بن حسين كوتوال خطة بداؤن *

"This structure was constructed by His Exalted Majesty (May God's shadow be on him) the Conqueror Sultan Mohammed Bin Tugluq Shah; may God maintain his Country and Kingdom. The year 726 A.H. Constructed under the supervision of Hasan (son of) Husain Kotwal of Budaun City."

There being no gate on the south side except a small doorway pierced through the back wall of the line of cloisters, it is clear that Sultan Altamash originally furnished the Mosque with the solitary main gate in the East.

Later on the Mosque seems to have seriously suffered from the great Fire 2 which almost completely destroyed

What dost thou ask of Badaun and its disturbed condition? It is sufficient

¹ General Cunningham in his archæological Survey of India commits many mistakes in reading this Arabic Inscription. In the first place, he omits the first sentence from ما بالله secondly, he misreads صبيلا على secondly, he misreads اصنيل الاعظم الما الله which is a purely Persian word and not Arabic. Besides he seems to think that ناصر refers to the name of the Khalifa while it simply means helper. In the early days of Islam all the kings used to style themselves, both in writings and coins as deputies of the Khalifa. See Kunzuttarikh.

² Mullah Abdulqadir Badaoni who was present at the scene of fire has composed a pathetic poem which begins with the following couplet:—

the Budaun town in 1572 A.D. during the reign of Akbar, whose Governor, Kutbuddin Khan, alias Khubu Koka, the foster-brother of Thangeer, made extensive repairs including construction of a propylon in the main arch in 1013 A.H. (1604 A.D.). The repairs were after his death continued by his son Mohommed Ibraheem Khan, alias Kishwer Khan, and subsequently his successor. Nawab Faizullah Chishti. The opinion of General Cunningham that Khubu rebuilt the dome which owing to its faulty construction had collapsed does not seem to be warranted by any history or by the inscriptions which are available. The dome is exactly of the same material as used in the lower portions of the walls, namely, Kunkar blocks and bears the stamp of great antiquity. The magazine was kept in the side chambers which caught fire and blew up a part of the roof of these outer chambers and not the dome. Of the two inscriptions, the first is to be found on a red stone slab in the propylon which gives access to the Central Chamber on the right side of the inner arch. while the second is to be seen on the left side of the arch. The inscriptions run as follows:-

در عهد جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی در سنه ۱۰۱۳ یکهزار و سیزده هجری بنا کرد این مسجد قطب الدین چشتی عرف شیخ خوبوکوکا *

ابو المظفر سلطان سليم شاة غازي ابن جلال الدين اكبر باهتمام ذواب شين ابراهيم ولد خان مذكور كوكا مشير عمارت عبد الملك قاضي *

First Inscription.

First line:—"During the reign of Jalaluddin Mohammed Akbar Badshah Ghazi in 1013 A.H. was built this Mosque by Qutbuddin Chishti alias Saikh Khubu Koka."

Second line:—"Abul Muzzaffer (Conqueror Sultan Saleem Shah-Ghazi son of Jalaluddin Akbar under the

to say that all the Ayals of the Quran Sharif about the tortures of Hell have been sent by God as regards this fire.

supervision of Nawab Shaikh Ibraheem son of the said Khan-Koka (foster-brother). Consulting Architect is Abdul Malik Qazi."

Second Inscription.

The construction was begun by Qutbuddin (May God bless his soul). It was then taken up by Khan-Kishwar (Nawab-Ibraheem). It was completed in the reign of Shaik Faizullah Chishti with great success and splendour. The angel of wisdom announced its date of completion namely add your (Soul) and sincerely say الله اكبر.

(IO65 A.H.=I654 A.D.) جان × خالصاً × الله اكبر

The Mosque seems to have continued to be utterly neglected after Akbar's reign. Two years before the mutiny, however, a leading resident of the city, Moulvi Raziullah, got the main chamber and its inner and outer arches repaired, but unluckily concealed the beautiful tracery under thick white washing. At the same time a sculptor, Hafiz Neyaz Ahmed, inscribed the 'Ayats' (verses) of the Holy Quran along the arch of the Imam. The names of these gentlemen are preserved in the shape of an inscription along the outer main arch way. The rows of cloisters along the North and South which had collasped, however, remained in the same condition till 1887, when the Budaun Collector, Mr. W. Lambe, encouraged the residents to put them in thorough repairs in conformity with the old style under the supervision of an expert Engineer. The manner in which the money flowed in for this purpose reflects an everlasting credit on the Muslim inhabitants of this town, especially K. B. M. Raziuddin and K. B. M. Hamid Baksh and lastly the late M. Tufail Ahmad, who

were chiefly responsible for the collection of funds and the supervision of repairs. The Mosque is now in as good a condition as any the best preserved Mosques in the country, though it is disappointing to find that the Budget allotted for its repairs by the Archaeological Dept., is limited to only a few hundred rupees a year.

One cannot agree with General Cunningham and others in the idea that Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash demolished the Shive temple of Nilkanth Mahadeo and built this Mosque on its site. It is true that some of the material of the Mosque belongs to old Hindoo temples, but a closer scrutiny will make it clear that the author of the Mosque cannot be held responsible for the destruction of any of the temples in Budaun. In the first place the Mosque lies just on the outskirts of the ruins of the famous Muizzia College which was established by Sultan Qutbuddin Aibuk many years before the commencement of the Mosque, in the Memory of his Master, Sultan Muizuddin bin Sam. The tomb of Sultan Tajuddin Teldoz of Balakh, the father-in-law and rival of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibuk, also lies just at the junction of the College ruins and the western back wall of the Mosque. It is therefore highly improbable that a temple could have possibly existed at the locality of the Mosque. Secondly, the discovery of an important inscription in the ruins of the Mar-hai-gate of the fort by Mr. W. Lambe in August 1887 which is now kept in the Lucknow Museum finally disposes of this controversy. The inscription praises the beauty of Budaun City and the high qualities of its rulers belonging to the Pal dynasty from Raja Lakhunpal downwards. It also speaks of the Shive temple to which the inscription originally belonged. The early Mohammedan invaders found Budaun in the possession of Ahirs who had succeeded the Buddhists and the latter apparently took care to wipe away all the traces of the Brahmanic supremacy. It is therefore very likely that these followers of Gotum Buddha destroyed the temple in

question and used some of its materials in building the fort.

The fact that the inscription was fixed in the wall with its face inside is a strong proof that the destroyer of the temple could have been no other but the builder of the fort, namely the first Buddhist conqueror of Budaun.¹

This Mosque is not only interesting from the point of view of its great antiquity; but archaeologists agree that it has no parallel in India as regards its size and massiveness as well as architectural beauty. Its majestic dome with its glittering gilded finial looms in the landscape from a distance of several miles and is said to be the biggest dome to be found in the whole length and breadth of this Peninsula. It is 90 feet high from the ground and 43 feet in diameter from inside. The Mosque measures about 280 feet from North to South, and 226 feet from the face of the Western external wall to the front of the Eastern gate. It is in the form of an irregular parallelogram and widens as it draws towards the east. The interior courtyard measures 176 feet in the west, 175 feet in the east, 99 feet 6 inches on the South and 98 feet on the North. The inevitable tank for ablution purposes lies in the Centre and a big well in the North east corner of the courtyard. Besides, there run lines of single storied cloisters on all the three sides of the courtyard, while the west is occupied by the Mosque proper.

¹ It is remarkable that a large number of temple stones are being discovered in the parapet of the fort, and it is within my knowledge that some of the stones have been utilised for building houses. As I was writing this note, my own uncle Moulvi Abul-Hasson Siddeque, Retired Judge of Hyderabad, informed me that only two days ago a temple stone was unearthed from the drain of his bath-room, our houses being just along the western parapet of the fort. The stone is about three feet in length and six inches in breadth, and bears two boldly carved pictures, one large, standing to the whole length of the stone slab and another small, sitting on something, with its back to the bigger picture. The bigger picture is in standing posture with the hand raised, but seems to have a long twisted tail of Hanuman. I think that the picture represents the defence of Sita by Hanuman. The Tubqati-Nasri which was written by Minhaj-Seraj, a courtier of Sultan Altamash, makes no mention that Altamash or his master Sultan Qutbuddin Aibuk demolished any temple in Budaun, although he speaks of the demolition of many temples elsewhere.

The arrangement is the same as in other Mosques. The Central Chamber, is flanked on either side by a line of elongated chambers each divided into three rows by heavy pillars. The Central Chamber is 43.3 feet square with 17 feet thick walls, bearing the grand dome. The outer arch of the main chamber facing the tank is 32 feet wide. The whole building is constructed of *Kunker* blocks up to the height of 12 feet, and so the dome.

The rest of the building consists of large bricks, either carved or beautifully adorned with blue tiled glazed work of geometric patterns. The eastern arch is hidden from view by an immense propylon which partly screens the dome and strongly reminds us of the architechtural style of Central Asia. The external appearance of the enclosure wall of the Mosque is very plain, but the small bastioned towers at the four corners are richly ornamented with various patterns of geometric tracery.

The account of the Mosque would be incomplete if we were to omit the mention of the iron chain hanging from the corner stone of the main arch of the prayer chamber. The story goes that it used to be utilised for testing the guilt of suspected criminals. The chain would shrink if the man were guilty, but otherwise it could be touched by all innocent people. Even now the chain is used by many people as a test of the fulfilment of their wishes. However, the matter of fact explanation would be that it was originally intended for hanging a lamp.

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INTRODUCTION.

The translation here presented is of an Urdu manuscript found in Cawnpore a couple of years ago in a heap of old rubbish. It was seen by my friend Pandit Harish Chandra Misra, Professor, Intermediate College, Fyzabad, who very kindly obtained the loan of the book for me at considerable personal inconvenience. It purports to be a diary kept by one Nanak Chand, the Agent of Lala Ishri Pershad, Banker, Cawnpore, during the Mutiny.

Nanak Chand's diary was apparently presented to the District Officials. Kaye mentions it in his "Sepoy War" but does not place much reliance on it, mainly as he points out that Nanak Chand states that he saw Generals Havelock and Neill together on the entry into Cawnpore, whereas in reality General Neill came a few days later. On the other hand Trevelyan in his "Cawnpore" quotes Nanak Chand copiously placing reliance on his testimony. In any case the work is of considerable value as showing the atmosphere of the times when the rebels reigned in Cawnpore.

The manuscript seen by me is mainly in a small neat hand but has numerous corrections, interpollations and marginal entries. It was apparently prepared from some notes kept by the writer and then corrected, from which fair copies were presented to the District Officials. The translation here given is only of the main body of the book and not the additions.

The names of Englishmen being in Urdu, their rendering is mere guess-work, except where they could be ascertained from other sources. There are besides long lists of men who had helped in the rebellion; these have been left out.

INTRODUCTION.

The manuscript is divided into two chapters. The first portion deals with the mutiny in Cawnpore terminating on the reoccupation of the town; the second describes rioting in the town during the few days of the fight with the Gwalior Contingent. As the latter part was specifically written for the information of the police, it has been left out with only a passing reference, and is of little interest.

I have tried to make the translation literal rather than idiomatic.

KASHI NATH.

Fyzabad. 16-3-25.

2

DIARY OF THE MUTINY AT CAWNPUR WRITTEN BY NANAK CHAND; MUKHTAR AM IN THE FIRM OF LALA ISHARI PERSHAD, BANKER.

Dated 15th May, 1857 A.D.—Samvat 1914 Jeth Badi 6th day Friday.—I went to the Kutcherry to purchase two stamped papers, one for Rs. 2,000 and the other for Rs. 250 which were needed for the appeal in the case of Nana Dhundhu, Defendant. I saw that the people at the courts were talking in a dejected manner. I could not see Mr. William Hawaseshi,2 the Deputy Collector, so I came back. In the city there was a talk about the distribution of cartridges about which the infantry and the cavalry are said to be talking to create trouble. After taking my food I went at four o'clock to the Civil Courts where I heard that Abdul Rahiman Khan, Sub-Judge, had gone to confer with Mr. Hillersden, Magistrate and Collector of the district about putting down the trouble. In the evening Mr. Stacey came to the bungalow of Babu Ishri Pershad to play billiards and there I met him. From him I learnt that there was great cause for anxiety and a firm thought grew in my mind that a narrative of daily happenings would be useful for the future and perchance it might be considered an act of loyalty to Government.

16th May—Jeth Badi 7th day Saturday.—I went today to the Kutcherry to purchase the stamps. Mr. Stacey said

¹ Lala Ishari Pershad was a large banker and nephew of Lala Joti Pershad a prominent commissariat contractor. It is estimated that he was plundered by rebels of Rs. 75,000. He was granted a Jagir by Government of eight villages asessed at Rs. 7,180 for his Mutiny services.

² Mr. Hawaseshi—This is the vernacular name, The reader can make for himself an approximate guess, as the real name is not known:

that he had no document worth two thousand rupees but that he would give me several to make up that amount. Saw that the officers were greatly perturbed and that the District Magistrate had sent for Nana to come from Bithoor with his army and his artillery; but some people of the town have begun to think otherwise-and have heard that Baba Bhutt has gone towards the Cavalry lines on his carriage. There was a general dullness in the Kutcherry, but one is unable to know the thoughts of the There was a talk of Mutinies at Delhi and Meerut. people. After hearing this talk I went to the Treasury to Ram Dhun, treasurer, as the period of limitation for appeal was passing. I asked the treasurer for the stamped papers. He said he would give it to me: so I sat down there and purchased the following documents; one Rs. 500. one for Rs. 150, one for Rs. 100, fifteen for Rs. 1,500. At this time the Subedar and the Jemadar of the guard were talking insolently and one sepoy was not obeying the orders of the other sepoy. The sepoys were quarreling with men who were going in to the treasury on business, and were detaining people who were going out after taking rupees or stamps and not letting them go without the orders of the Subedar. It was looking that all authority was departing except that of the Subedar and the sepoys. Immediately on coming out I filed the appeal through Dargahi Lal, Shadi Lall and Sheikh Muzaffar Hussain, pleaders, against Nana, in the court of Sub-Judge for transmission to the Sudder (Dewanee). The Sub-Judge was quarrelsome and said that it was the last day of limitation and the appeal would not be taken but at last said he was accepting and would send it to the Sudder with both the cases.

17th May, Sunday.—I have heard that of the sepoys who had looted the Treasury at Koil (Aligarh) two were arrested with rupees in their possession by Gulab Singh,

¹ Baba Bhutt and Bala Rao were brothers of Nana.

the Sub-Inspector of Sheorajpore who had *chalaned* them to the Criminal courts. It was also found that men from villages are coming in large numbers to the city; that Deep Singh Pahalwan, resident of Ramipore, had gone to Raipore after asking Nana.

18th May, Monday.—The District Magistrate ordered the Kotwal to get the Mahajans to enrol sepoys for their own protection. On hearing this there was great commotion among the people and they began to make all sorts of surmises. I also heard that several of the budmashes who had created trouble at Lucknow had been hanged. On this news there was great talk among troops and hearing of the orders of the District Magistrate the budmashes of the city began to make other arrangements.

19th May, Tuesday.— It is heard that the budmashes on the roads leading to Farrukhabad and Agra from Cawnpore mutinied. The wedding parties going that way have postponed their departure.

20th May, Wednesday.—It is heard today that the troops in the infantry and cavalry say that they will not permit any money to be given from the treasury except for the expenses for the troops.

other rich men of the city went to the District Magistrate and obtained from him a permission to enrol five hundred men. The Babu said that they would pay the salary but the Kotwal should enrol the men, they would not be able to get the men. This was agreed to. In the evening I went to Shah Ali to enquire about the posting of guards at various points. Inayat Hussain, Sub-Inspector of Sheorajpur, whom the District Magistrate had sent for the help of Shah Ali Kotwal, was seated and sepoys were being enrolled. The Kotwal wished to get a few horsemen enrolled from the Collectorate for protection.

22nd May, Friday.—Today a man came from Chimana Appa who is the plaintiff in the case against Nana and on whose behalf we were fighting in the Courts. He said that

Chimana Appa and Ganesh Shastri were going in an ekka with the five hundred rupees they had taken from us for expenses when they met the troops and the artillery of Nana, which the District Magistrate had sent for. These men ran to beat Chimana. It was night and Chimana Appa and Ganesh Shastri concealed themselves in a nulla whilst the people looted five hundred rupees and a fine Chimana Appa was saved but the servants were sword. beaten. These men were saying openly that the British are now here for only a few days more. On hearing this we were much concerned and thought of informing the District Magistrate. But people advised us to say nothing as Nana was in great favour for work had to be taken from him and our complaint would not be listened to on account of our enmity. It was at last resolved that the information should be given whether it is listened to or not.

Magistrate at his bungalow and told him of the coming of the troops of Nana and of the looting of Chimana Appa. He gave no reply. In the evening I heard that Bala is conspiring with the cavalry. Gurdeen the Mukhtar of the Bai Sahiba came from Bithoor, he said that he had himself heard from the servants of Nana that the sepoy infantry and cavalry have secretly joined them. The Nana will keep up appearances for if the troops get defeated then he will get a good name and a chance of restoration of his pension; and if the troops prevail and the Government is removed then he will be the master of the country. This story of Gurdeen appears correct for he lives with the father of the Bais 2 and these men who are closely related must have got the real news.

24th May, Sunday.—It is heard that the District Magistrate has ordered that men enrolled for the protection of the city should be posted at the different outposts in the city;

¹ Nana supplied two guns and three hundred men, cavalry and infantry.

² The Bai Sahibas were the wives of the late Peshwa, adoptive father of Nana.

the Kotwal is doing this. I have also heard that the sowars of the second cavalry and Tika Singh Subedar had gone to the Nana during the night to conspire with him. People say that the Nana has come to the help of Government but the Mukhtar of the Bais say that he is conspiring with the army. It is certain that the bad characters with him are sure to make trouble.

25th May, Monday.—Heard today that the District Magistrate has ordered Nana to enrol some men and money will be paid for the expenses. Orders were given to Sedha Mal, the Nazir of the collectorate, to give rasad and remain present. In the evening when I was returning from the courts I saw some men of infantry and cavalry among the troops of Nana in his garden; so the facts appear to be contrary to what the District Magistrate thinks for if Nana had a clear conscience he would not meet them secretly and the Choudhari and the Zemindar of Bithoor are also with him; they are great rogues and might create trouble among the landholders.

26th May, Tuesday.—Today I presented an application on plain paper to the District Magistrate giving him full information about Nana to warn him, so that he might tell the General Commanding also, lest the Nana might do some mischief. The Magistrate however paid no heed to it and got terribly angry. He said that we had since long been complaining against Nana and had been filing suits against him in the civil courts; he could not consider such reports based on enmity. I protested that that was a different matter but this man had always been against the Government and had a large following of budmashes and when it would become too late he would remember my warning. My information came from a reliable source, for Nana's own people give information to Chimana Appa our client. But the Magistrate paid no heed to it. So I returned keeping a copy of application in my books. We can do nothing, let us see what happens as the result of this negligence. The Sub-Judge has taken upon him-

self the responsibility of speaking to the cavalry; this is also a difficulty and a negligence; let us see what happens.

27th May, Tuesday.—All the moneyed people of the town went to the General commanding and asked him as to what they should do next, they were ready to do what he might say. He told them not to be distressed; the British troops were soon coming from the East, they should take care of themselves. The District Magistrate was taking necessary steps. An order was then issued to the contractor to send at once sugar, rice, gram, sooji, fuel, etc. I learnt from a zemindar that Choudhari Gurdit Singh of Fatehpur and Bhawani Singh Gotam, and Debi Singh and Madho Singh and the residents of Chouhani are appearing in the mutiny. I informed Shah Ali Kotwal of this; he said he would at once inform the Sahib of this but I can not say whether he said anything or not. In the evening I met Mr. Maling, Mr. Stacey, and also an officer of the 8th Cavalry who was with them. I told them of this as well. They replied that if these men kill us England would not become empty of men. Over sixty thousand of British troops are coming from England and we would see what happens then. Some carts belonging to the Sahibs have come from Lucknow today. It is also heard that the Indian cavalry and guns which had come from Lucknow are now going back there. There is great anxiety.

28th May, Thursday.—I have heard that Nana had gone to Bithoor to enrol men. He has sent for some men through Jassa Singh and some through Chaudhari Mansub Ali of Rasoolabad who is his great friend and who had come to see him at Bithoor. Nana has up to this enrolled over sixty hundred men residents of villages across the Ganges and is still enrolling more.

29th May, Friday.—It is heard that the zemindars of Pergana Bilhaur have made a gathering; they are habitual

budmashes. It also appears that the Raja of Tahtahiya is connected with them. Mutiny has begun that side. There was some quarrel about the removal of the magazine, so British troops were stationed as guards. It is also heard that an entrenchment is to be made near the hospital. Ghansham Ahir, Jemadar, of the Military Works is deputed to assist in it. The District Magistrate has issued an order that as he has no leisure all officials of revenue and criminal courts are to carry out orders issued by Ram Lal, Deputy Collector.

ammunition are being taken out to be carried to the entrenchment whilst the commissariat is to store it with provisions. The city people are very anxious. Men on horses and on foot are wandering all over the city. A picket of fifty cavalry has been posted by the Government at Sarsaiya Ghat. It is very strange that people are against Government and yet they are seeking service under it.

31st May, Sunday.—It is heard today that the District Magistrate heard all his reports at the bungalow of Colonel Ewart. It is also heard that the Tehsildar of Bilhaur has to-day sent a report that Moti Singh, zemindar of Nana-Mau has gathered some eight hundred people, on which the orders were that Tehsildar should make all the people understand that they should not mutiny for whoever mutinies will be hanged, and the Tehsildar should also take precautions. Reports from the West are coming of looting and dacoity on the roads. The cavalry and the infantry are indulging in vain talks.

rst June, Monday.—It is heard that the Nana is coming with his troops. Chimana Appa has come here through fear, and is stopping in the small house of Lala Ishri Pershad. He says that all the three brothers and nephews have held a council together that events are shaping well for them as the troops are with them and they are also keeping up appearances. Chimana Appa

expressed his great sorrow and asked me to go and inform the District Magistrate. I replied that he was exceedingly angry with me at the news I had already given him and now I was afraid. At this time the Sahib is trusting Nana very much and there is a fear lest instead of thinking it an act of loyalty he might imprison me. I could not dare to do it. He has enrolled a large number of men and is still enrolling more; but Bala is very bad tempered; let us see what turns up. Later on I came to hear that about a lakh of rupees had been taken from the Treasury to the entrenchment.

and June, Tuesday.—It is heard today that another sixty to sixty-five thousand rupees have gone into the entrenchment; and Nana has also come and is putting up in a bungalow opposite the Civil Courts. The next news is that the orders of the District Magistrate to the Tehsildar Bilhaur had not reached the latter before Moti Singh zemindar of Nana-Mau revolted and burned village Gadna of the Kurmisputting all, fathers and sons, to death; he is looting bungalows on the roadside and the mail carts going by the road and has looted horses. It would not be strange if he commits mischief with Sahibs on the road and causes loss of life to them. The cavalry which has come from Lucknow has conspired with the other troops and Baba and Bala have again gone to the cavalry. Let us see what they conspire. The third thing is that the proposal to blow up the magazine could not be carried out and now the infantry and cavalry are talking violently saying that who can now except themselves, take the magazine. The District Magistrate who was today going armed in his carriage was looking disturbed. The Sub-Judge also went to the cavalry at four o'clock but nothing came of it. The prospects are not at all favourable. Sedha Mal, Nazir of the Collectorate, was saying that he had told the Sahib that he had seen sowars of cavalry with Nana and they were talking with Baba Bhutt; he answered that they were trying to talk them over from his side, and

Azeem Ulla, Mohammad Ishaq and Akbar Ali Mukhtar are with them.

3rd June, Wednesday.-News has been received that Bala Rao, Baba Bhutt, Azeemulla, Mohammad Ishaq, the choudhari zemindar of Bithoor, and the subedars of the cavalry and infantry, all these people met in the small garden and were consulting together, but it is not known what they said. Today men from the cavalry and infantry are seen in larger numbers in the city and the near relations of the sepoys, who were never seen before, were seen in large numbers. There is great anxiety in the city; people say that the cavalry and the infantry are about to mutiny. There are also larger numbers of villagers. It is also heard that Munshi Behari Lal is doing the writing work at Nana's house. A man has just come from Meera Bai and See Bai saying that they are very anxious for their own safety. All these men (Nana's men) have gone from Bithoor conspiring that if they gain control of the government they would see to each of their enemies; all men who give evil counsels are with them. He told us to be very careful and to take care of Chimana Appa. This evening we saw the Sahibs much disturbed. Later on Mr. Stacey, Deputy Collector and Mr. Cuffer of the railways, Mr. Lindsay, adjutant at head-quarters, met me; I told them the news and they said nothing. The worst trouble was that a Sahib shot at a sepoy. The corpses of an European lady and gentleman came from somewhere floating down the canal and people went and saw them.

4th June, Thursday.—It is heard today that it was decided in the matter of shooting, i.e. the men of the cavalry were told that the Sahib was intoxicated and the gun was fired by a mischance. The sepoys say that their guns would also go off by mischance and are talking harshly. The other trouble is that orders were given to

¹ Azeemullah was originally in menial service but rose to become the guiding and conspiring spirit of Nana.

distribute the pay of the troops, but they were ordered to come without arms. The men suspected and trouble arose, for they were saying that in a similar manner troops of whom they had heard had been disarmed. us see what happens. At noon Bijai Narain, sowar, resident of Ramipore, by caste Bhat, of the second cavalry in Hindu Rai's Risala, who is living near the Kotwali, was saying openly that their unit had settled that day to mutiny and they were sure to mutiny. Men in the city began to close their doors and windows and there was great anxiety. The city Kotwal hearing all this went to the District Magistrate, but it is not known what arrangements were made. Baba Bhutt and Azimulla went towards the infantry and cavalry lines; some people say that they went to conciliate them whilst the others say that the army has joined Nana; nothing can be written until something comes out. In the evening men who had business transactions in the cavalry and infantry lines, say that it is not going to end well today. The city people were in this anxiety. It was near I o'clock at night that fire broke out towards the cavalry lines and rifle shots were heard. One troop of cavalry marched out and a little after one the other troop of cavalry also marched out. It transpired that they had set fire to their barracks. The Gillis 1 infantry also marched out. They are going along the road outside the town. The magazine is lying vacant at present, no one went inside it. sowars are going firing shots now and then. The city people hearing the noise and seeing the light got awake in their houses and were much disturbed.

5th June, Friday.—Early in the morning the Lamboran and Garstin's Infantry also marched out and killed Mr. Morny of the canal at the *Jheel*; one Sahib who was with him ran away into the entrenchment. At this time one or two cannon shots were fired from the entrenchment.

¹ The 1st Bengal Infantry was called Gillises and the 53rd Lamboran's (? Lambourne) and the 56th Garstin's.

The infantry is going to Nawabgunj. It was learnt that they went to the Treasury. The sowars took elephants from the elephant lines, and government bullocks, and took carts from the city. At this time we sent a man to get news from Nawabganj. Early in the morning when Shah Ali Kotwal saw the cavalry going past the Kotwali, his mouth got dry and he said "Mutiny has begun." Inayat Husain, Thanadar of Sheorajpur, who had come to help in the protection of the Kotwali, comforted Shah Ali telling him not to despair. The men that the District Magistrate had enrolled through the Kotwal for the protection of the town began to quarrel for their pay and they were also thinking of mischief. At the end seeing no way out of it Lala Ishri Pershad sent the money through Kuber Singh to the Kotwal. Taking their pay up to that date they went away and no one was left for protection and the Kotwal also went away. Then the man who had gone for news to Nawabganj returned. He said that two cannon shots were heard fired from the side of the Nana. The sowars of the second cavalry and the infantry, apparently with an intention to fight went to Nana. Nana with Bala, Baba Bhutt and Azeemulla accompanied them and were standing at the gate of the treasury trying to open the doors. Some sowars went to Ram Dhan treasurer and threatening him took such keys from him as he had with him. Another man whom we had sent after the first messenger brought the news that the treasury is being looted and men are getting things looted by looters; the city budmashes are also looting; the Rajputs of Seesaman and Pagdatt and other Brahmans and Chhatta budmash and all the zemindars of Kakadeo and the budmashes of the neighbourhood are all busy with looting. At eight in the morning Lalpuri Goshain with a flag on an elephant and a large following went to the magazine and took possession of it. The sowars have cut the anchors of the boat-bridge and some of the boats have floated downwards, then hearing that the red-coats are coming

from the other side of the stream they ran away. After looting the treasury they set fire to the civil and criminal courts and burnt all the records and in the afternoon they went to Kalayanpore; it is said that they think of going to Delhi. Later on we heard that Nana and Baba Bhutt do not agree, they say that after conquering Cawnpore and killing the enemies they would go. On hearing this we sent to Bithoor, a resident of Bithoor, who knows all the people there. After this we heard that the infantry and cavalry are going about burning bungalows and barracks and fire is blazing up fiercely. They are killing merchants and others whom they meet. The treasury at the Military Works has also been looted by the treasury officials. A news is come that a camel-rider has been sent to Bithoor to put up a flag there. Coolies and Kanjars are going about with the sowars who get the bungalows looted by such people; and he who refuses to loot is killed; one or two men were killed. Men living in the outskirts of the city and in the neighbourhood are seen running through the streets loaded with vessels, clothes, chairs, tables, and other goods. I have seen it with my own eyes and it gives such sorrow as cannot be expressed. Now fear arises for our own lives that it is hard to escape. That enemy, on whom we have for the last eight years been filing suits of every kind and in every court, that badmash has come to power; how long can we hope to escape? For all the men of Chimana Appa and for the Mukhtars, Vakils and others of the Bais, it would be very difficult to save themselves. Debi Pershad, the clerk of the bridge, being wounded went inside the entrenchment to give the news to the District Magistrate; the orders received were to take care of the bridge. These people would go away after taking the treasury and we will manage the place. The District Magistrate sent for the Kotwal who went inside the entrenchment; it is not known what talk took place. A large number of villagers have come into the city but there is yet no loot or killing. The Kotwal came to the Kotwali in the even-

ing but was distracted. In every mohalla of the city there is noise and terror of the loot. The person whom we had sent to bring full details has brought a detailed account, but it is very long and the mind is much vexed with fear, so the details of these men will be given on the next date; and it was learnt from the man that they will commit mischief in the city tomorrow morning.

6th June, Saturday.—News was received that the boats of the bridge have been burnt. Hearing this we went and concealed ourselves inside the house; there is no way to get outside on account of the rebels. The rebel troops came inside the town at noon. Coming near the house of Nanhe Nawab 1 at about II A.M. they fired cannon and five cannon shots were heard. It was heard that the gate doors were opened and the sowars and sepoys went inside. And they looted fully so that they took away even ornaments and clothes from the persons of the ladies. And all glass-ware of about a lakh of rupees was broken. They looted all things used at Tazias and vessels and clothes. They put undesirable indignities on the Nanhe Nawab which can not be written. They arrested the Nanhe Nawab and took him to Nana, and beat him soundly, hearing which the people were much afraid that they so dishonoured such a rais. It was also heard that the sowars went to the house of Azam Ali Khan,2 they caught hold of him and brought him placed on an open palanquin. It was later heard that they also fired two shots of cannon on his house, and that sowars have also gone to get hold of Bakar Ali Khan and Nizam-ud-dowla, but no news has yet been received of their arrival. It is I o'clock, more or less, the rebels have placed their cannon in position against the entrenchment and have begun firing shots. Sowars are

¹ Nanhe Nawab—His real name was Mohammad Ali Khan, he was a son of Agha Meer, the prime Minister of Ghiasuddin Hyder king of Oudh (Shepherds, Narrative of the Mutiny).

² Azam Ali Khan—was formerly in the service of the king of Oudh and amassing a large fortune had come and settled at Cawnpore.

wandering in the streets and are firing rifles at doors of houses and extracting money from people by threatening them. They surrounded the houses of Badri Dass Agrawala and were about to kill him; they took out gold Karas which his son was wearing in the hands. They are now crowding round the house of Badri Nath Gomashta of the Commissariat; 1 they are surrounding it and are trying to get hold of him. Sowars have also reached the house of Baldeo Sahai contractor and have surrounded his house and are breaking the doors saying that he has concealed Christians. Going to the house of every rais, and making a pretence about concealed Christians and Europeans, they loot the houses and dishonour the people. They have begun burning the bungalows of merchants and the bungalows in the cantonments and getting them looted by the lowest classes. It is also heard that several Sahibs of the road have been killed and the sowars have gone running to kill the others. One cart full of silver goods and other things belonging to a trader coming from Lucknow was looted at Permit Ghat by men of the cantonment bazar and residents of the Permit Ghat. There is a quarrel between Mohamedan sowars and Hindu sepoys; some people say that they will make Nanhe Nawab the master, whilst the Hindus say that Nana should be kept on. For this reason Nana wanted to kill Nanhe Nawab, but Ahmad Ali Khan, who has great influence with Nana, conciliated him and sent Nanhe Nawab under escort to his house and a guard of Sowars was placed round the house to prevent his escape. All the men who have come with Nana are his personal servants, Indian-Hindus or Musalmans and their detail is this. But one other news has been received which is necessary to write first. Sowars and the informant reached the house of Mr. Thomas Grelway where money was buried; they dug it out and looted it. The people who knew about it loot-

¹ Badri Nath,—a Commissariat contractor—helped British Officials and "lost the savings of a life time in the course of a single hour."

ed some of it. Whatever goods of Mr. Brandel, merchant was placed there and it is certain some things of the Badshah of Lucknow, who had great faith in him, was also looted. In the post office there were some forty-six thousand rupees of a merchant, which had come loaded in a heavy wagon, a box of ten or twelve thousand rupees which some commission agent whose name is not known had bought, and the rest was looted by the lowest classes of Patakapur and Kuraswan. They also looted the telegraph. There are numerous near relations of the sowars who are looting and taking away. In the chouk the sowars broke open the doors of the shop of cloth-sellers and gold and silver merchants and looted them. They also looted the house of Mir Yar Ali and two or three of the neighbouring houses. Musalman Sikligarhs, Manihars, Naddafs, and others of low standing go around with the sowars. Men say in the streets that these sowars killed several Christians concealed in shops outside Moghul Sarai and one who was in the canal shops. First these three fired shots hearing which the rebel sepoys ran away thinking that their number was large, but hearing it was small they set fire to the house. One old man, a boy aged about 12 years, and a lady and a (illegible) they arrested and brought from the canal and killed them in the dak bungalow in front of Nana. They are running about streets and lanes searching for Sahibs. Sahib was killed in the garden on Subadar's tank. names of the persons who have come with Nana and are personally connected with him are given according to information received, Nana Dhoondu Panth; Bala; Pandurang Rao; but people say that he has gone to Bithoor; Baba Bhutt; Tamoo Tatiya; Ganag Dhar Tatiya; grandson of Babughar Kola; Owtgir, Kondhoo Panth; Jwala Prasad Brahaman, Hindustani.

If we try to find names of all the particular people in his army it is practicable to get them but it would be very difficult for our messenger to come back with this

information. It is not known where we would be in a short time and the fear is lest some one might see us. But the zemindars of Bithoor whose men were in the loot remain with him and their men are at the entrenchment and the zemindars are coming. There is a huge crowd. The man who was sent to gather information did not get passage and who can send him. But it is necessary to find out and write.

7th June Sunday .- To-day I went and stayed in the house of Lalta Pershad Kayasth. News was received that to-day under orders of Budmash Nana, notices in Hindi and Urdu have been printed and issued to the effect that every Hindu or Musalman who is true to his religion should present himself. These notices have been posted on prominent places. Seeing this all people are afraid. Preparations for the flag are being made. The Kazi of the city permits Jehad. Only Maulvi Salamat Ullah is against it, that such things are not Jehad. Ahmad Ullah, Tehsildar of Bithoor, is bent on mischief and is persuading people to join them. Ahmad Ullah is at the root of the trouble as well as Doctor Rahm Khan Mewati, and all the people of the butchers' quarters. All the Musalman gentry of the town viz., the family of Mir Shujat Ali, Mir Yar Ali Naib Sarishtadar, etc., the sons of Munshi Mohammad Husain and a few others are keeping themselves aloof of it; and none of the gentry are joining it. Ahmad Ali Khan Vakil with a straight sword dangling from his waist is walking about with Baba Bhutt. Sowars have reached the house of the Sub-Judge. Azeem Ullah reached there. The Sub-Judge protested much but they brought him forcibly. In the same way they brought Maulvi Salamat Ali in a palanquin. Our man has seen it. Sight-seers who had gone there also say that the matter of the flag is settled. We heard from the man that went to Khandeshar that prisoners have run away from the jail and have gone towards Sheorajpur and Poora. Sheorajpur has mutinied. The men of Kashi Pershad have broken the telegraph

wire. There was a fight with Gulab Singh, Thanadar, and he was arrested. The third news is that Gurdin Mukhtar of the Bais was killed at Ramel and the people of his house were also killed, and they have laid his house low by cannon. The other Mukhtar Appa Jagtap has run away. All the men of Chimana Appa-Lala Mutsaddi; Basdeo Shastri, and ten others have all been fettered and imprisoned. It is said that their hands and nose will be cut and they will be killed. Hearing this we sent information to Sheikh Muzaffar Husain, Lala Dargahi Lal, and Lala Shadi Lal, Vakils, who had been engaged by us, to run away or else they were sure to be killed. Mr. Curran, merchant, who was living in the Amblaha bungalow, had buried his money, rupees and gold mohurs, of the value of over two lakhs of rupees, inside his bungalow in presence of Baladin Choudhari and Beni Singh Jemadar and had gone away. On the fifth his son went inside the entrenchment. These very men dug the money out and took it away. It was heard at this time that Mr. Green, Superintendent of Bridge who had been concealed by the present contractor inside his house, was now turned out of the house and was killed for this reason. Mr. McIntosh, merchant, was killed with all his family by the rebels, only his mother has escaped, it is not known how. It is heard that the heavy guns are to-day being carried towards the entrenchment and also powder and shot. All the treasury which was looted is now inside the magazine loaded on carts. The special servants of Nana, men of Gillis and Lamborian infantry which has mutinied and the sowars are guarding it. Government artillery is being sent to Bithoor and the ammunition is also being sent there. The budmashes who have got the flag say that they will make an attack. The shop of Permanand has been broken open on a pretext of getting cloth to make bags. The budmashes pointed out to the sowars the shop of Sheo Charan, bazaz, and cloth was taken away from it. Sightseers are made to lift cannon-balls. Cannon are being fired from both sides. One of the sightseers

was killed by a British cannon-shot. Now it is heard that the zemindars have come. It was decided to appoint a person who might remain present at the Durbar of the Nana and do loyal service to Government and recognise the zemindars. A person on whom we have reliance has been so appointed but his name is not written as there would be a danger to his life. He informed that Uttam Chand, Pootan, and twenty others, zemindars of Pargana Bithoor, well armed came with their men to the headquarters opposite the entrenchment, but Chaudhri Khuman Singh, son of Parag Singh, is a fugitive through the fear of Nana on account of an old enmity because the rifle range and the small garden of Nana had been dug out by him from within his boundary and they had litigation. Bijoo Singh (and seven other names) zemindars of Kaka Deo, Pargana Jajmau, came there, from village Sopi, Rao Pahalwan Singh having with him a crowd; Mool Singh (and two other names) with them residents of Udaipur; Zor Singh (and ten other names) etc. with a crowd of two hundred armed men; from village Jamoon Ram Bakhsh and Bhoj Singh and others, notorious budmashes; from village Sawrajpur, Bhawani Singh, a habitual budmash, with twelve hundred guns with him; from village Sonarampur Kreri Singh (and seven other names) with four hundred guns; from village Ramipur, Raja Kishori Singh with Deep Singh Pahalwan and three hundred followers: from village Sedhi, Ram Bakhsh and Hanuman Singh; from village Barbala, Narendra Singh and Kunwar Singh; from village Sangavan Kaja Misir the agent of Jwala Prasad Brigadier and Gopali his brother-in-law, and the people of Sanjawam came there for Iwala Prasad is married there and has a two anna share. In the court of Nana Budmash the following men got posts--Baba Bhutt chief of the offices; Jwala Prasad, Brigadier; Tika Singh, Subadar, General; Azeem Ullah Collector; Abha Dhanukhdhari, Bakhshi; Azam Ali Khan's son was forcibly made captain of the fort. Ghan Shiam Ahir Jamadar of the military

works came there and took away with him his son. The zemindars are so fearless that they do not care if the Sahibs see them from the bastion and when in a few days the budmashes are killed what will happen to them. Edward Greenway Sahib, the son of Thomas Sahib, has come under arrest with all his family from Najafgarh. They are kept in the Sawada Kothi and they are asking two lakhs of rupees from him. Captain Holland, who had been discharged from the infantry, fought the rebels well at Najafgarh, but was killed only when his ammunition was exhausted.

8th June Monday.—When I saw no way of safety to-day, we made up our minds to run away. In the way we saw all around us men of Nana. Passing through the streets of Halwais I went and concealed myself in the house of Lala Ishri Prasad as it was vacant at that time, only Saligram Gomashta was living there, and food for me was sent from his house. I stopped a day there and saw these things. First I heard that Lachhman Prasad Tehsildar was killed by the Mewatis; this news was received by Nana who ordered Akbar Ali to officiate in the post. Later on I saw that a man beating a drum came from towards Butcher Khana and Machhli bazar and went towards the entrenchment followed by the usual crowd of budmashes; they say that an attack will be made of a certainty to-day. One of our people informed me that the Sahibs who were at Bhowanti are not there and have gone away somewhere. Mr. Sanjab employed on the road who had entrusted all his property to the zemindars of Bhowanti was wounded by the people of Banki Karta. He, his wife, and child were arrested and sent on a carriage to the Police Station at Nawab Ganj. His wife was asking not to kill them but they would do any sort of work they might be put to. No one paid any heed to her and it is said they were sent to Nana who would probably get them killed. The other thing is that Ajab Singh of Kendha with his brother came to the Nana; they have looted

things from bungalows of Sahibs, some English guns and an Arab horse belonging to Sahibs, and looting people on the roads, and have promised to arrest Sahibs. new thing I have heard is that Dwarka Khatri, budmash, his son Durga and his eldest son Sital have been presented before Nana. This man Dwarka was imprisoned in Benaras for seven years. But somehow through artfulness concealing his previous conviction he took service under Vinayak Rao of Tirahuan and worked with the Marhattas. After the death of Vinavak Rao he inveigled Kashi Bai, to cause trouble; then he went to Mr. Palmer, merchant, and made some plots. It was found that he was causing mischief, so they tried to get him put in jail.. On this he ran away and came to Cawnpur and lived hiring a house of Sheo Prasad Mahajan son of Bhunti Mal. Now he has joined Nana and is persuading him to take a large amount of money from Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Trihuwan and to get them to join him; on this some correspondence is being carried on, probably about the arrest of Chimana Appa, who has run away. This news has come to me from a great friend of mine and who is very loval to This very Dwarka has threatened Jagan Government. Prasad Khatri that now the British have gone away and he has all authority. News is also received that the sowars, again brought Nanhe Nawab before Nana and charged him that he prevented an attack and prevented the flag bearers. On this an order to kill him was passed and he was made over to Tika Singh. On this Ahmad Ali Khan Vakil, sent for Baldeo Singh zemindar of Seesa Mau who was his client, and Baldeo Singh on his personal responsibility got Tika Singh general to release Nanhe Nawab, as he (Tika Singh) lives in village Burra gaon of Baldeo Singh. The Rajputs of Banoon who were the previous zemindars of the village came to Nana; these men commit dacoity they have ejected the present Lambardars of the village, and as evidence of their good faith they have fired their guns on the entrenchment and have also given rasad. Several people have seen it; their names are (eight names) and they must have other companions. The other news is that one or two troops of the seventh cavalry and two companies of sepoys, with their Sahibs who were with them, have come to inform Nana that they want to join him. On this the answer sent was to bring the heads of the Sahibs; these flatly refused saying that they have sworn not to kill them, but to keep them under control. Then the news came that Nawab Doolha fully armed with his men has joined the flag and gave sherbet and food to the sowars. It would be very difficult to find out and write the names of the men who are under the flag but they are the lower classes as tin-men, tobacco-sellers, bangle-makers, butchers and others, some five thousand of them. After getting so much news, at dusk, I left the Kothi and went to Sarsava Ghat to the house of Hira, Ganga-putra, who gave me one of his houses to live in. There I heard that the present contractors of the bridge, Narain, Janki, etc., have also joined Nana and that Bakar Ali and Nizam-uddawla have been arrested.

oth June, Tuesday.—Today I heard that Ahmad Ullah Tehsildar persuaded Hulas Singh Kotwal, who was stopping at Khurd Mahal, to come over; the latter objected at first but was persuaded to the ways of disloyalty and was appointed Kotwal. Moola Choudhari, one-eyed, by caste Kalwar, an old budmash offered to supply rasad and was appointed to the office of Choudhari. Of a sudden a cannon shot was heard from towards Nawab Guni. Ganga-putra, on enquiry, said that the Sahibs have come to Katra. I remembered that the District Magistrate had given orders that when boats come carrying Europeans from Farrukhabad passage should be given through the bridge for the boats. But this was not done. It is heard that Jawahar Singh, resident of Nawabgunj and zemindar of Kihora and Rajpora, has gone to arrest them. As for the Sahibs who are with the cavalry at the parao of Chaubepur, sepoys have gone to Pandurang Rao at Bithoor that

they will not kill the Sahibs; they are ready to fight; a man has been sent to enquire. The fight is going as before. Jwala Prasad, who was a resident of towards Lahore, and was a Deputy Collector, has come to Nana. Akbar Ali has been ordered to go as Tahsildar of Akbarpur.

10th June, Wednesday. - Ghiasuddin Jemadar of Military Works has shown the way to dig mines and has sent for mine-diggers. Cannon shot was again heard from that side. In the afternoon two corpses of Europeans came floating down the Ganges and some sepoys came in a boat following them and firing on them. Shortly after I heard that all the Sahibs who had come from Farrukhabad by boats have been arrested and a few are left behind. Jawahir Singh, Jemadar, also came with them before Nana to show his loyalty. All, this was seen by our man Jham Singh on the bank of the river. It is heard that they are confined in barracks, let us see how they save their lives. Later on at night I heard that the cavalry at Chaubepur which had the Sahibs with it also joined the Nana. At five o'clock a bugle was blown; the Sahibs enquired by whose order had it been blown; they replied by Nana's orders. On this the Sahibs got on their horses and ran away followed by the sowars firing after them. One was killed at Imilhe and the rest were killed by the time they reached the well of Udai Chand. Their heads were placed and taken to the Budmash Rao. One Sahib and one lady, who was pregnant, were taken alive to the Mahsool Ghar. It is heard that Dwarka Khatri, budmash, has posted guards in the house of Ishri Prasad and two agents who had been left in charge were imprisoned. After this the Ganga-putra told me that news about my residence in his house had got abroad, and he advised me to get away or else his house would be looted and I would be killed. I could do nothing else but feel sorrow. The idea came that it would be now difficult to get news. So it was decided to get a man of zemindar class who could go into the Durbar with zemindars and one other

man of the Mahajan class who could also go to the Durbar and elsewhere, be selected. So one zemindar and one agent who is also a complainant, and can go with zemindars, were selected. They promised to send me all the news they could get. At three o'clock at night one of my men informed me that the budmash Rao had ordered that the heads of the three Sahibs be sent to the bigger Budmash Nana. The lady 1 was seen by Meena Bai and Si Bai, they ordered that if the lady were killed they would give their own lives; so permission has been given to the Sahib and the lady to live in the Kothi of Burra Sahib, and two companies of sepoys and sowars were ordered to live in that Kothi. My man also informed me that when these Sahibs were killed, Makhan Pande zemindar of Chaubepur, heard of it and he prepared himself to fight for them. Some sepoys had gone to the village and one of them was killed by Makhan Pande's men at Makhan Pande's own door. The sepoys mutinied and asked the Budmash Rao to get them Makhan Pande for only then they would be satisfied; but Makhan Pande has run away.

News has come that big zemindars and Goshains residing across the Ganges are coming now with large crowds. It is now not desireable to remain here as there is no way of safety; and Azeem Ullah has been ordered to arrest Kutcherry officials. So at four o'clock I started. Instructed my agent Jugal Kishor to send information daily to Jajmau with names of persons.

In the way along the banks of the Ganges I saw the corpses of Europeans which could not float down owing to the shallowness of water. I can not write my feelings of sorrow. Munshi Narain Dass' brother was stopping with Kamta Prasad Pande and I also stopped there. On the banks of the Ghat at Jajmau I saw three boats and one house-boat lying burnt. After cautious enquiry I learnt

¹ These were Mr. Carter, a toll-keeper and his wife.

that the boat was loaded with wine and other merchandise. The Mallahs looted the wine, got drunk and guarrelled; the zemindars of the neighbouring villages Pali, Jahan, Madnipur, Moiya and Najafgarh looted the merchandise and have killed some Sahibs. Sowars of the second cavalry pass between Cawnpore and Najafgarh. One company of sepoys is stationed for protection at Jajmau outpost. A little later some sepoys came from across the river; on enquiry it comes out that some cavalry and infantry has come to join the Nana, they are the people who have run away from Benares consisting of Sikhs and sepoys coming mounted on looted horses. Today at II o'clock Narain sepoy came to me with a list of zemindars who presented themselves today before Nana. (Here are given some sixty names with villages to which they belong and some slight description in some cases). After him came our man Jham Singh who said that the Sahibs of Farrukhabad were placed in a line and were killed; then the Sahibs were asking not to be killed but they were ready to do any service asked of them. The man narrated all that he had heard. Azeem Ullah and Dwarka Dass Khatri have got the sowars to bind their horses inside the verandah of Babu Ishri Prasad's house and have posted guards. Chhote Lal and Salig Ram agents have been arrested and placed in the Kotwali. In the evening there was a light of fire; it appeared that one of the cannonshots of the rebels fell on the roof of a barrack and set it on fire. News has come that a man was made to mount on a camel and to proclaim on the behalf of the Emperor of Delhi that all this country was given to Nana. Arjun Singh vakil has been sent for. A little night had passed when one Rustam resident of Jajamau Fort got upon a horse and ran it towards Janan Ghat saying that British soldiers have come and he was going to catch them. It appeared that he has some friends among the sowars and he was going to Nana. It is heard that Mahraj Bakhsh, Tahsildar Sadah Salimpur, has gone over to Nana. Hatti Singh

and Chandi Singh living across the Ganges have come by the aid of Ambika Prasad with five hundred men armed with guns. Narain and other bridge contractors are helping the rebels to get across. Kalka Prasad Kanungo of Hadah crossed the river in my presence with some eight hundred armed men. Lachman Prasad Tehsildar came with some treasury money saying that he had not misappropriated; had anyone given this false information?

12th June, Friday.-I have heard that Mansab Ali Choudhari of Rasoolabad with Panah Ali of Dadlaha who has also some land in Bithoor, and Mir Bakhsh Ali of Safipur with a large crowd of about 3,000 people have come. The next news is that the mutineers have decided to attack today. The fight is going on furiously. Some people inside the entrenchments were wounded and some one was killed. On this side apparently the casualties were two sowars and a few sepoys from cannon and rifle shots. To escape danger the sowars went inside the city to loot it; the sepoys of the Gillis and Lamboran regiment made some stand; the real work is being done by the zamindars and their tenants; the budmashes of Pali and Chohani praise their sharp shooting. One Oula, courtesan, who is with Nana and who has taken considerable property and Jewels and all the ornaments of the Bais from Nana, sees from behind the screens the killing of Europeans. I have at this time seen myself that the Sikhs and sepoys who had come over from Benares have crossed the Ghat here to join Nana; some of the sepoys were on horseback and they paid one rupee each at the ferry. Reliable news has been received that Rajputs of Ganag Gunj under Raja Kuber Singh have gone in a crowd to the Nana; this man has caused considerable trouble in the district by looting the people. What am I to write of the loyalty of Ghansham Jemadar. He is trying to mine the entrenchment and has sent for miners. Azeem Ullah, a courtier of Nana, and Ahmad Ullah Tehsildar of Bithoor went with sowars and brought Ram Lal, Deputy Collector near Sawada Kothi.

On the order for the arrest of officials some people who were living in Nawabgunj were brought under arrest and those who are under concealment are being searched for. Jwala Prasad, by caste Dhoosur, of General gunj, is going about in his palanquin to curry favour and aspires to the post of a Deputy Collector; he is persuading Deputy Ram Lal to accept. I have also heard that court is to be held in *Tilaq Mahal*.

13th June, Saturday.—News is come that Akbar Singh, zemindar of Chandanpur and his brother have looted a boat of merchandise and also killed a Sahib whose name is not known. The other news is that Ghanshiam Singh of village Janan has also joined. He killed the son of John G. Duncan, placed his head in a basket on the head of a coolie and took it to Nana. He got ten rupees as prize and two rupees were given to the coolie. When four gharis of day had advanced, criminal and revenue officials attended but a few men had not come. The other report from Cawnpore is that the Thakurs of Chauham have sworn to the Nana that they will give all the help that they can from their twenty-six villages. Out of the Ali Ghol which has been enrolled at Bithur, two thousand men have been sent for. Kalka Kanungo has been asked to procure men from the Nawab's territory; and orders for settlement and realisation of revenue have been issued through him and men have been asked for; Kalka has gone across to enrol men.

I had written so far when one Ganga-putra, Thakur by name, suddenly appeared with a body of sowars for my arrest, and surrounded the house of Kamta Pande. It was in Divine mercy that my life was to be saved, so Ram Din Ganga-putra caused me to escape through a nulla and I took the way towards Madaripore. In the way the tenants of Peondi or residents of Mooiya looted us but Madho Kahar who with us stopped the looters. It was the goodness of the zemindars of Peondi that they concealed

¹ John Duncan-Superintendent of Roads.

us behind the temple of Sidhnath in the garden of Jugal Kishore, and we passed the blazing day there in the sun without food or drink. Sheodin, gardener, gave us four men at night and with the four Kahars that were with me we all reached the river bank, but unfortunately there was no boat at the Ghat to get across. It were better to drown oneself than to get into the hands of such scoundrels. We started from the garden at about 12 o'clock The first streamlet was less than breast deep and the night was moonlit. Getting across we reached Katri where we saw the corpses of men the boatmen had killed in their intoxication lying about; and in their intoxication they are running about with lathis or arms. What can I write of that horror, the days of the Sarkar's Government were coming to mind and the mind was bewildered; I did not know where we were going. The Ghat was still some distance away when it came bright day-light; the lower classes had taken away some clothes from the corpses of Europeans. The papers and other things of the boats which had been looted were lying on the banks zemindar came just then in a boat from the other side. I chanced to meet a Brahman an old acquaintance who lived the other side of the river, he at once carried us across the rivers in the boat. On reaching the other bank I did not regain my senses for a pahar and a half. Thereafter we started for Badrakha which was some one and a half kos away and reached there by ten o'clock.

information that I had come to Badarkha and am stopping at the house of Dharam Dass Kayasth; I will write whatever news is received by the evening. No man came today. The things I have seen at Badrakha are that Chandi Singh and Hatti Singh of Banthri with the secret help of Ambika Pershad the nephew of Thakur Prasad are enrolling men for Nana and have called some outsiders. My men have themselves seen at their doors four mail-carriages and two bugghis of Sahibs standing at their gate

which they have brought in loot from Cawnpore or Unao. They have begun realisations in village in the name of Nana. They have inside their house things looted at Unao. The Budmash Kaka of Hadha is gathering men from all sides and has sent some men across the river. He has carried records to his home loaded on a cart.

15th June, Monday at Badrakha.—Today at 10 a.m. news was received of the happenings of yesterday. first news is that the European men and ladies of Farrukhabad some forty in numbers who had been left behind were sent by the budmash Jassa Singh Choudhari of Fatehpore Chaurasi-walla under arrest to Bithur; the budmash has kept them there and sent information to the arch-budmash Nana who has sent for them to The second news is that from Oudh one Cawnpore. regiment Nadiri Paltan, and one other the name of which is not known, a few sowars and a few guns with gunners and Mir Nawab Commandant of the Nadiri Paltan are thinking of crossing to go to Cawnpore. The real story is that one woman, Sahib Begum, lives between Bhognipore and Rasoolabad and is mortgagee of some villages. Her brother Mir Nawab Commandant has come at her bidding. Sahib Begum had gone to Nana to give her help and she has been instigated by Inayat Hussain.

All the treasury that is brought in loot by regiments is sent to Bithur. Nana has promised the mutineers that he would give each of them golden Karaş for the hand and cash prize. The sepoys wanted to loot the city on which Holas Singh, Kotwal, said that if the city is looted then of which place would he be the Raja, all the people would be busy in looting and the battle would be ruined. The zemindars also want to loot the city for their villages are mortgaged to bankers and they want to kill the Mahajans. Baba Bhutt and Azeem Ulla and the Kotwal all come together. Raham Khan, doctor, Mewati, got Shah Ali Kotwal from Bhojpur and presented him on the 13th and he has been given Intelligence work. It is also heard that

some British soldiers came out of the entrenchment, spiked rebel guns and overturned them. People are saying that if all the British soldiers came out simultaneously and attack, all the budmashes will run away; but the zemindars are well prepared surrounding them with their arms in readiness. One Sahib who baked bread and used to supply the Sahibs inside the entrenchment, he might be a servant or someone else, was caught and killed. One water-carrier has also run away from the entrenchment. It is heard that some Sahibs are wounded and some British soldiers have been killed and that they are much distressed for food and drink. It is necessary to write whatever is heard. It was an act of great daring that the British soldiers used to carry water inside from the tank.

At five o'clock further news was received that embankments have been made all round the bastion and the Nadiri Paltān and others will deliver an attack. Sheikh Panchoo has promised to provide a cavalry and has got enrolled five sowars. It is being proposed to loot the house of Lala Ishri Pershad. Narain and others, the bridge contractors, are ordered to keep boats in readiness for troops coming from across the river, and they have consented to do so. The hands of one (illegible) have been cut in the Kotwali. I have heard that some Sahibs are coming from the Agra road; sepoys and camel sowars are sent for their arrest, but this seems to be incorrect. It has been claimed that whoever has any property belonging to Sahibs, he should produce it at once.

16th June, Tuesday, Badrakha.—My man Madan came with a letter. The news from Cawnpore is that Narain Agrawala and his brother Janki and others, whose firm carries the name of Sobha Ram Nanak Chand, purchased the bridge (contract) from Behari contractor. In order to please Nana he cleverly arranged the crossing of Nadiri Paltan, the other regiment with artillery and sowars and took heavy ferry charges and then requested a prize.

Debi Pershad Moharrir and Niaz Mohammad, News-writer are also with them. The other news is that Daryao Singh Raja-(illegible) by caste Rajput Bithri, carried in a bamboo palanquin with drums and flags and the emblems of Raja, came to meet Nana. Ahmad Ali Vakil, Shah Ali and Azeem Ullah became his helpers; they got him a seat, got his nuzzar accepted, and in return procured him a dress of honour and the disloyal Raja gladly wrote an agreement promising that 15,000 men will be with him, and that twelve villages of Gour Thakurs are with him. and fifteen hundred men armed with guns are with him now. He was accepted as a wellwisher by these disloyal persons. He was permitted to take possession of and begin realisation in villages which some time previous had been owned by him. Orders were issued that the Nadiri Paltan, etc., were to be supplied with poorie and halwa until they captured the entrenchment, which they promise to do tomorrow. The Sahibs and ladies which the budmash Jassa Singh had sent under arrest came to Cawnpore but no others news is received. Kanhar Singh, by caste Gaur, head of the Kachhwahans asked for a cannon from Nana which was given to him with ammunition; he has gone with it to his village. I have a list of zemindars who have come in large numbers from Dera Mangalpore and it will be given on another date. Ambika Pershad the nephew of Thakur Pershad Dube sent men of Hatti Singh and Chandi Singh under one of their particular men, Shiv Cheran Ahir, for my arrest who took me to the town. They were taking me to Nana but on writing a pronote for Rs. 175 getting the security of Bans Gopal Dubey released me in the evening. They realised the money from Jugal Kishore my Agent in Cawnpore.

of Badrakha is that at this time five sowars and two Havildars have come inside the village to arrange for rasad as the troops are coming. On enquiry from the village it appeared that at Ranjeet Purwa two regiments of infan-

try and artillery with treasury and twenty elephants have arrived; and there are also some camels and some carts of ammunition with six cannons. Tomorrow they will be at Hadha to go to Nana. At this time Hatti Singh and Chandi Singh of Banthra and the men of Kalka Kanungo fully armed and well prepared have gone to cross the river at Jajmau-ghat. One Mohammad Sayeed is appointed as Superintendent of Jajmaughat for the crossing of the budmashes and Murad Khan is appointed at Janan ghat. At five o' clock when there was still some day-light left I received a letter through my man from Cawnpore. The news is that the troops which have come from Lucknow, the Nadiri Paltan, etc., are being well feasted and their officer says that he will conquer the bastion in four hours. The scoundrel Nana wishes to summon all the people. All the zemindars who have written agreements, the 36 villages of Chauhans, Chandels, Narawais, Gautams, etc., want to come. So I have sent a man to get list of the leading men who came and of the budmashes who helped in it. The other news is that one Nanhe and one another were made to ride on donkeys and their houses were razed to the ground. A council of management for all the budmashi work has been appointed consisting of Ahmad Ali Khan Vakil, Shah Ali, Baba Bhutt, Azeem Ullah and Jwala Pershad. The fight is going on as before. bridge contractor is very pleased over the income he derived from dues at Permit Ghat and over arrangements made for the getting across of the mutineers.

18th June, Tuesday at Badrakha.—The same regiment which was at Ranjit Purwa yesterday reached Hadha today and will go to Unao tomorrow. Kalka budmash has issued orders from the court of the budmash in foreign land and the men here are awaiting settlement. To night when night had gone about two gharis (8 p.m.) a letter was brought by my man Jhan Singh saying that Kalka Persad has arrested the Munshi of Mr. Thomas Greenway. Mr. Edward his wife and son and others are

imprisoned in the Sawada Kothi. Jwala Pershad and Shah Ali went and spoke to his mother asking her to give two lakhs of rupees, or else she would be killed. She said that she would give a *Hundi* on Calcutta and they could release her when the money was paid. They did not accept this. The agents of Lala Ishari Pershad who are imprisoned were made to pay by threats seven thousand rupees out of which Dwarka Khattri, budmash, of whom I have written before appropriated two thousand. He said that they were helping the Bais, causing Chimana Appa to fight, and had spent money in courts and had tried to bring dishonour by applying for attachment of property; they should disclose (the whereabouts of Ishri Pershad) else the house would be dug down.

About the zemindars who have come their number is large and all their names cannot be found; such as are given are sufficient. They cannot conceal themselves as they are well known. Chauhans, Chandels, a few Bundela, Gaur, Gautam, Bais, Panwar of the bank of the Jamuna and of the areas of Bhognipore, etc. All these men made a great attack with the Nadiri Palatan, etc. Their gunners also fought well and left nothing undone in the fight on the entrenchment and also overturned a cannon on the entrenchment but when the Sahibs of the Sarkar Bahadur fired their volleys and their grape-shots the budmashes lost heart and a few were also killed. But under these circumstances what a brave fight the Sahibs are showing. If there were only two hundred British troops to come as help from outside and had made a rush, then all the budmashes would have run away for the rebel troops had lost heart. Every one of the sepoys and sowars had large sums of money looted by them, and a few had come back after leaving the money at their houses, and a few had their relatives accompanying them. So on account of the fear of this money they were not coming forward to attack but were going about looting the city, and were sitting comfortably in the shops by the canal eating rasad supplies,

and drinking sherbet of as much rasad sugar as they pleased. If the disloyal zemindars and their attendants and tenants had not helped them the troops would not improbably have run away. Only the Lucknow troops and the zemindars were opposing the Sarkar, and are helping the enemy and offering supplies in every way. Today's defeat has perplexed them. The Sarkar is getting no help, and the budmashes are large in number. The zemindars are surrounding the entrenchments on all sides and it is impossible for supplies from outside to get in.

From the family of Rao Ghanshiam Singh, his son Randhir Singh has come. The list of leading zemindars so far as ascertained is this—Chauhans about 20,000; Gours with Raja Daryao, Singh 15,000; Panwars of the banks of the Jamuna 18,000; Chandels who have come on account of Raja Sutti Pershad and Raja Kuber Singh 8,000; Raja Durga Pershad Dachabdi has come with Thakurs on being asked by Kuber Singh and stopped before the Sowada Kothi; Rawat Randhir Singh with 500 men; Rana Sukhraj Wali and the Rao of Seepi, etc., about 10,000 men. Their details are impossible but I give what I have got. (Here follow about 155 names with names of their villages and in a few cases details of their following and their character.)

nents of infantry with artillery and money loaded on elephants passed before me on their way to Unao; they will not go via Jajmau-ghat. Men have gone to inform Nana, the disloyal. Whatever comes forth will be written. News was received in the evening through my man Madri that the Sahibs who were sent by Jassa Singh under arrest have come from Bithur to Cawnpore to Nana. Out of these three Sahibs are imprisoned on the promise that they would get the Allahabad fort vacated and made over; some of the ladies are imprisoned in the Sawada Kothi. The informant says that he had gone to find out names of zemindars and so he did not get any other news; he could

not also ask with greater insistance lest it might arouse suspicion, and he might be killed and then no news might be obtainable. Shah Ali and Jwala Pershad are still talking with great tact with the mother of Mr. Edward Greenway about the two lakhs of rupees. She says she has no money with her, but is willing to give it; she offers a Hundi for the amount and they are to be released when the money is paid. The latest news is that the Moulvi of Allahabad who had caused the mutiny at Allahabad has come with Choudhari Ahmad Yar and Rajab Ali Tehsildar. Now great mischief will arise for Rajab Ali is well known to me that he is a budmash and a cheat and got his post through misrepresentation. Choudhari Ahmad Yar of Hakaon, Dist. Fatehpore Haswa, is a noted budmash; he keeps the people of the district friendly by spending money; and he had gone to Allahabad. The disrepute of Rajab Ali is known all over the district of Cawnpore. The gathering of these three men would result in great mischief. Great daring is shown by Azeezan prostitute who goes fully armed to her friends the sowars at the embankments and provides them on the road with milk to drink.

zoth June Saturday, Badrakha.—Today a great friend of mine has sent me a true piece of information. A council was held at Nana's place in which the Allahabad Moulvi, the Choudhari, Azeem Ulla, Shah Ali, Ahmad Ulla Vakil, Akbar Ali, Baba Bhutt, Jwala Pershad, the budmash Bala Tika Singh General and others say that there is no other way of capturing the entrenchment except by diplomacy, that they may be taken out by oaths and promises and then made right. They have to be killed and by battle our men have to be sacrificed. Nana did not agree to this; but Bala said that he was with it. Later on another council was held at the hospital which Nana has opened for the wounded and where Halal Uddin, doctor, works; it is not known what transpired. Fight is going on as usual.

today through Narain Singh, peon, that it was proclaimed today in the city that Poona is now in their kingdom, and men have come from Lucknow where also we are in possession after conquering it; Dwarka Dass Khatri, budmash, is talking of Lucknow. The house of Mahajans, have suffered greatly; they are to go to the Sahibs for they are the people with means; and these people are also sending letters (to the Sahibs). The next news is that the Bengalees who had been imprisoned have been released.

22nd June, at Badrakha.—News is come that some conversation is going on with a lady who is imprisoned at Sawada Kothi. The Goshains of Rasdahan, Jai Indargir and others are camped at Subedarka-talab. When money and rasad was demanded from them they replied that they had neither money nor armed men and that they themselves have but little to eat while their estate is not in their possession. They have been asked to wait. Later on it is written that the lady has promised to get the entrenchment vacated. Fight is going on as before, I have sent a letter to enquire the name of the lady.

23rd June, at Badrakha.—News is received that the lady is the sister of the wife of Jacobi, the watch-maker; the talk of settlement is carried on with her. They also say that if the entrenchment is not vacated within four days then they make another attack from all sides. Later on it is written that the lady asked Kalka Pershad Munshi of Mr. Edward Greenway, to go and bring a box of her's containing a large number of watches and other things that is at the house of Dewan Fateh Chand at Gwal Toli; he replied that he could not do it. Firing is going on as before and the Sahibs are much pressed for provisions which can not get to them from any side while the mutineers get all kinds of help. Later at two gharis after sunset (8 p.m.) a man Kesho brought me news that Shah Ali, Azeem Ullah and others had gone to talk with the lady, something has

been settled. The fight might be stopped tomorrow, they will also go for settlement.

after dusk my man Narain brought the news that the sister-in-law of Mr. Jacobi went in a doly as an emissary from Nana to the entrenchment; she went inside whilst the doly and the kahars remained outside. Firing stopped at her going. She came out after a long while. Shah Ali, Jwala Pershad and Azeem Ullah informed Nana about her at the Sawada Kothi, where he is putting up. She then went inside the tent to him; then it is not known what was settled, but people who know say that it is all deceit. Today Khuda Yar Khan, the Abkari Darogha, threatened abkari contractors and got them to give five thousand rupees to Nana. One person, dark of complexion, long in stature, who might be a Christian or someone else, had come out of the bastion and was imprisoned.

25th June, Thursday at Badrakha.—Today a ghari after dusk news was received that the lady went inside the bastion with Jwala Pershad Brigadier and Azeem Ullah. Azeem Ullah was interpreting in English the talk between Jwala Pershad and General Commanding. Settlement has been made. The agreement is to be with the seal of Nana and oaths were made by the Ganges and otherwise that there shall be no treachery. When this was settled, Holas Singh Kotwal was given orders by the budmash to fetch boats from wherever they can be obtained and they should be covered. Orders were issued to Lochan boatman of the ghats. The Kotwal asked the boatman of the Commissariat Ghat to arrange for the covering of the boats and he agreed. Lochan boatman of the ghat and Buddo Choudhari, took boats from the bridge contractors for he has also joined the mutineers, and also took boats belonging to merchants standing there; a few of the boats have been covered and

¹ This was probably W. J. Shepherd (author of the "Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpore"), an Anglo-Indian.

a few have yet to be covered. It is heard that the Sahibs will come out on Saturday.

26th June, Friday at Badrakha.—A letter was received through Tham Singh my man that the boats were quickly got ready. Orders were privately given to Jwala Pershad, Tantia Topi, Azeem Ullah, Baba Bhutt, Abha Dhanuk Dhari, Bala, Shah Ali, Ahmad Ali Khan Vakil that the leading zemindars of Chaudhani, and Pali, Durga Pershad of Sachendi, Satti Pershad of Sheorajpore, and men of Nar and Skhrii and others were all to gather at the Choura Ghat. Holas Singh Kotwal was ordered that the bridge contractor and the boatman of ghat be made to understand that when they get on the boats, they should on a signal set fire to the boats and jump down. Kalka Pershad, agent, had been to Mr. Edward Greenway in the day and the Sahib had asked him to go and borrow three hundred rupees from Sheo Pershad or Fatto Mal as he was going on the boats. Kalka Pershad had somewhere heard this news, he told the Sahib that he had heard that there was going to be treachery with the Sahibs. The sowars of the cavalry had protested against this to the Nana that it was fair to kill in open fight and they would not agree to the proposals. On this the budmash said that in his faith all methods, false oaths, swearing by boiling oil or by the Ganges-were permissible in killing the enemy. On this they agreed. The news is come that they will go on the boats tomorrow.

27th June, Saturday at Badrakha.—The sound of gun fire began at nine or half past nine. I sent my man Jham Singh to the ghat to find out the news as to the cause of the firing. About noon he returned saying that men who were coming from a bath in the Ganges are saying the entrenchment has been taken and all the corpses are coming floating down and in their rustic tongue they are saying that the Ganges has run red; it can not be seen. (Hereafter the narrator details of his own feelings of sorrow and tries to describe the massacre at the ghat

but it is all exaggerated hearsay. It has no historical value).

28th June, Saturday at Badrakha.—..... It rained last night. At this time (8 a.m.) I have sent two men to Allahabad with an application in Hindi to inform the Sahibs so that perchance the lives of the Sahibs, the ladies and children might be saved, otherwise there is no chance of safety. In the evening my man brought news from Cawnpore that a boat of the Sahibs which had floated down was caught by Sadhu Singh Jemadar of the second cavalry, sowar and Hashmat Ali Thanadar—they arrested Mr. Stacey of Bareilly and killed him..... The remainder were taken to Nana and also killed.

o'clock he said of a Sahib who had been arrested and sent across the river under escort with the men of Kalka Pershad Kanungo. He was taken to the budmash who ordered these very men to kill him. They answered "Give him arms and if he will fight us then we also kill him, otherwise we can not kill him thus." At last a sowal of the second cavalry hit a sword blow and others followed and he was killed. Salutes have been fired in his honour today from every regiment and artillery. There is news that he will go this night to Bithur. It is heard that the auspicious day for his coronation is tomorrow. He has promised to give the rebel troops gold Karas and prize on his return from Bithur.

30th June, Tuesday, Badrakha.—Great noise of cannon fire was heard in the west today at about 9 a.m. My man came after four o'clock that Nana was crowned today at Bithur and the Raj Tilak was given, and nuzzers were presented. Orders were issued from the office of Baba Bhutt to the Tehsildars for realisation of money and for search of property belonging to the Sahibs and people were ordered to produce all such property. Proposals are being considered for the distribution of prize and Karas to the sepoys. The man also says that he had been to Bithur

and has seen that great zemindars like Satti Pershad and others were present at the crowning ceremony. The disloyal Shah Ali has been given full charge of making settlements. News writers have been sent to various Chandi Pershad, the chief Munshi of Nana, has . been appointed as the head of the office staff; Dewan Rao as the officer-in-charge of Magazine; Sheo Narain as Daroga of Jail; Sheo Narain, Choudhari of Artillery; Mohammad Afzal Khan, Daroga of supplies. The details of Jawala Prasad's Officials, Mohamed Hasan, Ram Jit Sahai will be written when it is received. Baba Bhutt, Azeem Ulla, Shah Ali, Narain Maratha, Jawala Prasad, Tantia Topi, Hulas Singh Kotwal and Ahmed Ali Khan Vakil have been appointed for making arrangements. Villagers say that two Sahibs who had swam down from the boats reached alive in Baiswara and are kept by Raja Dur Byai Singh at Murarmau.1

Ist July, Wednesday at Badrakha.—Today's news is that Akber Ali Mirdaha has been ordered to the Akberpore Tahsil and the Government money which was kept has been sent for. In Baba Bhutt's Court Azam Beg, son of Kulloo Beg, fire-wood Seller, Karam Ali Daftari and his brother and his son-in-law have been appointed Record-keeper. Kallan of Gwal Toli, the son of Doondey, who was the orderly of the District Magistrate, is now a Jamadar with Nana; Bilas Rai Serishtedar collectorate has been kept by Baba Bhutt in his court but he goes to Jawala Prasad also Appa Dhanuk Dhari has been ordered to go with troops to the west to manage the country and to see that no one comes from that side. The City Bazar is being forcibly opened.

2nd July, Thursday at Badrakha.—News is received that sepoys have purchased gold mohurs at twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-four rupees each. Appa Dhanukdhari has gone with a regiment of infantry and cavalry to Sheorajpur and Bilhaur. The senior Ganga Prasad has been

¹ One was Lieut. de la Fosse.

sent for through the Kotwal. Maharaj Baksh Tehsildar has sent money; it is kept under orders of Azeem Ullah at the house of Deputy Ram Lal for the distribution of salaries; lists are being prepared. The sepoys are asking their prize and some gold has been sent to the Magazine to be made into Karas. It is said that the troops will be paid their salaries. Nana went to Bithur promising to come back in a day but has not come back yet. The sepoys are quarrelling and saying that if he does not come back they will enthrone Nanhe Nawab. The troops from Sultanpore which were staying at Unao have now come on the other side of the river.

3rd July, Friday at Badrakha.—Of the two men whom I had sent with a letter in Hindi one has been caught, but fortunately I had not written my name in it. The second man escaped back and says that the other man was caught at Mukhta ka purawa. He says that he has heard from a traveller whom he met at Murad Gunj that the Sahibs are about to come shortly and that some Sahibs have come at Allahabad with troops from Madras. After this I sent another man to inform me when the Sahibs arrive at Asni. There is a rumour in this village that Nana's troops are about to go to Lucknow. At four o'clock I received news that Bala has come and the distribution of pay has begun. The rebel troops are quarrelling about the prize. Tika Singh, General, budmash and the sowars of the second cavalry are to go to Bithur to fetch Nana. Ahmad Ali Khan Vakil is preparing to go to Lucknow to talk over matters about the country. The names of news writers who have been appointed are as follows (Here are given nineteen names with places). It is also said that the troops are to be sent to Allahabad on an expedition, and arrangements are being made for carriage and supplies.

4th July, Saturday at Badrakha.—Today's news is that Kalka Kanungo has issued orders in behalf of Nana that carriage, Bugghis, and arms which were taken on loot and

the remaining money in Tehsil should be sent at once. Babu Ram Baksh is about to go to Nana. News is received today from Cawnpore that the leading Chauhans and Gaurs, etc., are being summoned. Camel riders have been despatched to the East to bring news. The rebel troops are rather angry today; they say that he has taken all our treasury and is sitting at home; they will not stand it but will see to it. It is written in my letter that some days ago Sheo Pershad, son of Thunthi Mal, had been sent for and some talk was held; he was ordered to prepare greatcoats. People say that he has in his store materials belonging to the Sahibs and for this reason he was threatened. Let us see. There is a hurry about tents and great-coats. Some more ammunition has been sent to Bithur. It is intended to cut the nose and hands of men imprisoned in Bithur. He has given dresses of honour to his courtiers. Two of my men are ready to bring news secretly. They say that they can not reach all the courts as there are now so many courts. The Tehsildars of Sheorajpore and Gautampore did not join the Nana. Today I heard that Nanhe Nawab had fled with his Begum but was captured and brought back; he was much disgraced and he and his Begum have been imprisoned.

5th July, Sunday at Badrakha.—Today at five o'clock news was received from Cawnpore that Baba Bhutt is working in his court. Nana is at Bithur. Today Tika Singh Subadar, General of the Cavalry, and sepoys of the Lamboran infantry, have gone to fetch Nana. Azeem Ullah and Jwala Pershad came to the Kotwali and said that they would manage the city.

6th July, Monday at Badrakha.—There is the only this much that there is great anxiety among the troops. There is nothing fresh; arrangements are of a certainty being made to go to Allahabad.

7th July, Tuesday at Badrakha.—The man Ulanak whom I had sent has returned saying that he returned through fear from Murat Gunj as he had no paper with

him, and that he had heard reliably that the Sahibs were coming soon. I thought that the man might not have come back only from the way. I have sent Ganga Lodh on promise of five rupees; he promises to come back in three days with news. My man brought a letter from Cawnpore in the evening to the effect that there is a great disturbance among the troops. They are abusing Nana that he is sitting at home having taken away money and the magazine. They say that if he does not come today they will release Nanhe Nawab and make him the king. The troops are also saying that the enemy is preparing to come; let us go to Bithur and fetch him. Bad news is come from Lucknow. The Lucknow people had told them not even to think of coming there, as they have no business there and they will not be allowed to do as they have done at Cawnpore. They look after their own arrangements. Manna Lal Khatri, Sukh Nandan and others have been imprisoned for the looting of the treasury of the military works; they are asked to give back the money.

8th July, Wednesday at Badrakha.—One ghari late at night my man brought me the news that spies have brought the information that British troops, Sikhs and artillery are about to arrive from Allahabad. On hearing this two camel-riders and foot-runners have been sent in a hurry to Bithur. Baba Bhutt and Azeem Ulla have come to the Kotwali and are making arrangements.

oth July, Thursday at Badrakha.—Today men have come in this village from towards Allahabad they say that Sahibs have left Allahabad on their march to Cawnpore. Men from Baiswara who pass by this way say that men from this side are camping opposite Kalakankar to make arrangements; they also say that Sahibs are coming. The man from Cawnpore has not come. Probably there is strict supervision now at the ghats. I learnt from a trader that Manna Lal and others have been released on security of Sheo Pershad.

10th July, Friday at Badrakha.—The man from Cawn-

pore came to-day and said that there is a strict search for letters at the ghat so he threw away the letter; he gave this information as true that he had heard that Nana has come to the city and that a camel rider has brought news of the arrival of the Sahibs saying that they have reached Murad Gunj and have telegraph with them; they will shortly reach Asni. In their march they are hanging people in the way. British and Sikh troops and the artillery is with them. On getting this news great preparations are being made for Rasad, etc., Begars are caught in large numbers, carriages and carts belonging to the city and outside are caught. All the leading rebel zemindars are there.

11th July, Saturday at Badrakha.—Ganga Lodho came to-day. When asked how he came against his promise he said that he could not get across the ghat that side. He had himself seen British troops this side of Murad Gunj and they would be reaching Asni. Hearing this I felt a new life in my body; it is hoped from the just God that they might come soon, and that the Europeans, men, women and children, who are imprisoned might remain alive. My man came at two in the afternoon. He said that there is a very strict search at the Ghat: no servants are allowed to get across. He accompanied some Zemindars and so got through. Nana is in the city and is preparing to march It is said that he had one day sent for Badri Nath, Commissariat agent, for rasad arrangements; he replied that he had given up the work, and could do nothing. The man says that rebel troops have left for Fatehpore. Bala, Jawala Prasad Brigadier and other courtiers would also have gone as they were preparing to do so. I have therefore sent a man to get names of the principal followers of Nana who might have gone. I have also asked him to carry news of the arrival of the Sahibs to the people at the Kothi and at my house and to tell them I would leave this place today and would come back with the British troops. After this that man told me that

Kanko, Gobind, Rampat, Fatto Mal, Nandan Lal, Agent of Bisheshar Nath and some Mahajans have been arrested; they are asked to produce the accounts they had of Sahibs and the money in their hands.

rumour here and at Hadha that British troops have reached Asni—some even say Khaga. They say that they (the troops) have dethroned one budmash, looted the village, and they have hanged a larger number of villagers in whose areas telegraph wires had been cut. Some villagers coming from Cawnpore say that the darkish man, who had come out of the entrenchment and had been imprisoned, was to-day released by Baba Bhutt.

13th July, Monday at Badrakha.—Today I made preparations to depart. Villagers say that they had seen rebel troops camped by the road-side some of whom are saying that Nana will win, whilst others advise to go home first and deposit the money that is with them. Let us see what happens. I have also heard that the men of Ram Baksh and Kalka Budmash have gone to oppose the British troops while Kalka is taking care of himself at Hadha. Men of Chandi Singh and Hatti Singh have come across and have taken charge of the Ghat; they say that a very large army, has gone forth and they will wipe out the small body of British troops. I am however confident that the Sarkar will win. My man from Cawnpore has not come, so I can write no news of that place.

The news is that the rebels were defeated at Fatehpor. and British troops are advancing they will probably reach Sakthapura to-morrow. The rebels have asked for more troops. People who have come from the retreating troops say that Sowars and sepoys are quietly sneaking away to save their lives. Those who have looted money have gone to keep it; they are all confused and disheartened. The three Sahibs in prison who had promised to get Allahabad evacuated were asked about their promise; they gave no

reply. Hearing this the terror arose in the mind lest the deluded Budmash might cause loss of life to all the Sahibs imprisoned. I have heard that Abdul Rahman Khan, Sub-Judge, having obtained a pass-port from Nana, has gone home. The names of the particular people of Nana who went with him are given below as ascertained—(Here follows a list of 135 names).

15th July, Wednesday at Badrakha.—After exercising some diplomacy I got across the river with a view to go to Sakthapurwa and attend the British troops. I saw some sepoys and Sowars running back extremely confused; they were saying that they were victors and that there were only a few of the enemy left who would soon be finished. I was sitting in a small garden when a Buniya of Sirsar who was also hastening back came and sat under the tree. He said that he was going back to fly away with his woman and children. The British troops would be coming very soon and they leave no one (alive) hearing the name of Cawnpore. I also thought that it must be right; the Sahibs must be in great grief. The budmashes getting refuge in Cawnpore have killed people; and who can discriminate at this time. So I turned back and going back along the banks of Ganges, disguising myself went along with some villagers. In their own anxiety no one took any notice of the others. At about three or four o'clock I reached Sarsaiya Ghat and sat down there. Men were saying that Nana was to march to day and join the army at Ahrawan. It was getting dusk when there was a sudden firing of rifles some shots continued till it became almost dark. The men who were at the Ghat said that the Sahibs and ladies were killed. I heard that this advice was given by the attending Zemindars, Kalindir Gir Goshain, Shah Ali and Azeem Ullah, that if perchance they were defeated then these Sahibs would give the names of all the people. People say that the leading Zemindars said this, and got it so settled with the result that these people were killed. These are the happenings

of the whole day written four *gharies* after dark. Names of various persons attending the Nana was heard but it would be written after fully ascertaining them.

16th July, Thursday at Campore in Old General Guni.-I have heard that Nana went to Ahrawan out-post with all the rebel army and the Zemindars, where the fight began. It is mid-day and people who have been thither say that men are running back; Sowars and sepoys are trying to escape from the battle. This sort of news kept arriving till evening, when Kalka Sowar, by caste Barber, who had been enrolled under Nana came running back and wanted to buy food in the Bazar; he said that the British soldiers have come, and the battle has been lost. Shortly after a man came proclaiming by beat of drum that there is no cause of anxiety, the battle is practically won, there are only about a hundred British soldiers left alive, and they will be soon dispatched; whosoever will kill a British soldier will get one hundred rupees as reward. Just a little later news came that they have approached the Cantonments, on this the man who was shouting the proclamation threw away his drum and fled for his life. became now a little dark when news came that Nana was coming running back, and this turned out to be true. The man I sent to see at the road of the new General Gunj told me that Nana was standing haggard in looks and soaked in perspiration at the crossing of the three roads at Naya-Gunj mounted on a chestnut horse, accompained by Maratha Sowars. If even fifty British soldiers had arrived there he would have been caught. Men are coming running through roads, streets and lanes. Nana rode away at a rapid pace to Bithoor. The Budmashes of the city who were with him are also running away saying that it is best to get away with rebel troops. Holas Singh Kotwal also ran away from the Kotwal at 2 A.M.

17th July, Friday.—Shortly after day break all the troops of the British Government reached the Parade outside the city and an Officer with a Guard of British

soldiers went to the Kotwali and loyal Citizens came to them with supplies of Milk, butter and bread; and a large crowd of people came to the Kotwali to see them. I, who had not gone outside my house for fear of my life for a month and a half, so even I went to the Parade. General Havelock, General Neill and other officers were standing there. Fruit vendors, milkmen, barbers, buttersellers had all come there with presents of their wares. Hearing this Lala Ishri Prasad, Babu Salig Ram and others made arrangements for the making of bread; a few people of greater foresight had already got things prepared from the Bazar. A little later, at about eight o'clock, a few troops went towards the magazine and reached close to it. A few mutineers had concealed themselves inside a mine under the Magazine; they then set fire to it and ran away. The Magazine blew up with a terrific noise so that even doors of houses crashed down and the confusion lasted for sometime. Shortly after a rumour somehow spread that the whole people of the city were to be put to the sword. All people, loyal and disloyal, ran away whither they could with their families and children: I can not describe the condition of that time. But Lala Ishri Prasad, Babu Salig Ram, the Bengalees, and the other people who were always in touch with the Government, did not run away. I had sent a man to Bithoor for news but he has not returned as yet; it is not known what is being done there. To-night I heard the news that on the night when Nana had fled away from here, he threw a considerable amount of his property in the well of Lachhman Chouk. Later on Lala Ram, Mutsaddi, who was with us against Nana brought the news that Nana Dhooudhu Panth will go to-day to the Ghat at Mankapur whilst Nana Narain Rao son of Subedar is helping him to pack his things and to see him off. He has been hitherto in the small Bara under the proction of Dhoondhu Panth making out that he was under imprisonment, whilst he was always in the counsels. All the valuables, as jewel-

lery and money are being carried away from Bithoor. The men of Chimana Appa who were imprisoned in Bithoor, etc., have gone to their homes getting their fetter cut.

18th July, Saturday.—It occurred to me to try and ascertain the names of persons who have taken away the property from there but it is a difficult matter. After enquiry it will be written. Later on news came that Narain Rao saw Nana Dhoondhu Panth and all his goods safely off across the river. They had remained in Bithoor till dusk and at night they got into the boats with lanterns, but when they reached the middle of the stream they put out the lights and threw their gold and silver idols in the river and then proclaimed that Nana's boat had got sunk in the river. He is now in Bithoor and says that he has escaped from under the arrest of Nana. is quite false; he is an old cheat, I know him well; if he had been loval to the Sarkar then he would have arrested (Nana) and sent information. The loot of the Bara began. Durga, Ganga-putra, Damroo, Ganesh, Baldeo Bande and others and the zemindars of the neighbourhood took away dishes of gold, etc., and also these valuable things belonging to the Government the details of which will be written when ascertained. The villagers also looted the other things; and neighbours took away money belonging to the Government. Nana Subedar took silver, gold, jewels, clothes, etc., and looted even rice; about the well he was helpless; he brought home the iron cannons. First he had intended to oppose on the arrival of the Sahibs. The General saw the dead body of the pregnant lady who had been brought to Bithoor by the Sowars of the seventh cavalry in the Burra Sahib's Kothi. The General got exceedingly angry and sent for Nana Subedar but he did not come. On this the General said "Does he want to fight?" But Appa Ji Panth said that he was a wellwisher of Government. On this the order was that all military stores were to be sent; but only a few things

were sent and the rest were concealed somewhere. The General shelled the Bara with his guns. I have got this true information that Nana Subedar took away jewels; gold and silver things worth twenty-five lakhs and has cheated the Officials.

19th July, Sunday.—I have heard that on account of the disloyalty of Nana Dhoondu Panth the Bara, etc., of Bajii Rao are being burnt down and the disloyal Nana Narain Rao wants to pass as loyal to Sarkar. I know this man to be a perfect cheat, scoundrel, etc., and his tactics are to misappropriate the property he has brought from Bithoor.

20th July, Monday.—It is as I anticipated that Nana Subedar is posing as a loyalist but at this time there is a huge crowd and the Sahibs are very busy, and it is very difficult to get witness for this in a hurry. So this cannot be produced before any officer as yet.

about the well-wishers and the illwishers in the City. First of all it is necessary to know about the presence and arrest of Officials, as to the manner in which they presented themselves. After enquiry from many people I found that the founder of it was Ahmed Ullah Tahsildar, Bithoor, who first got a warrant to be issued against Deputy Ram Lal. But before his arrest Ahmed Ullah, Azeem Ulla got Ram Lal to consent.

The entry on 21st and 22nd July is all to the effect that the writer will try to find out the activities of various classes of people during the rebellion. On 22nd July he writes that he is going to a village Sada Salempore to make enquiries. The next entry is dated the 17th August, when he returns to Cawnpore after the enquiries. He first gives details about eleven Tahsildars as to their work and position during the Mutiny; then the names a few Officials who went away with the Nana; then after this names of the various Thakurs and Zemindars as to when and how they joined in the Mutiny and their party factions.

All of this is prosaic and uninforming. Here finishes the account of the Cawnpore Mutiny.

He now begins another Chapter on the Rebellion of the Contingent. He begins by saying that after his return on the 17th August he, went to see Mr. J. W. Sherer, the District Magistrate, who had known him for a long time. The latter after hearing all his news gave him a letter to Major Bruce, the Superintendent of Police who evidently used him to obtain information from the interior of the District.

On the 25th November, operations had to be started against the Gwalior Contingent and the Officials again went inside the entrenchment on the 27th. The writer again starts writing daily from this date till the 7th December, as he had not been able to convey information to the Superintendent of Police of the happenings, in the city. He chronicles the coming in of the rebels, the breaking in of a few shops, looting a few people and the general confusion which prevailed, but the account is meant simply as information to the police, it is full of names and is uninteresting. On the 7th December, he writes "I gave a copy of my diary." This must evidently be of the happenings between 27th November and 2nd December; it could not be the full book for he goes on after this giving summary of the rebellion, how one Thakur after another joined the rebels, and the various disturbances they caused.

The book ends with an entry dated September, 1858, in which he says that a Special Commissioner has been appointed to enquire about the doings of the rebels and the Officials. He writes that the District Officials were deluded by some persons who had taken the part of Nana and who got their own nominees appointed as Tehsildars and Sub-Inspectors. He criticised the act of the District Officer in dismissing the men who had worked for the Nana, for they were forced to do so under pain of punishment and if they had been pardoned and reinstated they

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would have pointed out the real rebels. He mentions Jawala Prasad who has been appointed by Major Bruce and whose previous record was concealed by one Parsan Narain working under Major Bruce.

¹ In the book on the entry of the date 17th August are interpolated two sheets of scribbled matter most of which is crossed out, saying that the District Officer and the Superintendent of Police were duped about the employment of Jawala Prasad and the loyalty of Nana Narain Rao.

PLACE-NAMES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

BY PAUL WHALLEY, Retired Bengal Civil Service.

CHAPTER III. Sec. 2.

SUFFIXES.

I have classified suffixes under the following heads:-

- Vowel and spirant suffixes.
- 2. The so-called H suffixes.
- 3. The L, R and D suffixes.
- 4. The T and N suffixes.
- 5. The K, S and CH suffixes.

VOWEL SERIES.

The Hindu does not admit a short vowel ending. Hence the simple vowel suffixes are only the long A,I,U.

The A suffix is mainly determinative, somewhat like the definite article in European languages. It is thus used with natural objects, as in Rura (467), Mana (497), especially with tree names, as Sarsa (433). Also frequently with proper names, as

SIKANDR-A		Aligarh	 546
SIKANDR-A		Agra	 547
SIKANDR-A	 	Cawnpur	 548
SIKANDR-A	 	Allahabad	 549
SIKANDR-A	 	Azamgarh	 550

from the name Sikandar.

BAKSH—A			Jaunpur .		551
 the name	Palach .	which is	C1-+ 1701-	cho :	7 0

from the name Baksh; which is Skr. Vaksha, i.e. Vatsa calf. This name in Hindi usually becomes Bachha, through the Prakrit Vachchho, Vachchhala. It has been mixed up with the Persian form Bakhsh.

LAKHN—A .. Etawah .. 552

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from the name Lakhan, i.e. Lachman. Cf. Lucknow, i.e. Lakhan-au.

SUPA Hamirpur .. 553 from the name Srup or Sarup. Surūpaḥ is an epithet of Siva.

Bashta .. Bijnor .. 554 an abbreviation of the name Vasishthah.

BARNA .. Etah .. 555

from the name Baran or Varman. We have Barna again in Bareilly.

PAHARA .. Farrukhabad .. 556
PAHARA .. Mirzapur .. 557

It is not clear whether these should be classed under proper names or natural objects. Pahārā in Farrukhabad has a cerebral R which would point to a derivation from pahār, a hill, cliff or overhanging river bank. If the place is on the banks of the Ganges this derivation would hold good but the cerebral R by itself is no reliable guide.

Pahārā in Mirzapur is spelt in the Nagari column with a simple R and in the Persian with a cerebral. If the first is correct the name is derived from Pahār, the proper name; as in Pahār Singh or in Skr. Prahāra Varman, the name of a KSHATRIYA.

Occasionally a proper name is used as a place name without a suffix, as

BALDEO Muttra .. 558
AJITMAL Etawah .. 559

In Ajitmal Mal is a title (? Squire Ajit) as in Sah-Mal-pur in Fatehpur and Kirat -mal -pur in Azamgarh.

The -A suffix is said to come from the Magadhi Prakrit-AE (Hoernle's Gaudian Grammar, sections 47-48). Hence numerous place names in -AI, indifferently AI or Ăī or Āī as Dibāī or Dibāī, Bulandshahr (467), Gorāī, Aligarh (491), Kabrāī, Hamirpur (474).

To this class belongs

Orăī Jalaun .. 560

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which is Aonla, Aunra in disguise. See Aonla (427-8) and compare Ora -mai, Budaun.

From Orai or Aurai by expansion of the suffix comes

AURAIYA .. Etawah .. 561

This is a masculine form to be distinguished from the feminine derivatives in -iya.

There is another name on our list with an apparent -iya suffix which is really only the -A suffix with a Y glide,

Ballia .. 562

It is correctly spelt Baliya in the vernacular columns of the list. The English spelling is misleading. Baliya is from the proper name Bali.

The I Suffix.

Both suffixes-A and -I are used with natural objects, but -A mostly with conspicuous objects serving as landmarks. I is found where the place is indicated by its ownership or by some quality that does not immediately strike the eye. Thus -A is objective and -I is subjective.

In its possessive sense I is often affixed to proper names.

JALALI			Aligarh	 563
KISHNI		• •	Mainpuri	564
NAINI			Allahabad	565
NITI			Garhwal	566
SHAHI			Bareilly	567

These names require no explanation.

The qualitative use of this suffix is seen in Lon -I (475), Bans -I (453=4), Khat -I (501), Sasn -I (402) and its diminutive force in Sagr -I (464).

For its possessive use see Beames II 83-9, Hoernle (252-255), for the diminutive Hoernle 256-262.

(The U suffix)

The name means covered with scrubby brushwood, from jhāl or jhār, thicket, as is evidenced by jhāda (? jhāḍa), translated by Crooke, who suggests a different derivation, land which produces tamarisks and camel thorn. Compare also jhalā bor, a thicket.

Pahāsu Bulandshahr .. 569 from păhās, quoted by Crooke from Muttra, as "sand brought down by floods and mixed with stiff clay," but evidently the same as phasan, quicksand or soft treacherous ground.

Another derivation is from Pahās Bir, worshipped by Doms and Dosadhs (Grierson 1456), but this is not likely.

It may be noted here that U is also a Marathi termination of the nominative, which we meet with occassionally in the districts most exposed to Marathi influence. So Simrahu in Jhansi corresponds to Simraha in Fatehpur and Nibahu in Lalitpur to Nibha in Cawnpore. It is also common as a variant of A in proper names, as Gangu for Ganga and in abbreviated names, as Gannu for Ganesh.

The vowel suffixes can be added to other suffixes, spirant or consonantal.

The spirant suffixes.

The Simple vowel suffixes are expanded by means of the glides W and Y and are then termed spirant suffixes. Those with W are labial and those with Y palatal spirants.

The expansion is commonly effected by the aid of a link vowel, also called junction or union vowel. On the nature and origin of link vowels opinions differ. Mr. Beames advances the theory that they are obsolete inflections; Dr. Hoernle explains them otherwise and Whitney regards them as an unsolved mystery. However this may be we find in very many instances that the link vowel is nothing more than the stem vowel of the original word, frequently lengthened. This is most remarkable with tree names in which the prevailing stem vowel is U. Mahu gives Mahuwa,

Khaju Khajuwa or Khajuha and Sisu ordinarily gives Siswa, i.e. Sisuwa, though in the western districts which have a strong predilection for the palatal spirant we find Sisai and Sisaya. The process of conversion of U stems into A stems is explained by Dr. Hoernle, section. 205. We have already noticed the instance of Pākar, which, inheriting the stem vowel I from the Skr. parkati, reproduces this I, regularly in the spirant derivatives, so that the almost universal form is Pakariya, scarcely ever Pakarwa.

The spirant series is divided into Labial spirants, developed with W, and Palatal spirants with Y.

The forms assumed by labial spirants are generally speaking WA, WI (often written OI), WAI, AWA, UWA, (often written UA). besides those with graded vowels,

Ewa, Owa, Auwa.

In WA, WI, WAI a short link vowel is suppressed.

AIRWA Etah .. 570

The Gazetteer tells us it is also Ahrwa. In any case it means the place of the Ahirs or Ahars. For the capricious action of the palatal vowel in sometimes generating and sometimes absorbing an aspirate see appendix on glottology. The name Airwa recurs in Basti and Hamirpur and four times in Etawah. There is an Aira in Azamgarh, Aira Khera in Muttra and Airai and Airi in Benares. Instead of the suppression of the H we sometimes find the retention of the Skr. form Abhir, as in Abhairwa Jauupur, Abheran Patti, Azamgarh and Garhi Abhran, Muttra.

Another example of the WA suffix is Pulwa from Paul (529), and analogous to these are the expansions of familiar names in U, as

GHISWA .. Jaunpur .. 571

from the name Ghīsa or Ghāsi. Compare Sarai Ghisa, Allahabad, Ghisia Garhi, Muttra, Ghisauli, Meerut, Ghisar-puri, Dehra Dun.

HASWA .. Fatehpur. .. 572

from the vulgar form Hasu or Hassu of the name Hasan. Similarly Hassupura, Bijnor, Haswapar, Basti, Haswa Jaju, Shahjahanpur, Hasuyal, Ghazipur, Hasauli and Hasanwan, Cawnpore.

The WI suffix may be illustrated by

Karwi Banda. .. 573
perhaps a diminutive of Karra, more correctly spelt Karan
in the vernacular, (513). Also

HARDOI Jalaun .. 574
from 11. pr. Hirde or Hardev.

To which may be added Ingoi (448) from Ingu.

With long A as link vowel we have Etāwah (508), Sarsāwa (438), and Sakrāwa (535).

With U Pilkuwa (423), and with U graded to O, Mahoba (385).

The so called H suffix.

There is no genuine H suffix except the old Hindi H suffix of the genitive which replaced the S of the Prakrit, and this is very rare in place names. It may be recognised in

GANGOH Saharanpur .. 575
from Gangu, a vulgar form of the name Ganga, which is very common in village names, Gangupur and Gangupura in Allahabad, Fatehpur, Cawnpore, Etah, Pilibhit and Budaun, Gangunagla in Bijnor, Bareilly and Garhwal, Ganguwala in the Tarai and Gangwa in Allahabad besides others.

with cerbral R, is certainly the place of the bargad tree, but whether the H is here a genitive suffix or simply provoked by the preceding R as in the often repeated name Barha, seven of them in Allahabad, and in Baraha and Barahiya in Basti, it is not easy to say. It may also be said that all these names are only instances of the intervocalic H, which often assumes the functions of a spirant. Schleicher in his Phonology. sec. 14 (1), speaking

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of the Laws of the concurrence of vowels, says "A has no "corresponding spirant, whereas I and U have by their side "Y and V, which are only different from them by a slight "distinction of pronunciation. The change from I and U "to Y and V is through Intermediate IY and UV." But A calls in H to supply the defect of the spirant, and H is occasionally employed as a substitute for Y after I and E and for W after U and O. Thus

Кнајина Fatehpur. .. 577 from the Khaju tree, Briedelia retusa, for Khajua or Khajuwa.

But this is an interlude. The manner in which H attaches itself to the consonantal elements of suffixes will be considered presently. Meanwhile we may revert to spirants proper.

The suffix War bears the same relation to Wa as Ar to A. It appears in

Nahwai Allahabad .. 578
the blacksmith's forge. From Skr. nabhi navel or nave of
a wheel, come the Hindi nih, a block on which fodder is
cut, and nihai, a blacksmith's anvil. In Nahwai the Skr.
nabhi has been reduced to nah and the suffix WAI added.

We have the suffix War also in Kakarbai (478) for Kankarwa, like Chamarbai and Makarbai in Hamirpur, with the same hardening of W to B after R.

The palatal spirants are very simple. Putting aside the few masculine forms such as Auraiya already mentioned they are all expansions in Iya of the diminutive or possessive I.

CHAKIA Mirzapur .. 579
the little Chak, Chak being a Musalman term for a subdivision of an estate.

Ţнатніча ... Farrukhabad .. 580 Fallon gives Thāṭh a frame work, especially for thatching, and in Pilibhit Thāṭh means reeds. We shall not be far

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wrong if we interpret Thathiya as a house thatched with reeds. We find Thathaura in Hamirpur and Thathpur in Aligarh and in Cawnpore there are a number of hamlets called Thattia which is presumably the same.

LAȚHIVA Ghazipur .. 581
the village by the boundary pillar, Lāṭh. Crooke derives
lāṭh from Yashti. Beames says it cannot come from
Yashti as there is no precedent for Y becoming L. True,
but Yashti in its Vedic form is Rshti with vocalic R, and
Rshti would give indifferently Yashti and Laṭh through
Rashti.

Zamania Ghazipur .. 582 from the name Zamāni, familiar form of Zamān, as Ballia from Bali.

A number of other names in -iya, as Handia, Kuṭiya, Nipaniya have already been dealt with.

Further remarks on H series.

Before entering on the subject of consonantal suffixes a word must be said on the extension of the aspirate into these suffixes. The prevailing forms are Ahwa for Āwa, Ahna for Āna and Ahra for Āra. The short vowel with the aspirate is equivalent to the long vowel. A long vowel preceding the aspirate is seldom seen. In the case of Ehra for Era the aspiration is largely due to the affiliation of the base Khera to the Era series.

The chief point however to be borne in mind in regard to the aspirated suffixes is that the aspirate is continually provoked by the vicinity of an R. If we look at the tree names we find that all those ending in R, as Bar, Gular, Khajur, as well as those ending in L convertible to R, as Babul Pipal, Semal, show a marked preference for aspirated suffixes, e.g. Gularha, Khajraha, Piplahra, Piprahta, Simrahu.

Other causes of aspiration will be adverted to as occasion arises.

L, R and D suffixes.

The L and R suffixes are the most numerous and important of all place name suffixes. Dr. Hoernle derives them from Skr. drish, (like) Mr. Beames more reasonably believes them to have been inherited from the Sanskrit and Prof. Brugmann says of R, (Vol. II, p. 181, sec. 74), "This suffix formed adjectives and substantives in the proethnic and later periods of Indo -Germanic," and on p. 182 he remarks that R and L are indistinguishable in the Aryan (i.e. Indo-Aryan) languages.

In Hindi the two sounds are freely interchangeable, at any rate in suffixes.

The affinity of the L and R to the T and D suffixes in Indo-Aryan is very remarkable, and in some cases there seems to be a regular transition. So Skr. Lakuṭa, a cudgel, takes the forms Laguḍa, Lagula, Lagura. More particularly cerebral T seem frequently to have passed into L in all stages of the language from ancient Sanskrit to the modern vernaculars, whether or not through D, as Lassen and others hold, is unimportant, since in most cases there is no trace left of an intermediate D. Sphaṭ and Sphuṭ have become phal and phul, and koṭṭa or koṭa, a fort, had become in Ferishta's time Kola, but there is no sign of a koda.

That the simple D also passed into L at one period of the language is probable if not proved, but the process has not survived to modern times. Nevertheless in suffix forms we find L, R, D used with uniform equivalence, though D is comparatively rare, occurring chiefly South of the Jumna and occasionally in the Meerut and Bulandshahr districts.

The -DA suffix was once used like RA for the genitive and appears to be still so used in the Panjab. We happen to have an instance of its survival in

ACHHALDA Etah .. 583

The -da appears to have been adopted in this instance

rather than the more usual -ra not owing to the proximity of the place to the Punjab frontier, but for euphonic reasons, the D following the L more naturally than R.

Achhal as a proper name figures pretty largely in place names. Besides the famous Alwar, once Achhalpur, we have Achhalpur in Budaun, Achhrauda in Meerut, Achhrauli in Cawnpore and Achhal ka purwa in Allahabad. The name comes from Skr. Aksharaḥ, the imperishable one, a name of Siva and of Vishnu.

The next name that calls for notice with D suffix is

UPRAUDH .. Mirzapur .. 584

This is Upar, upper, with suffix -aud of locality. The suffix calls for two remarks; (I) D affects the O or Au link vowel and hence Od, Aud correspond indifferently with -āl and aul, -ar and aur. So barsodiya, a labourer, engaged by the year, is the same as Barsāliya, and bhusaunda, a chaff-house as bhusaula. (2) the preceding R in Upraudh causes the D to become DH, as in the words Chamraudha, a hide market, and Baraundha, cotton land, (bar from Skr. vādara). Both of these are instances of locality.

The meaning of Upraudh is either the outer or upper fields, like uprāla, or, more likely, rising ground, like uprāon and uparvāe. In all these the suffixes are equivalent. The words are taken from Crooke.

The next instance.

BILANDA .. Fatehpur .. 585

Introduces us to another idiosyncrasy of D, which is to shelter itself behind a nasal. This is too universal a feature to need illustration. I do not think this name comes from Bel, the tree, or Bel, a sugar factory. I would rather take it from Biṭanda, which according to Ferishta was the ancient name of Bulandshahr.

Bulandshahr therefore is not a Persian travesty of Unchaganw, but an adaptation of the Hindi name Bitanda or Bilanda.

The name Bitanda is presumably from Skr. Veshtah,

enclosure, and should therefore be Bithanda, but Ferishta, writing in Persian, is not to be trusted for aspirates. Moreover the rule of aspiration from sibilants is not absolute. In the Panjab we have the same name as Bitahnda, where the aspirate is preserved though displaced.

There are still two names on the list with dental D as suffix.

 РНАРНUND
 ...
 ...
 Etawah
 ...
 586

 СННАСННUND
 ...
 ...
 Etawah
 ...
 587

The D has taken the usual accrescent N. The link vowel U has to be accounted for. Is it the stem vowel of the characteristics and, if so, what meaning is to be attached to Phaphu and Chhachhu?

The hypotheses suggest themselves, (I) Phaphu and Chhachhu may be proper names, or (2) they may be terms of family relationship which now and again crop up in place names.

On the first hypothesis we have the name Puhpa from which the name Phaphamau (378) has been derived. Also the Gazetteer has a story of Phaphund having been founded by one Phaphun Deva, a Sengur thakur, in I4II A.D., which story, if not apocryphal, would sufficiently account for the name. For Chhachhund we have the name Chanch, and the derivation from Chanch may hold good in spite of the double aspirate in Chhachhund, because the palatal consonants CH and J constantly annex an aspirate without any apparent provocation.

On the other hand the attribution of the names to family relationship gains colour from the fact of the two villages being in the same district and perhaps owned by the same family, may be of Sengur Thakurs.

Phuphi is a father's sister and her husband is Phupha, a term, as Crooke tells us, euphemistically applied to a father-in-law. Poupha by vowel transference (a frequent occurrence, e.g. sasur), becomes Phaphu, whence Phaphund.

So Chhachhund may come from Chacha, a father's

younger brother. The aspirates as stated above, may be neglected. In Agra there is a village called Chachond, and, what is more to the purpose, a Pura Chāchu, which furnishes the essential U link.

Accordingly we may translate Phaphund as father-inlaws's village and Chhachhund as uncle's village.

Another remark may be added, helping to explain the double aspirate in Chhachhund, which is repeated in the name Chhachhapur in Basti. It is a common thing for villagers, when the origin of their village has been forgotten, to twist the name into conformity with some familiar word. Thus Chhachhund and Chhachhapur have been assimilated to chhāchh, buttermilk Phaphund, and another name, Phaphundi in Banda, to phaphundi, mildew. Another example is Chachinda in Fatehpur, which probably owes its present form to chachenda, the snake gourds.

From the dental D suffix we pass to the cerebral D, observing by the way that the two are often confused.

Darsenpa Banda .. 588

from Darshan, Sk. Darshanam, sight, signifying a place of adoration or a sacred shrine. There are similar names, Darsana and Darsanda, in Ghazipur. South of the Jumna the -era, -aura suffixes of the Duab are commonly replaced by the forms -eḍa, enḍa, auḍa, aunḍa. The same alternatives prevail in language, e.g. bareri and balenḍi, a ridgepole, hatera, hatenḍa, a handle.

Kuthaund, which also has the parasitic N, we have already dealt with (527) and the only remaining name in the D series is

BARAUDA Lalitpur .. 589 the Bargad tree village. Cf. Baroda in Muttra. The

-auda suffix which is of frequent occurrence south of the Jumna is a modification of the -wada in use more to the west, as Jakh-vada in Ahmadabad, Bag-vada in Surat. This-vada in many cases stands for pāṭakah, a hamlet,

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the stock example being Anhilvada for the earlier Anhilapāṭakah.

It is noteworthy, as marking the confusion between dental and cerebral D, that in the Nagari column of the Govt. list Barauda is written with dental D, in the Persian with cerebral D.

This closes the series of D suffixes.

L and R suffixes.

It must not be forgotten that, while that L and R suffixes are holethnic, or, as Brugmann avers, proethnic, they are largely recruited in Hindi from T and D. Moreover dental T and D are liable to become lingual in passing from Sanskrit into Hindi, and the lingual letters, by what Dowse calls reflex dissimilation or attraction or otherwise, occasionally become dental, as in Bahotia, with dental T (Crooke), daughter-in-law, from Skr. Vadhūti. Hence the rules determining the mutation of letters in this series are complex and uncertain. All we can say is that the western districts affect the cerebral forms and the eastern the dental. R in particular in the east has a constant tendency towards decerebration. It is therefore more important to pay attention to the character of the link vowels. The fashion in these has changed within determinable periods. Thus -el and -aul mostly indicate modern names, -il and -ul mostly go back direct to the Sanskrit while -iyal and -awal are medieval.

Å (short) may be Sanskrit or Hindi. It is mostly suppressed in Hindi, espacially before R.

Ā (long) may be Sanskrit or Hindi, but the formation is more frequent in Hindi.

I and U (short) are essentially un-Hindi and point to a Sanskrit original, as in the names Kampil and Mathura. The few Hindi formations of this stamp are past participles or analogous adjectives of eastern Hindi such as ghotil, muddy ground from ghotab, to dissolve, and kurhil, ploughed from Kudh or Kurha, a plough.

Ī and Ū (long) are rare and mainly Sanskrit, but sometimes Hindi lengthenings of Sanskrit short I and U, as in Hindi Pătīlī from Sanskrit Pātīlī, a small earthen vessel, or in place names Biṭhūr, Nakūr.

E and AI are essentially Hindi. They appear to have arisen by vowel gradation from Skr. I, or by contraction of IA, as dudhail, milch cow, from dudhi and -al, gharkaili, a concubine, from Ghar-kial-i, kail being p.p. of karna: maṭera, beside Maṭ-iy-ār, a clay soil, from māṭi or maṭṭi, clay.

O and Au again are essentially Hindi, especially the latter. Of O we find occasional examples in Sanskrit, as Kandola, a reed basket, from Kānda, reed. The forms -Aur,-Aur, seem to have arisen partly from a contraction of a-vara, a-vala, i.e. a stem vowel Å with Skr. suffix Vara, vala, a process evident in comparing Kaith-awalia in Basti with Kaithauli elsewhere, and partly from a contraction of U-A, as in Khandauli (531) or Sisaula in Meerut for Sisu-ala.

The form once established in language drew in a variety of place names originally compounded with pur, pāṭakaḥ, vāṭikā, palli and the like and was soon utilised without reference to its origin, as in Shams-auli, the village of Shamsuddin and other modern names.

Aspirated L suffixes are very rare. Sometimes L throws away an aspirate whether original or resulting from -sht,-th, as in Bela (503).

On the contrary an aspirate constantly creeps into suffix forms with R. It is mostly generated after the R and then not unfrequently floats back to the preceding syllable, sometimes even a step further, even to the beginning of a word;

or it is produced by an R or a lingual in the preceding syllable;

or again it is caught by contagion from a common suffixal base, like khera, which becomes in composition

-hera or -ehra and then infects with the aspirate simple -era suffix forms in its neighbourhood.

Of nasalisation there are but few instances in the L and R series. L always prefers to stand alone; and if we find the combination NR, with R dental or cerebral, it is in cases where the R has proceeded from a D which had previously attracted the N.

It is unnecessary to distinguish between the R of the genitive case, which is said to survive in Bengali and Marwari, and the L and R possessive suffixes. Both are essentially the same and are no longer living parts of the language though we have their relics in the pronouns mera, tera, hamara, tumhara. They linger with a shadow of meaning in place names and what might be called a genitive R may be seen in Ghisa-r-puri, quoted under Ghiswa (571) and a few names with double suffixes.

Of the short A link vowel the only examples we have are Kusmăra (432) and

BARLA Aligarh .. 590

In Barla the link vowel has been veiled or suppressed in the Urdu column but the Nagari column has BĂRALĀ. The name is no doubt from the Bar tree, like Baral in Jhansi and Barli in Benares.

With the long A link vowel the names are more numerous. The suffixes -āl and -ār are met with not unfrequently in Sanskrit, but not that I know of, unless in Kedāraḥ, a field under water, as indicating a locality. In Hindi these suffixes drew in two new suffixal forms vāṭaḥ, enclosure, and kāra, maker, and thence forward we have two new branches of the suffixes, one indicating locality, the other agency, the former very common in place names, as, Baburār in Fatehpur, Kusmār in Lalitpur and Mahuār in Basti. It comes again in

Arjar Jhansi .. 591

which is from Arjun, dropping the N as usual, but whether

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from Arjun the trees, Terminalia Arjuna, or from Arjun the proper name I cannot say.

is similarly formed from the name Karan which is commonly reduced to Kan. Compare Karnal.

Most of the names in L on our list have the additional vowel suffix A, which does not affect the meaning. Kakrala (477) and Debrala have been already noticed. There remains

Daurala Meerut .. 593
either from daur, boundary, which is also used suffixally
like dand, as in Nimdaura in Banda, or else another name
from family relationship. Devar, a husband's younger
brother, is contracted to Daur before a heavy suffix, as in
Daurani for Devarani, his wife.

The names in -āra balance those in -āla. We have had Kurara (522) and Sikrara (533) and there is also

Churara Jhansi .. 594
from Chaur, land liable to submersion, and that probably
from the Sanskrit Kūlam.

The -āla -āra suffixes are closely allied to those in -aula, -aura and may in many cases have the same origin, viz. in a-vala, a-vara, by elision of V and contraction.

There are several names in -āri e.g. Bilari (451) and Dhanari (480) and

Chhatari .. Bulandshahr .. 595 formed from Chhāta, a shed, shelter. Cf. Skr. chhatwaraḥ, a house, bower? arbour, Fallon gives Chhatta, a roofed lane, an arcade. We have Chhāta as a place name in

Снната Muttra .. 596

Which I note here for convenience' sake though it properly belongs to the T suffixes.

Mangari Benares .. 597 from Skr. mārgah, a road, a word that in early Indian times seems to have been almost synonymous with village.

Also with aspirate

BILHARI .. Tarai .. 598 or Bilahri when may be the same as Bilari (451), the aspirate being motived by the following R, or the aspirate may indicate a derivation from Skr. Veshṭah, Vishṭarak, a seat.

L and R suffixes with link vowels E and AI.

These link vowels are infrequent before L. Kharaila (530) is not a fair specimen since we have Kharaira in language; a better is

alongside of which is Araili in Shajahanpur, but the characteristic is most common in Allahabad where we have Āṛa Arāi and Arāon, and in Azamgarh Araila. In Bulandshahr is Ada which the Gazetteer, III. 101, says is pronounced Ara, and in Merwara according to Whiteway Adabala, Adamal and Adwala. The name seems to come from Āʀ, across and to mean the cross-way place, but it also signifies a ridge or embankment.

Barellly ... Bareilly ... 600 correctly spelt Barell, the full name being Bāns Bareli, where Bāns is for Bās, habitation, a common prefix. Bareli has been variously derived; from Barela or Bandela, a wild boar, from Bas the Barhela, from Bas and Barel the Katehrias, from bariyār, barairi, fertile land. Rejecting all these we fall back on the simple derivation from the Bar tree with suffix -eli, adducing in support of it the names Barela in Allahabad and Jalaun, Bareli in Benares, Barail in Hamipur, Barāl in Bulandshahr, Bareri in Mainpuri and Barera in Moradabad, and to show that the suffix is not peculiar to the Bar tree, Papraila in Muttra and Peprehri in Banda.

The E link vowel is more frequent with the R suffix; Noner, (476), Bajhera (481). There are five or six others

Majhera Mirzapur .. 601 from madhya, middle, which becomes majh in Hindi,

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meaning a village between two others. Many names have this characteristic. In the Hill Districts it is maj-without an aspirate, though we find also the Skr. form in Madhya, Madhyoli, also Madyoli.

BAGHERA .. Jhansi .. 602

With Baghera we must take

Baghra .. Muzaffarnagar .. 603

The Gazetteer, III. 635, says of the latter name, "Baghra or Bagra is an old Akbari Pargana. The name is said to be derived from one Raja Bag or Bagra." Evidently this is the once fashionable name Vyaghra. In Baghera the R of Vyaghra has been elided before adding the suffix -era.

There are many Bagh names but they do not all come from the proper name Vyaghra. Some, at least in the East on the forest border, are from Vyaghra, H. bagh or bag, and means a tiger's haunt. I doubt if any are to be referred to Persian bagh, a garden, through Skr. vargah, an enclosure from which perhaps bagh is derived, may underlie some of the names.

Mārahra .. Etah .. 604

We have derived Mātaura (483) from the mār soil of Bundelkhand but Mārahra in Etah has a different origin. It comes from marah, manḍha, a hut, Skr. maṭam, not improbably in the special sense of manḍha as the hall for the celebration of a Hindu marriage.

Baberu .. Banda .. 605

Here we have the -era suffix converted into -eru with the Marathi U, to which we have already adverted. Bab—stands for Viprah. a Brahman, as in Babhaiya in Bareilly, Babhna in Farrukhabad, Baheoni in Basti, and in Babbangaon in Basti and Babban-pura in Bijnor, where Babban appears to be a gen. plural.

KHAKHRERU Fatehpur .. 606
spelt in the Nagari column Khakhredu. Here we have

again the Trans-Jumna form -eru. This is not surprising since Khakhreru lies in the S.W. corner of Fatehpur adjoining the Banda district and on the confines of the Jumna ravines. Khakh is hollow, a reduplication of Skr. khah, a hollow. Compare the Khakhra-naddi in Pilibhit and the word khakhodal, a hollow in a tree (Fallon).

There is a particular extension of the L and R suffixes which has been very widely adopted in place names, especially in the western districts, that of vala, vara. Brugmann, commenting on the word kṛṣ̄ivalah, husbandman, says "The addition of RA and LA to stems in -VAN-is particularly common. The combination -VALA, -VARA was taken into common use as an independent suffix."

This vala, vara became in Hindi wăl and wăr, or, with link vowel āwal, āwar; also wāl, wār, wālā, wārā aur, or, ayal, ail, el; but by far the most favourite form is -Auli. No doubt the word palli, hamlet, underlies many of these names. Palli seems to have exercised on the nomenclature of the western districts a still stronger influence than vāṭikā i.e. wāri in the east.

In wăl

NARWAL .. Cawnpore .. 607

from Skr. nadvala, reedy, or possibly from name Nārāyan. With a link vowel

Charthawal Muzaffarnagar .. 608

from charitram, observance, pilgrim. Sir A. Cunningham translates Charitrapuram in Madras as departure town, port of embarkation for Ceylon.

MINHDĀWAL .. Basti .. 609

This name is also spelt Mehandāwal and may be derived from the name Mahendra. Cf. Minhra in Allahabad. The name is wrongly written in the Urdu column Mihandāwal with cerebral D.

To these must be added Kurāoli (520) and

NARAOLI .. Moradabad .. 610

for Nar-ā-wal-i, from the name Narayan, an epithet of Vishnu.

With link vowel A long with R suffix,

SAHAWAR .. Etah .. 611

from the name Sahay or Sah, banker, but the Gazetteer, IV. 180, has a pleasant story about a Raja who dubbed it Sahawar in gratitude for the aid (sahaila) rendered by good people whereby he obtained possession of it.

In the WAL form of the suffix with long A the most remarkable name is

BHAINSWĀL Muzaffarnagar .. 612
buffalo ground. The Gazetteer says, "the site is very low

and almost depressed," and we may conclude that it furnishes good grazing and wallowing ground for buffaloes.

In the War form we have noted Kaswar (458), but the War, War, Wara terminations are chiefly reserved for territories, as

GARHWAL Garhwal .. 613 and Meywār, Marwār, Merwāra. They do not often appear in village names. These go rather into AUL AUR, as Sikraul (534), Sarsaul (439) and

BHĀRAUL Mainpuri .. 614

The long A in Bhāraul points to the name Bhādra. Bhadr-īsah is and epithet of Siva. Hence we have Bhadesra, also in Mainpuri.

The names in Aur, aura are still more numerous. We have had examples in Landhaur (494), Dabhaura (484), Itaura (509) and in Or, which is the same, Kithor (441), Ghiror (492), Bijnor (390) and there are others, but we will first go back to a name accidentally omitted from the L list,

GAJRAULA Moradabad .. 615 belonging to the Gujars or Gurjars. Gujar becomes Gajur by transposition of the vowels, as sasur becomes sasur, and hence Gajur-aula and then Gajr-aula. This is a better derivation than that from gajjar, swampy ground.

The name Gajraura occurs in Jalaun, Gujrara in Dehra Dun, Gujrauli in Aligarh and there are a number of villages named Gujarpura, five of them in Farrukhabad.

Returning to names in -Aur we have

GUNNAUR .. Budaun .. 616

from the name Gunna or Gunnu, short for Ganesh or Gopinath, v.s. Kutiya Gunir (524) and parallel names there quoted, to which may be added Gunar, Etah; Gona Mai, Etah, and Gona-par, Jaunpur.

Manglaur .. Saharanpur .. 617 from the proper name Mangal.

DANKAUR .. Bulandshahr .. 618

from the name Dan, Skr. Danavah, which in Prakrit would become Dan-kala, and in Hindi Danku, like Nanku in Nankuwali in Kumaun. We may compare Dankasa for Dank-bas in Agra.

There are many names in AULI. After Amauli (415), Khatauli (500) and Khandauli (531)

MAJHAULI .. Gorakhpur .. 619

the midway village, from Madhya. See Majhera (601). The Kumauni illustrations there given are appropriate to Majhauli.

ATRAULI .. Aligarh .. 620
ATRAULA .. Azamgarh .. 621

from antar, between, with the same meaning as Majhauli. Cf. Antrauliya Benares and Antardiha, Azamgarh.

Of Atrauli in Aligarh the Gazetteer says, "It is said to have been founded in the twelfth century by one Attara Kumar. It is mentioned as the halting place of Mubarak Shah's forces in A.D. 1426."

BISAULI .. Budaun .. 622

from the name Bishn or Vishnu, the final N vanishing as usual. Not from Bais, the Thakur clan, nor from Vis, quasi, Ryots' village.

DATAULI .. Aligarh .. 623

from the name Data.

NIDHAULI .. Etah .. 624

from the name Nidh

CHANDAULI .. Benares .. 625

from the name Chand or Chandra.

CHHAPRAULI .. Meerut .. 626

from Chapper, Chhappar, a thatched hut.

The Gazetteer, III. 368, says. "The Jats are said to have colonised the place some 1100 years ago."

SARAULI .. Bareilly .. 627

perhaps from sār, a cowshed, or the grass, sar, sarkara, Skr. Śaraḥ, or from Sar, sāgar, pool lake. Various derivations are possible.

SINGRAULI .. Mirzapur .. 628

Having regard to the illustrations given under Singramau (377) we may fairly reconstruct this name as Sang-aramapalli.

It will be noticed that a considerable number of the Auli names are derived from personal names, but in the eastern districts a still larger proportion is from the names of Brahman tribes. In the three districts of Ghazipur, Ballia and Basti I find from

Misr .. Misrauli, Misraulia .. 40 villages
Patakh .. Patkhauli, Patkhaulia .. 22 ,,
Sukul .. Sukrauli, Sukraulia .. 9 ,,
Dube .. Dubauli, Dubaulia .. 25 ,,

from Dube we should expect rather Dubeli or Dubaili, and this form does occur in Basti and Gorakhpur, but the great majority of Dube village names, overpowered by analogy, have gone into the Auli form, proving the justice of Sayce's observation that "analogy has immense power in language and whatever once becomes a distingushing feature of a dialect forms a type after which every exception is gradually forced to model itself."

There are a few instances of Musulman tribal names in Auli, as Shekhaulia in Jaunpur, evidently modern.

Thakur clans are seldom represented in place names. The reason is obvious. Thakur clans spread over and occupied large tracts of country. The clan might give its name to a region as in the case of Baiswara, but the name applied to a village would have no distinctive value. The Brahmans on the other hand split up and scattered themselves in small parties all over the country. Their predominence was felt in the villages where they settled. Hence the preponderance of Brahman village names.

There are two instances of terminations in OLI, which is practically the same as AULI, both in the Hill Districts,

GANGOLI .. Kumaun .. 629

from the name Ganga or Gangu, and

Dasoli .. Garhwal .. 630

from the name Dās, or perhaps for Dasapali, the residence of a Dasapaḥ, or superintendent of ten villages.

Suffix AURI.

Terminations in -Auri are unrepresented except by

Manauri .. Allahabad .. 631

if this is from the name Mān, as in Mān Singh, but it is more likely from the name Manawar, as in Manawar Ali, with the simple I suffix. Village names in -auri from proper names are not often met with, though they are numerous in -auli.

The suffix WALA.

Any review of the L, R, D. suffixes would be incomplete without reference to WALA.

There are two Wālā suffixes. There is the language suffix Wālā, and the place name suffix of the same form. The latter is confined to the Punjab and to a limited area of these provinces comprising two or three districts bordering on the Punjab and a strip of country in Rohilkhand along the Sub-Himalayan forest tract.

The two suffixes seem to have grown up independently of each other and have only become mixed in a small

tract of which Bijnor is the centre, where the villages are newly founded and the names are quite modern.

The origin of the language suffix wālā according to some authorities is the Skr. suffix vălă. Others, as Dr. Hoernle, attribute it to Skr. Pālaḥ, a keeper.

The truth appears to be that Wālā is the offspring of Skr. Vālā modified by the absorption of Pālah.

The best account of the import and meaning of Wala is that given by Hobson-Jobson under the word Competition-wala, and it is to be noted that this fits in accurately with the explanation of Vala already quoted from Prof. Brugmann, viz. that Vala is simply the suffix La augmented by Van without change of meaning.

The gist of the article in Hobson-Jobson is contained in the following extract.

"Wala is properly a Hindi adjectival affix corresponding in a general way to the Latin -arius. Its usual employment as an affix to a substantive makes it frequently denote agent, doer, keeper, man, inhabitant, master, lord, possessor, owner,—as Shakespear vainly tries to define it, and as in Anglo-Indian usage is popularly assumed to be its meaning. But this kind of denotation is incidental; there is no real limitation to such meaning. This is demonstrated from such usual phrases as Kabul-wala ghora, the Kabulian horse, and from the common form of village nomenclature in the Panjab, e.g. Mir Khan-wala, Ganda Singh-wala and so forth, implying the villages established by Mir Khan or Ganda Singh."

It follows that WALA is primarily adjectival, and forms substantives only in the same way as the Latin-arius, e.g. in retiarius. Its substantival aspect, seen in its use with inflected forms of other substantives is due to the influence of Pālaḥ.

Palah already in Sanskrit times was on the way to become a suffix with a vague and loose signification closely resembling that of VALA. We see this in the words Khanda-palah, a confectioner, and Kalya-palah, a liquor-

seller. In the last word Palah is used just like VALA in Asuti-valah, a distiller. But Palah was only an inchoate suffix and never reached its full development. It was caught and drawn in by the strong tide of Vala suffixes, not however without exercising a marked influence on the form and character of the series. To this influence are due two of the peculiarities of WALA, (I) its masculinity, the feminine form wali, though not unexampled, is rare; (2) its detachability which gives it the appearance of a substantive and has caused its use with an inflected form of the conjunct word. This oblique construction, which within a limited area, principally in Bijnor, is found in place names is the proof of the contamination of the WALA of place names by the Wala of language. Thus in Bijnor, Bamnon-wala, the Brahmans' village, Athwariyon-wala, the village of the Athwaris or money-lenders, Kaithonwala, the village of the Kayaths.

I note here the number of place names ending in Wall in the districts where this suffix prevails.

DISTRICT	WALA		WALI		TOTAL	
Saharanpur		51		7		58
Muzaffarnagar		21		5		26
Dehra Dun		123		4		127
Bijnor		274		0		274
Moradabad		40		0		40
Tarai		23		I		24
				-		
		532		17		549

N.B.—Bijnor which has half of the whole total has no Wall names.

In ancient names Wali is purely adjectival, as in Koli-wala, place possessing a fort, (first article of Epig. Ind. of 1,892), Nahrwala in Gujerat, mentioned by Ferishta (Briggs 8, p. 69, etc.). Ferishta speaks of it elsewhere by its full name of Nahrwala Pattanam, the city of Nahir Deva, and some such ellipse as that of Pattanam is to be assumed in the older Wala names.

The genesis of the place name WALA was analogous to that of the language suffix. Both arose in the first instance from Skr. VALA and both incorporated a base which affected their form and use, only in the case of place names it was not PALAH, but PATAKAH. This is recognisable in the numerous place names in Bombay with the VADA suffix, Jakhwada in Ahmadabad, Tilakvada in Baroda, Morvada in Palanpur and many others. This Vada suffix spread eastward and northward. In Ajmir we find it as WADA, (Dilwada), WALA (Adwala), BALA (Adabala); in Bandelkhand apparently as AUDA and WARA, but its chief development was northward in the Punjab in the form WALA. From the Punjab it overflowed, as we have seen, into the Northwest Provinces. Here it came in contact with the language WALA, combining with it in the heteroclite shape we have noted in Bijnor. Bijnor furnishes a typical example of the manner in which language suffixes invade and dominate the suffixes of place names.

It may be asked are not WALA and WARA identical or interchangeable? identical? no—except where both have been developed from the same source without being warped by the assimilation of other bases. Interchangeable? Yes, to some extent, since L and R are generally interchangeable according to dialect and local usage, but not without limitation. There are certain words which persistently hold to one sound or the other. Pur, a town, for instance, for all the modification which it undergoes in composition, never exchanges its R for an L; it never becomes pul or -ul or -aul. It is the same, I think, with the language suffix WALA. It does not exchange its distinctive L for an R. Therefore when Mr. Growse discovers in the name Pipalwara in Muttra "our old friend WALA," meaning thereby the language suffix as in box-wala, I must decline to acquiesce. This Wala suffix cannot become WARA and is not found outside the region I have indicated.

To clear up the question a little more we may track the Wārā termination from East to west. Eastward from

Allahabad we find an abundance of WAL and WAR suffixes with short A, which are the direct and legitimate descendants of the Skr. VALA, VARA. Alongside of these are a much smaller number of terminations in WAR, WARA and WART with long A, induced probably by the incorporation of the Skr. VĀTAH VĀTAKAH VĀTIKĀ respectively, the last, WARI, being very prominent and parallel to the Bombay Vāpī or Vandī, as in Dhanga-vadi (Epig. Ind. 1802, Art. 19 IV) and Pimpal-vandi, in Poonah. Westward from Allahabad the WAL and WAR suffixes become rare, merging in the Aul. Aur terminations of the Duab. At the same time the WART suffix of the East is largely replaced by AULI owing to the prevalence of the suffixal base PALLI, but the WARA forms persist, though in diminishing numbers. throughout the Western districts. That in individual cases the Wara names may have been recruited from the genuine Panjabi walas is quite possible, but as a general rule the WARA termination, originating from VALA mixed with VATAKAH maintains its ground.

It may be noticed in conclusion that the Wār suffix is found in Persian, as in dushvār, difficult, as well as Wār with long link vowel, as in zorāwar, shaped on the same lines as Skr. dantāvalah, a tusked elephant or sikhāvalah, a crested bird, peacock. The old Sanskrit Grammarians regarded Vara as a primary and Vala as a secondary suffix (Wilson's Skr. Grammar, pp. 309, 329), but the distinction, if it ever existed, disappeared in the derived languages and the two suffixes were used indiscriminately.

NOTE to L, R, D series.

The suffixes L and R take every variety of link vowel. The commonest forms of the L suffix are:

L, LA, LI AL, ALA, ALI, ALIYA, AHLA, AHLI, AHLIYA IL, ILA, UL, ULA, ULI, ULIYA EL, ELA ELI, ELIYA, AILA, AILI, AILIYA and from Val, Ol, Ola, Oli, Oliya, Aul, Aula, Auli, Auliya

The R forms are much the same, except for the frequency of the aspirate with the R suffix, particularly as Ahra and ehra that the R suffix is rarely preceded by the vowel I, whereas L constantly attracts an I, as in Koil, Kotila.

With the D suffix the link vowel is almost always a long vowel or a diphthong, E or O or Au.

K. S. CH. series.

These three suffixes are closely allied and in some measure interchangeable. That at least is the case with K and S. K in Skr. often became CH, though not in finals, and ch. in Hindi frequently results from the palatal S of the Sanskrit.

Sanskrit had a K suffix possessive, diminutive and pleonastic. According to Dr. Hoernle this Sanskrit K suffix has wholly disappeared from the modern dialects; but this does not necessarily apply to place names. Mahokwa and Mahokahwa in Basti can hardly be explained otherwise than by the survival of the Skr. K in Madhuka. Whether the K suffix in the following three names is of Sanskrit or Hindi origin must be left to expect philologists to decide: Am-ka, Bulandshahr, Bar-ka, Aligarh (4 instances), Bel-ka, Saharanpur, Hins-ki, Agra, Jam-ki, Azamgarh, Sirs-ka, Saharanpur, Simal-ka and Simal-ki, Muzaffarnagar, Sinbhal-ka and Sinbhal-ki, Saharanpur, Tar-ka, Ghazipur, Sisa-r-ka for Sisu-ka or Siras-ka, Budaun

We find these names repeated with the S suffix, thus: Against Bar-ka set Bar-sa and Bar-si, Saharanpur; against Bel-ka set Bil-sa, Bareilly; against Tar-ka set Tar-si, Muttra. Also we have Papr-e-ki, Saharanpur to compare with Pipar-sa, Allahabad.

There are two names on the Govt. list, which, though of obscure origin, aptly illustrate the alternation of the K and S suffixes, viz:

MANDRĀK Aligarh .. 532 Augasi Banda .. 533

These seem to be medieval forms of prehistoric names. There was country anciently called Madrah (whence perhaps the modern Madras), of which the inhabitants were called Madrāh. Also there was a country, anciently called Vangah, the modern Bengal or a part of it, of which the inhabitants were called Vangāh.

From Madrah comes Mandrāk with K suffix and from Vangah Augāsi with S suffix. In confirmation of this we have another name

Aung Fatehpur .. 534 obviously referable to Vangah.

Some people may prefer to derive Mandrak from Mandir or Mandar, (1) a house, (2) a temple, or mandalakah, a district.

The only alternative etymology for Aung appears to be the Skr: ā-vargaḥ, Hindi bārgā, Greek erk-os, enclosure, a word that appears in another form in augī, a pit to catch elephants.

The forms taken by K are generally K, KA KI, KAR, mostly KI and those of the S suffix S, SA, SI, SU, mostly SI, both series with or without link vowels. There are no examples of K with a link vowel in the Govt. list but such forms are not uncommon, e.g. Baraki, Bulandshahr, Baruki, Bijnor, Baroka, Benares, and Papreki, Saharanpur.

We have had an example of the K suffix diminutive in Rurki (470) and we have the possessive K in

BINDKI .. Fatehpur .. 535 from the proper name Binda. In the name

KANDARKI .. Moradabad .. 536

usually pronounced Kundarki, it would seem that the Skr. K suffix of Kundrakah, a dwelling raised on a scaffold, has been preserved. The Skr. word seems to be the same word as Hindi Kundarkha, given by Crooke as meaning a stack of cut corn. An alternative etymology for Kundarki is kundd kundar, a pool or reservoir.

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The pleonastic K occurs in

JHINJHAK Cawnpore .. 537

The derivation is from jhanjhan, a reduplication of jhan, seen in Jhankar, bush, which it will be more convenient to examine presently under the name Jhansi.

There is a doubt whether the K in the remaining names under this head is a simple suffix or if it implies a compound with Skr. vesah, a house, not that the Skr. palatal S was transformed into K on passing into Hindi, but there is evidence that the old vernacular often kept a K where the literary Sanskrit substituted a palatal S. The name

is from Chandisvarah, with cerebral D, the lord Siva. The -wak might be taken for Skr. okas, house, but Fick denies that such a word ever existed in Sanskrit, alleging that it was invented by the grammarians to account for such apparent compounds as Divaukas, Svargaukas. Is it not possible that Okas may be an ancient form of Vasah, Greek oikos, and that this is the origin of the termination -wak? We have also Chandwak in Ballia but in Chandokha, Farrukhabad and Basti, and Chandok Bulandshahr and Chandauki Jaunpur there is a tendency to revert to the ordinary K suffix, only the O link vowel remaining to connect the name with Vesah.

The same question arises in the name

BHADEK ... Jalaun

The name is spelt in the Village Directory Bhadekh with a final aspirate. Another village in the same district is called Bhadr-ekhi. Also we have Bhed-eki twice in Saharanpur and Bhadeng in Pilibhit and Bhadkhin in Jaunpur and lastly Bhad-esra in Mainpuri, not to be confounded with Bad-esra or Bat-esar, lord of the Bargad. Bhādrah is a name of Siva, otherwise Bhadr-isa, good lord, and this explains the Mainpuri name. As for Bhad-ek it may be Bhadr-isa or Bhadra-

vesah or simply Bhadrah with possessive suffix K and the link vowel E which is very prevalent in Jalaun and in all the Trans-Jumna districts.

Sometimes the K suffix is aspirated as in Jamukha, Azamgarh from the Jamun tree and Karmukha, Jalaun, from the Karma tree; sometimes it takes the Old Hindi form Kar or Kara, as in Jamkara, Fatehpur. If then the K is aspirated, giving Khar, it commonly assumes the form O-Khar where the O may be in some cases, as Mr. Beames suggests, an old inflection. In any case the Okhar forms are very widely spread and very curious, but as there happens to be no example in the Govt. list they may be relegated to an excursus.

The S suffix.

In most cases this is the Skr. genitive suffix Syareduced to S or Si. We have had an instance of the conservation of the Skr. S in Benares from the Skr. Varanasi or Vanarasi(466).

We have it again in

HATHRAS Aligarh .. 640

King Hastin is said to have founded the ancient city of Hastinapur and his name is commemorated in other place names. Hastin in Old Hindi became Hathin with a genitive Hathinas whence the village name Hathnas in Basti. In the name Hathras the N has been exchanged for R for facility of pronunciation, as in the very common name of Bamrauli for Bamanauli, Brahmans' village. Vice versa N often takes the place of R, both being exchangeable with L. Another name from Hastin is Hathnaura in Jalaun.

We come to the -SI form in

JHANSI .. Jhansi .. 641

The name means covered with bush or undergrowth, Jhan. This jhan is at the bottom of many rural words and of many places names. Jhānkar brushwood, is the

same word as Jhānsi, only with the K in place of the S suffix, and the changes are rung on Jhankar by a slight variation of the suffix in the words Jhankhar and Jhankhi and Jhangi, all given in the Rural Glossary as meaning brushwood. In the same repertory we find Jhangar, a thicket, Jhamra, brushwood and Jhankṭa, thorny brushwood, where -kṭa stands for Kaṭa, Skr. noun of multitude.

JHAN in place names meets us in a reduplicated form in

JHANJHANA .. Muzaffarnagar .. 642

with an echo in Jhanjhan, a village in the Meerut district.

It must be remarked however that the final N in Jhan, although so constant, is not original. It has taken the place of an R, in Jhār, jhara, jhari, brushwood, or of L, as in Jhāl, v.s. Jhālu (568), and R and L proceed from Skr. T in Jhāṭah, a thicket. Again the Skr. ṭ is nothing more than a suffix, much used in words signifying plants or animals; so that we are driven to postulate an original Jhavu, which is not found in Skr. dictionaries but appears in the word Jhau, tamarisk and in a curtailed form in Skr. jhunṭah, a shrub, whence Hindi Jhunḍ and with suffix S Jhunḍ-si or Jhunsi and the place name Jhusi (485).

From Jhar again by reduplication we get the name

JHAJHAR .. Bulandshahr .. 643

Jhar is found also as a suffix in Mau-jhari and Mau-jharia in Basti.

Names ending in Ās and Āsī are generally considered to be compounds with Bās, Skr. Vāsah, dwelling or with Skr. Āsaḥ, seat, and this is plausible where the characteristic is a man's name.

I do not think however that

Damras 1 Jalaun .. 644

¹ Damras is from the name Damar which is no longer in common use, but its currency in former times is evident in the names Damarpur in Etawah, Nagla Damar in Farrukhabad and Nawada Damar in Cawnpore.

should be included in this category. Dr. Hoernle says that Prakrit shows a tendency to reduce SS (Skr. gen. Sya), to S and to lengthen the preceding vowel and Marathi follows this example, making, for instance the genitive of Jal, water, Jalās. Now Jalaun, having been subject to Marathi influence, it may well be that -Ās in Damrās is a simple genitive suffix in S. Muttra has Garhi Lukas, Lokman's fort, where Lukas is plainly a genitive, but the A here is probably short. In Amrās, Meerut the A is long and this may belong to the Bas compounds. See note at foot.

Among the Bas compounds may be reckoned

Jaurāsī .. Saharanpur .. 645

The name Jaur or Jabar or Jabal, probably the same as Jwala, is much in evidence in place names. We have had it lately in Jabarhera (542). In Banda there are several instances, Jaurnera, Jaurehi, Jorwars and Jabrapur.

Of similar formation is

SATĀSĪ .. Budaun .. 646

from the name Sat as in Sat Narayn, or from Satya. Satyanath is one of the local gods of Kumaun.

Bās often takes the form -Aus in composition, as in

CHANDAUS .. Aligarh .. 647

from Chand, i.e. Siva. like Chandwak (638), and

CHANDAUSI .. Moradabad .. 648

from the name Chandra, like Chandauli (625).

Badausa, already mentioned (418) is another example.

Another variety of the Bas suffix, which is common in Lalitpur, though I have not observed it elsewhere is Wāns, e.g. Kisal-wans, Nag-wans Satar-wans, Sat-wansa, Kur-wans Khit-wans

The CH suffix.

The CH suffix arises in Hindi in various ways, sometimes from Skr. palatal S, as in Irichh (397) from Adrisa and Badechha from Vaṭ-isa; sometimes from Skr. suffix -tya

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(see Beames, vol. II, pp. 109, 110); sometimes from Chayah, assemblage, as in Jarcha (420) and Pipraich (422); sometimes from the Skr.-Anch, directed towards something (see Brugmann II, pp. 254–262). Thus

Punch Jhansi .. 649

meaning eastward, situated to the east, from the Prakrit Puvva, east and -anch, towards. Puncha Mainpuri, Poncha, Azamgarh, and Puchgawan, Basti appear to be of the same derivation. Also Puchhi in Jhansi.

T and N suffixes.

These suffixes are grouped together because they mostly have a common origin in participles and participal adjectives and the two lines therefore often intersect. This is especially the case with the forms Wān, Want, Mān, Mant and in names derived from the Skr. past participles in T and N.

T suffixes.

The forms most in use are:

AT, ATI, varying into AUTI IT, ITA, or TA AIT, or AIT, aita, aiti

Er, eta, eti

Анат, alita, ahti

WAT or WANT, wanta, wanti

MAT or MANT, mata, mati

and with cerebral T,

Aut or Var autta, Auti

HAT or AHAT, ahta, ahti

and in place of Aut and Aut not infrequently Ot and Ot.

We take these seven series in the succession above. given. At, ati, varying into auti.

This is the suffix of the present participle both in Skr. and Hindi. A prominent example is

Basti Basti .. 650

a dwelling. Sanskrit had Vasatin and Vasti with the same meaning, but Mr. Beames and Dr. Hoernle concur in making Basti a Hindi formation from the root Bas.

The variation into Autr is seen in Basoti Bulandshahr and Basaunti, Muttra. It is considered by some authorities to have arisen from taking the causal verb as a base, thus from Bas-auna Bas-auti. At any rate we have the same variation in language, e.g. parti, fallow and Parauti, fallow; chukti rent paid in the lump and chukauti (which will be found as Chakanta in the Rural Glossary) in the same sense. Again OL-TI, eaves of a house from Skr. Val, to cover or surround, with its variants Lauti and Al-Auti for Ulauti. It, ita or ta.

The IT suffix comes from the Skr. past participle or the equivalent adjectival suffix. Thus the widely spread place name Bahta or Behta, as noted under Talbahat (329) is the Skr. Vah-Ita, ploughed.

Adjectives were formed on this model in Sanskrit, as Pushpita, flowery from pushpam, a flower, and so we might interpret

KANTIL .. Mirzapur as meaning thorny or a place of thorn bushes from Kānīa Skr. Kantakam, a thorn; but there is a difficulty about the orthography of the name. In the Nagari column it is written with two cerebral T's and in the Urdu column both T's are dental. Strictly speaking, if derived from kānṭa, a thorn, and the suffix IT, the first T should be cerebral and the second dental, but the two letters being in such close proximity one inevitably draws the other into its own class and so we have optionally KANTIT or KANTIT. For the same reason in English the word disease is pronounced Dizīz while decease is Disīs. If in Kantit the first T was originally cerebral the derivation above proposed is admissible. If the T was dental the name may have come from Kanta, beloved, used as a proper name. Kantih is an epithet of Durga, and hence perhaps Kantipur, a village in Azamgarh.

There is also on our list a place called

Kant Shahjahanpur .. 652

with cerebral T, which may come from Kanṭakah in the sense of a work-shop or manufactory, but has rather the aspect of a very ancient name, as indicated by Bhojakanṭam, a town said to have been founded by Rukmin one of the adversaries of Krishna.

AIT or AIT, aita, aiti, ET, eta eti AHAT, ahta, ahti.

The AIT set is regarded by Mr. Beames as an extension of the IT suffix. Dr. Hoernle has another theory of his own. But they are agreed as to its use. In place names it has a quasi-possessive force, as in Kakrait, Benares and Etah, from kankar, having a gritty soil, Khukraita in the Tarai, furrowed by ravines, Jakhaiti in Budaun, haunted by ghosts or goblins (Yakshas), Bambhet Banda, studded with ant-hills. More rarely it is attached to the names of men and tribes, as Bamn-aita, Moradabad, belonging to Brahmans and Parm-et, Ghazipur, belonging to Param.

The form Air often changes to Ahar owing to the contained palatal vowel, especially if preceded by R. I take it that

USEHAT .. Budaun .. 653.

spelt in Urdu Ushhat and in Hindi Usahat, was originally Usar-ait, land impregnated with Usar. The R going out helped to aspirate the suffix. A simpler form of the name is Usaita in Bareilly and there is another name of the same meaning, Usrahar, in Etawah. The form given to the name in the Urdu column, Ushhat, looks as if it were derived directly from the Skr. ushta or ushita, burnt, barren, but the previous explanation is preferable.

WAT or WANT, wanta, wanti, MAT or MANT, manta, manti.

The Skr. suffix Wat or Mat was used to form possessive adjectives, such as Dhanvat, possessed of wealth. Essentially it is the same as the participal Wan, Want, but its practical use is somewhat different. In Skr. it is

extensively used, chiefly in the feminine form, in the formation of river names, Indra-vati, Saras-vati, Gumti, i.e. Gomati, rich in cattle, Charman-vati, a river in Avanti and Madhu-mati in Malwa. In place names it is principally found in names derived from trees. A good type is Champāwat (434), Skr. Champāvati. In Hindi Var commonly goes into Aut as in

BARAUT .. Meerut .. 654

having Bar trees.

This Aut suffix is not to be confounded with the Aud suffix of Barauda, which has a different origin.

There is another Baraut in Jaunpur and again in Allahabad, besides Barauta in Jhansi, Barauti in Dehra Dun and Barautia in the Tarai. Similarly formed names from other trees abound, Amot in Benares and Amauta in Etawah from the Am; Aml-ota in Jhansi and Aml-auti in Allahabad from the Aonla; Jamauta and Jamautia in Basti and Jamn-auta in Muttra from the Jamun; Piprauta in Azamgarh from the Pipal.

Where the tree name has R, as in the last instance, the T of the suffix is often aspirated, as in Barauth, Aligarh, Piprauth, Muttra, Simrauthi Aligarh; and sometimes without apparent reason.

In some of the instances quoted above the T is probably cerebral. I have no means of distinguishing them. The aberration is due to assimilated suffixal bases, such as Vāṭaḥ, enclosure, vartaḥ, livelihood, vanṭah, share, and perhaps to the familiarity of the rural tongue with the instrumental suffix-auṭa. But the model remains the same.

To the simple War suffix may also be referred the name

NANAUTA .. Saharanpur .. 655

The Gazetteer (II 314) says, "The name Nanauta is said to have been given by the founder Nanu, a Gujar chief,

who was afterwards expelled by Raja Ram the founder of Rampur''

NANAKMATA .. Tarai .. 656

is similarly formed from the name Nanak, a name famous as that of the founder of the sect of the Sikhs. In this connection it is curious to notice the name Nank-eshwari in Garhwal.

The following extract from Kielhorn's Sanskrit Grammar (p. 33) will explain the different forms assumed by the Wan, Want suffix. "Two bases, strong base ending in Mant, Vant, weak base ending in Mat, Vat. In the nom. sing. masc. Mant and Vant become Mān and Vān. The feminine base is formed by the addition of the feminine suffix I to the weak base, e.g. dhīman fem. base dhīmani."

These suffixes serve to form proper names from nouns signifying a distinguishing quality, as Jaswant, glorious, from Yasas, fame, Balwant, powerful, from Bal, strength, Hanuman, the monkey god, with protruding chin, from Hanu, chin.

Hanuman varies into Hanuvat and with the addition of possessive -I becomes a place name, as Hanauti in Jaunpur.

A spurious replica of this form is seen in

LAKHNAUTI Saharanpur .. 657

The old name Lakshmana, having auspicious marks, and so lucky, Fortunatus, was modernised into Lachman and Lakhan, and hence Lakhnauti. The N here is of the nature of a double suffix. The name Lakhnauti is repeated in Muzaffarnagar, but in Benares it is Lakh-auti and in Bulandshahr Lakh-wati.

Other place names followed the same model, Bhagauti, Allahabad, from Bhagwant, Bhujauti from Bhoja (quasi Bhujwat, strong-armed), Azamgarh, Khimauti, from the name Khem (quasi Kshem-wat from Kshem, peace), Mee-

rut. Some again to which the WAT element was foreign, as Chamrauti, Azamgarh.

Aur or Vat, auta, auti.

Now that Prof. Brugmann has detected the intercalary suffix Van in Vala and Vara we are tempted to extend the same theory to the T suffixes. It makes everything so beautifully easy. It accounts for the variation of the TI suffix of the present participle into Auti, it throws light on the Wan, Want set and obviates the difficulty of referring the Aut, Auta series to their natural Skr. antecedents in Ta and Tra.

The Sanskrit TA suffix, use principally for the names of plants and animals, and the TRA instrumental suffix went generally in Hindi into T and often into AUTA and these forms, being much on the lips of the peasants, infected place names, converting many dental T's into cerebral T's in suffixes. Hence a confusion, which is noticed also in language by Mr. Beames and Dr. Hoernle. This irregular cerebration is observable in Talbahat (329).

There is no example in Aux in the Government list.

HAT or AHAT, ahta, ahti.

Most of these come from the incorporation of the words Ghāṭ, ford, and Hāṭ, market.

SILHAT ... Gorakhpur .. 658 with cerebral T, from sil, stone and Ghāt, the stony ford, like Pattharhat.

NARHAT Lalitpur .. 659

Narhat or Narhat? The question of the origin of this name is complicated by the uncertainty of the value of the final letter. One of the vernacular columns, the Urdu, has a cerebral T and the other a dental. In the first case the most obvious derivation is from Nār, a herd of cattle and Ghat, a ford, like Gaoghat. If the T is dental, the name might be referred to Skr. nadvat, ready, or to a rarer combination, Nar-hita (hita p.p. of dha), founded by Narayn.

The TH suffix.

The names ending in TH or TH or that or this, as Amethi (416), Gulaothi (424), Garotha (541), come as a rule from some development of Skr. sthas, but sometimes from a simple aspiration of the T suffix, as in Barauth and other names quoted under (654). In

Jauli is from the name Jabal with possessive suffix I. Vide Jaurasi (645).

Jansath is Janasthanam or Janushthanam, birthplace. Janasthanam was the name of part of the Dandaka forest in the Deccan. In the Muzaffarnagar name it probably denotes the birth-place of some saint.

Among names with a T ending are a few compounds with -kata, either kaṭā, a clearing, as in Ban-kaṭā, forest clearing (jangalburid), or kaṭah, Skr. noun of multitude, as in avikaṭaḥ, a flock of sheep. With these I would class

RUNKUTA Agra .. 661

Run is rund, a fence, Skr. ruddha, compare Hindi rundna, to enclose a field with a fence, raundi, an enclosure for cattle.

In Bulandshahr we have the simpler form Ronda.

The N suffix

The N suffix is connected with the T suffixes by common derivation from the participal Wan, Want and the Skr. past participles, some of which are formed with N. Thus Chhāni, Chhāoni, a hut, from chhanna, p.p. of chhad, to cover. Their verbal origin is seen also in such words as len-den, barter and thikānā, a place or residence.

N is commonly interchangeable with L and often replaces it in suffixes. So in tree names we have Amrauna in Basti with Amraula in Allahabad, Barauna in Jhansi and Baraula in Aligarh, Barna, Allahabad with Barla (590), and Amena, Fatehpur with Amaila, Etawah.

Often it is simply pleonastic. Brugmann says (II sec.

112 and p. 357) "The custom of extending all sorts of stems by an N suffix remained in full force through most of the stages in the history of the separate languages." This is true of Hindi, though a still greater variety of uses prevails in English.

The forms assumed by the suffix are various but the most frequent are in -ān, -ānā, often attached to men's names with a possessive force, as

Budhana Mirzapur .. 662 from the name Budh, and

DHAULANA .. Meerut .. 663

from the name Dhaul, which appears to have a religious significance in Dhaul-esar, Etah and Dhaul-esar, Farrukh-abad, possibly from some legend connected with Dhavalagiri, the *white* peak in the Himalaya. Dhaulana however may come from the Skr. Dhavalagriham, a house coated with chunam, a palace, a word preserved in the modern dhaurahar (Grierson, 1234). Dhaulana may be for Dhaulanath.

We must take together the two names

Jasra . . . Allahabad . . 664 Jasrana . . Mainpuri . . 665

both ultimately from the name Jaswant, meaning glorious, which is from Skr. yasas, renown. It is reduced to Jas in Jas-mai, Etah and Jas-mai, Mainpuri. The Prakrit form is Jasalla. It is not clear whether Jasra is a variant of Jesalla or whether RA is a genitive suffix to which -ana in the second name has been superadded.

The Wan suffix is exemplified in

TARHAWAN .. Banda .. 666

In the Persian column the name is Tarahwan and in the Nagari Ṭarahawān with cerebral T. The Persian spelling is correct. From the Gazetteer we gather (vol. I., p. 593) that the village lies under a hill which is crowned by a fort and was called at an earlier time Tarehti. That is quite likely. Tarehti and Tarahwan have the same

meaning. Tarehti is given by Fallon s.v. Talaiti, in its Bhojpuri form as Tarhathi and explained as the foot of a hill. Tāl or Tār, meaning low of position, v.s. Talbahat (329), is the essential element in the name; the aspirate is generated by the R and the suffix -ti or -wan added.

The Wan suffix often changes to Aun but many of these names arise from compounds with Ganw or Ban. Such is probably the case in

JALAUN Jalaun .. 667 locally pronounced Jālwan, the village of Jal or Jallaka.

TAKHLAUN

.. Lalitpur

is the forest or village guarded by or haunted by Yakshas. We read (Beal I. 156) that Kaniska Raja commanded the Yakshyas "to keep the approaches of the kingdom." The Yakshas play a considerable part in Buddhist legends. They were giant demons, faithful guardians of temples and treasures but with a taste for human blood. On one occasion Tathagata enjoined a Yaksha not to eat human flesh: on another he fed a Yaksha with his own blood. A multitude of village names evidence the wide prevalence of the superstition about them, especially in the Hill districts; Jakherh, twice over, Jakhola, Jakhola add Jakhwal Kot in Garhwal, but also in Bundelkhand, Jakhauri in Banda, Jakheri in Hamirpur, Jakhauli in Jalaun, Jakhora and Jakhara in Lalitpur. Jakhauda in Agra and from West to East, Jakheri, Saharanpur, Jakhaira, Meerut, Jakhaira, Budaun and Jak-oli, Budaun, Jakhera Aligarh and Jakhur-nagla, Aligarh, Jakhara in Mainpuri and Jakhera in Etah, not to mention Jakhanwara in Jhansi.

The L inserted in Jakhlaun between the characteristic and the base is possessive L, just like the R in Jakhara in Mainpuri. R often serves the same office and the L and R often indicate a compound name. We have already quoted Ghisa-r-puri in this connection and may add Bamrapur or Bamripur in Etawah. It is found very frequently in the -Auli names, as in Gang-r-auli in Muttra, Bamh-r-

auli in Jaunpur, Jhansi and Fatehpur and in the still commoner Bamrauli. Sometimes we find N instead of R or L, as in Bamnauli.

I see the Jakh names I have quoted are all from Western districts. Such names are less usual in the East but Basti gives us Jakholi, Jakhauli and Jakhaulia.

. Most of the remaining names with N suffix are of more or less uncertain origin and will be better treated in the next section among doubtful etymologies.

Excursus on O-KHAR

The OKHAR suffix has gained great vogue throughout the provinces with the exception of Rohilkhand but is most plentiful South of the Jumna and in Allahabad and the Benares division

South of the Jumna and the Eastern districts it is frequently appended to the names of trees,—Bar-okhra in Lalitpur, Pipri-okhar in Jhansi, Badokhar in Banda, Mah-okhar in Banda, Aml-okhar in Banda, Bad-okhar and Bar-okhiri in Basti, Jam-okhar in Benares, Bad-okhar and Jam-okhar in Allahabad, Piprokhar in Ballia and again in Benares.

In these names the original suffix was probably Khand, a group or collection. Khandam is thus used in Sanskrit, as in Taru-khandam, a group of trees. In this case the O of O-khar is a sign of the genitive plural.

This explanation is hardly suitable when, as often happens, the suffix occurs with tribal names, such as Bamokhar, Benares, or Bhar-okhra, Agra or with men's names, as Khand-okhar, Banda, Gaj-okhar, Benares, Jal-okhar, Etawah.

The characteristics I have found with it, apart from tree names, are Baid-, Bam-, Bas-, Bhab, Bhad-(2), Bhar-, Charch-, De-(3), Gaj-, Gur-, Jal-, Jhaj, Kail-, Kaim-, Kair-, Kam-(2), Khand-, Khar-, Mad-, Mal-, Mar-, Pad-, Pal-, Pithl-, Sal-, Sam-, Sh-, Shee-, Sil-(2), and besides these a curious name of frequent recurrence, Pac-Okhar.

PACHOKHAR has been explained to be Panch-pokhar, five pools. There certainly is a Pachpokhra in Farrukh-abad, and the derivation would suit well enough for an occasional name, but when we come to a dozen or more of them we become sceptical.

Of villages named Pachokhar there are two in Jalaun, two in Banda, two in Moradabad, one in Ghazipur, one in Benares, one in Agra, one in Bulandshahr and one in Meerut. It is hard to believe that all these villages are endowed with five pools. Pach must be something else than panch; possibly Pashu, cattle, which would account for the O link vowel if the suffix is simply Khar, an extension of K.

There is no word OKHAR with a sense from which the names can be derived. Nor does OKHAR occur otherwise than as a suffix except in Kumaun and one solitary name, Okharha in Basti; nowhere else in the plains where the suffix is prevalent. In Kumaun we find Okhaldunga, Okhaldhanga, Okhaldanw and Okhalia. Here it may stand for Bakhal or Bakhar, a house especially for cattle.

I have observed under (539) that the termination may be an extension of the K suffix with O as link vowel and it may be observed that when a suffix like this has got possession of the popular ear it goes on propagating itself and gathering into its circle bases of approximately similar sound. Thus Okhar may have absorbed Khal, a threshing floor, Khor, a path, khera, a village as well as Khand above mentioned.

In the case of tribal and men's names the original suffix may well have been Khal, (Skr. khalam) which occurs often as a prefix in the form Khalia but as a suffix seems to be lost in -hal and -har.

NOTE ON LINK WITH SUFFIXES.

L takes Ă, Ā, Ĭ, Ī, Ŭ, Ū, E, Ar O, Au, AwĂ, AwĀ with a preference for I. It is seldom preceded or followed by H.

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- 98 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.
- R takes the same, but I I, Awa more rarely.
- T takes Å, Ā, E, AI O, Au commonly, the others very seldom. It is sometimes preceded by H when the link vowel is Å or E and is often aspirated, whether dental or cerebral, Th or Th.
- N takes Å, Ā, E, AI, O, Au commonly, also Ŭ, Ū, the others rarely.

 It is sometimes preceded but very seldom followed

by H.

- D takes O and Au and Awa, the others only when preceded by N, as in Darsenda. It never follows directly on an aspirate but is itself often aspirated, especially when cerebral, DH.
- K takes Ă, Ā, E, AI, O, rarely Ĭ, Ī, Ŭ, Ū, never Au or Awa.
- S takes Ă, Ā, E, AI, O, AU, seldom Ĭ, Ī, Ŭ, Ū, never Awa. It is never immediately preceded or followed by an aspirate.

EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

By HIRANANDA ŚHASTRI.

SANKISA is a small village in the Sadar Tehsil of the Farrukhabad or Fatehgarh district of the United Provinces lying some 23 miles west of the headquarters, between longitude 79'. 30" and latitude 27'. 20". It stands perched on an extensive mound which is 41 feet in height above the fields and 1,500 feet in length from west to east and 1,000 feet in breadth. The nearest approach to it is from Moṭa, a railway station on the Shikohabad Farrukhabad branch of the East Indian Railway whence it is about 5 miles across the Kālindri or Kālinadi, a small tributary of the Ganges. Other approaches are from Farrukhabad and Nibkarori. But there is no metalled road running to it.

The current name of the place as pronounced locally is Sanksā though in official papers it is written as Sankisā. This name at once reminds students of ancient Sanskrit literature of the old Sāṅkāśyā and Sankassā of the Buddhist literature with which it has been identified. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer of Indian Archæology, with his remarkable topographical instinct could very quickly locate ancient places and most of his identifications have proved accurate. He, perhaps, first of all spotted the place and proposed this identification which has been accepted by scholars. In his Ancient Geography of India he has rightly remarked that in identifying Sankisa with the Sānkāśya of the Rāmāyana and the Seng-kia-she of the

¹ Cunningham Archæological Survey Report, Volume I, page 274.

² Page 372.

³ The spelling given by Cunningham, viz. Sangasya is evidently wrong. Possibly it is a typographical error.

EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

Chinese we are supported not only by its absolute identity of name but likewise by its relative position with regard to such three well-known places as Mathurā, Kanauj and Ahichhatra. In size also it agrees very closely with the measurements given by Hiuan-Tsang, his circuit of 20 li or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles being only a little less than my measurement of 18,900 feet or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is actually the same."

The earliest mention of Sānkāsyā is perhaps in the epics1 where it is mentioned as the capital town of Kuśadhyaja, the younger brother of Janaka-Videha, the father of Sītā. The Rāmāyaṇa,2 for instance, speaks of it as the residence of Kusádhyaja and compares it in beauty and splendour to a celestial city and the divine car, called Pushpaka. It further says that the town of Sānkāśya lay on the river Ikshumati and was surrounded by ramparts which had missiles placed on them for protection 3 against hostile attacks. The name Ikshumati means abounding in Ikshu, or sugar-cane, and might have been applied in ancient times to the stream now called Kalindri or Kālinadi which flows near Sankisā. The earthen ramparts mentioned in the Rāmāyana can, perhaps, still be traced round the village. As measured by Cunningham the existing rampart is 18,900 feet or upwards of 31 miles in circuit. The greater portion still remains, the shape being a tolerably regular dodecagon. The breaks in this

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¹ Mahābhārata, 3, 16; 71, 16; 2, 321-2. Vishņupurāņa, 4, 5, 12.

^{2 1. 70. 3.}

^{&#}x27;भ्राता मम महातेजा वीर्यवानितभार्मिकः। कुशध्वज इति खातः पुरीमध्यवसच्छ्भाम्॥ वार्योफसकपर्यन्तां पिवन्निचुमतीं नदीम्। सांकाश्यां पुष्पसंकाशां विमानमिव पुष्पकम्॥

The epithet वार्योफलक, etc., is thus explained by Rāma in his commentary called Tilaka:—

परवलं वारियतुमर्जी वार्यः प्राकारसत्स्या चाफलका यन्त्रफलकासत्युक्तः पर्यन्तः परिसरो यस्याः सा, etc.

I have followed this explanation.

³ The mounds of the rampart, now called Nīvî-kā-koṭ, I think, are perhaps the remains of these fortifications.

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rampart which we see at the north-east, the south-east and the east sides are traditionally said to be the positions of the three city gates. Pāṇini, the famous grammarian of ancient India, has treated of the word and its derivatives in his Ashtādhyāyī. His commentators have also noticed it.

In the Jātakas² or birth stories of Buddha Sankassā is mentioned as a sacred town. In the 'Sarabhamiga-jātaka'³ its distance from 'Sāvathi' is given as 30 leagues which Moggallāna and his company traversed in the twinkling of an eye to behold the Tathāgata at his descent from "the heaven of the thirty-three." Sāvathi has been proved to be the modern Saheth-maheth or Maheth near Balrampur in the Gonda district of the United Provinces. Sankassā from this place, measuring as a crow flies, is about 150 miles or say 50 leagues, taking a league as an equivalent of 3 miles. This makes the distance given above less by 60 miles or 20 leagues but perhaps this difference should not stand in our way; for the distance given in the Jātakas was possibly approximate.

Hiuan-Tsang places Sankassā some 200 li towards the north-east of Kanauj, but I think he was evidently mistaken here for it lies towards south-east at a distance of nearly 300 li. He calls Sānkāśya also by the name of 'Kiepitha' or Kapitha which name appears now to have disappeared.'

^{1 4. 2. 80.}

² Chalmers, Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 73, 291 292, în the Kanha, the Jhanasodhana, and the Chandabha-Jātaka Nos. 29, 134, 135.

³ Rouse; Vol. IV, No. 483, p. 168.

⁴ It is true that the Brihjjātaka (26. 1) mentions Kāpitthaka (or Kāmpillhaka) as the place where Varāhamihira got a boon from the sun, but I am not sure whether the word used is Kāpitthaka or Kāmpillaka for the Lucknow edition (Naval-Kishor Press, 1882) in its commentary by Mahidhara paraphrases the verse where it occurs by कांपिला प्रामे though in the commentary by Bhattotpala called Brihajjājatakavivriti, a copy of which I saw with Pt. Nath Ram of Srinagar (Kashmir), renders it by कांपिला प्रामे | Kāmpila (De) is mentioned in the Ganapātha under Pāṇ. 4, 2, 80. along with Sankāśa in Sankāśadigaṇa and possibly is to be identified with the modern Kampil which is a village in the Farrukhabad district and

IO2 EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

As I have just said, Sānkāśya in Brahmanical books is known for its connection with the princes of Mithila; but in Buddhist literature it is mentioned as a place of special sanctity. For the Buddhists it is one of the most sacred spots on the surface of the earth as it was here that the Buddha alighted from the Trayastrimsa heaven after imparting the 'Dhamma' to his mother who was bereft of the privilege of seeing her illustrious son attaining to the Bodhi (Enlightenment) or hearing the law from him directly on account of her premature death. The story of this descent, as given in connection with the Sarabhamigajātaka, may be summarised here for it gives an idea of what Sankisā is to a Buddhist. According to this tale the Master first went to 'Savathi' where under a knot-mango tree he intended to perform a twofold miracle to confound the schismatics. Early in the morning he went on his rounds seeking alms. The king's gardener, Ganda De by name. was just taking to the king a fine ripe mango fruit. thoroughly ripe, big as a bushel, when he espied the Master at the city gate. "This fruit is worthy of the Master," said he, and gave it to him. The Master took it, and sitting down then and there on one side, ate the fruit. When it was eaten, He said, "Ananda, give the gardener this stone to plant here on the spot; this shall be the knot-mango? tree." The gardener dug a hole in the earth, and planted it. On the instant the stone burst, roots sprouted forth, up sprang a red shoot tall as a plough-pole; even as the crowd stared it grew into a mango tree of a hundred cubits, with a trunk of fifty cubits and branches of fifty cubits in height; at the same time flowers bloomed, fruit ripened; the tree stood filling the sky, covered with bees, loaden with golden fruit; when the wind blew on it, sweet fruits

represents the site of the ancient Kāmpilya the capital of the southern Pañcāla the country of Drupada.

¹ W. H. D. Rouse, The Jataka, vol. IV, p. 167f.

² After the name of the gardener Ganda meaning knot.

fell; then the Brethren came up and ate up the fruit, and retired. In the evening time the king of the gods, reflecting, perceived that it was a task laid on him to make a pavilion of the seven precious things, so he sent Vissakamma and caused him to make a pavilion of the seven precious things, twelve leagues in compass, covered all over with blue lotus. Thus the gods of ten thousand spheres were gathered together. The Master, having for the confounding of the schismatics performed a twofold miracle passing marvellous among his disciples, caused faith to spring up in multitudes, then arose, and sitting in the Buddha's seat, declared the law. Twenty crores of beings drank of the waters of life. Then, meditating to see whither it was that former Buddhas went when they had done a miracle, and perceiving that it was to the Heaven of the Thirty-three, up He arose from the Buddha's seat, the right foot He placed on the top of Mount Yugandhara, and with His left strode to the peak of Sumeru, He began the season of rains under the great Coral tree seated upon the yellow-stone throne; for the space of three months He discoursed upon transcendental doctrine to the gods.

The people knew not the place whither the Master had gone, they looked, and said, "Let us go home," and abode in that place during the rainy season. When the lenten season was near to its end, and the feast was at hand, the great Elder Moggallāna went and announced it to the Blessed one. Thereupon the Master asked him, "Where is Sāriputta now?" "He, Sir, after the miracle which delighted him, remained with five hundred brethren in the city of Sankassā, and is there still." "Moggallāna, on the seventh day from now I shall descend by the gate of Sankassā." Let those who desire to behold the Tathāgata assemble in the city of Sankassā." The Elder assented, went and told the people: the whole company he transported from Sāvatthi to Sankassā, a distance of thirty leagues in the twinkling of an eye. Lent

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over, and the feast celebrated, the Master told king Sakka that he was about to return to the world of men. Then Sakka sent for Vissakammā, and said to him, "Make a stairway for the Dasabala to descend into the world of men." He placed the head of the stairway upon the peak of Sumeru, and the foot of it by the gate of Sankassā, and between he made three descents side by side; one of gems, one of silver, and one of gold: the balustrade and cornice were of the seven things of price. The Master, having performed a miracle for the world's emancipation, descended by the midmost stair made out of gems. Sakka carried the bowl and robe, Suyama a yak's-tail fan, Brahma lord of all beings bore a sun-shade, and the deities of ten thousand spheres did worship with divine garlands and perfumes. When the Master stood at the foot of the stair-case, first elder Sariputta gave him greeting, afterwards the rest of the company."

I have narrated this legend to show the importance of the place for the Buddhist world which believes in it firmly now as it did in the time of Asoka and even before his time. Fa-Hian says that the three stair-cases disap. peared under ground immediately after the descent leaving only seven steps visible. Aśoka is said to have set his diggers to dig down to the very base of the triple ladder though without success. Hiuan-Tsang 1 says that they existed in his time though they were completely sunk in the earth. On their foundations, however, the pious kings of different countries had erected three staircases similar to the first, of bricks and stones, ornamented with many precious things. The height of these staircases was about 70 feet. Over them there was a Vihāra containing the statues of Buddha, Brahmā, and Indra, who were represented leaning forward as if about to descend. Aśoka, as reported by Fi-Hian and Hiuan-Tsang, built a chapel over the three stair-cases and upon the middle one erected a full

¹ Cunningham, A.S.R., vol. I, p. 272.

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length statue of Buddha, 60 feet high. Close to the staircases he set up a stone pillar some 70 feet high. This pillar according to the Chinese travellers was surmounted by a lion figure but, as I shall show in the sequel, the topmost figure must have been that of an elephant and not of a lion.

It was to find out the remains of such antiquities that exploration was taken in hand but I am sorry neither Cunningham nor myself could succeed in bringing to light any remains of the steps or the stair cases. Still as I shall show presently the results obtained are not disappointing. On the other hand, they would prove the importance of the site and show how desirable its further exploration is. So far the finds made by me, are not particularly Buddhist. The seals at least, excepting one, are not Buddhist. range from second or third century A.D. onwards and would go to indicate that the place was dominated by non-Buddhist or Brahmanical influence even in remote antiquity. The legend of the disappearance of the three stair-cases would, perhaps, indicate that Buddhism lost its hold over the people of Sānkāśya very early. This surmise is supported by the account given by the Chinese pilgrims, named above, which says that the Brahmans dwelling near the great monastery were many tens of thousands in number. The tradition current among the people there that Sankisa was deserted some two thousand years ago and that some one thousand years ago it was given by a Kayastha to a body of Brahmans as a gift would lead to the same inference.1

That Sankisa represents the old Sānkāśyā is rather certain and I do not think there is any serious objection to this identification. It is true that the distances given, as shown above, do not agree in some cases but I think the difference is immaterial. Besides, the distance given by Patanjali in the great commentary i.e. Mahābhāsya, namely

¹ Ibid.

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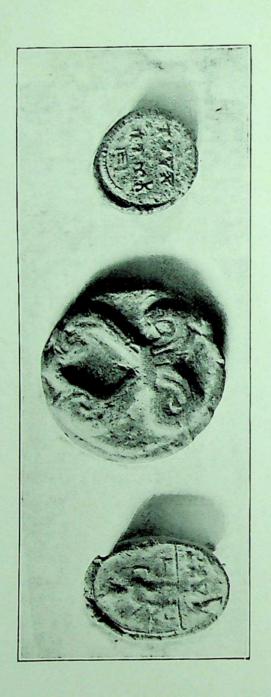
four yojanas from Gavidhumat or Kudārkōṭ, गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चलारि योजनानि।

as has already been shown by Kielhorn, rather settles the identification. The excavations made by Cunningham or myself did not reveal anything which would go to vitiate it. They would rather support it. Still I must say that, putting the indentity of name and the existence of the elephant capital as well as Patanjali's statement aside, some indisputable proof is still wanting to establish the identification and for that purpose futher exploration is needed.

The place was first excavated, though only partially, by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the year 1862 A.D. Later on, I am told by the people, Mr. Grouse of the U.P. Civil Service who held charge of the Fatehgarh District, did some digging though no accounts of the work done by him are available. I first inspected it in 1914 and sent my report on it to the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments at Lahore. Later on in the year 1915 A.D. I had to examine it again when the U.P. Historical Society, at the instance of its late lamented president Dr. A. Venis, C.I.E. and the Hon'ble. Mr. R. Burn C.S.I., I.C.S. decided to have it explored by me. The Society sent up its proposals to Sir John Marshall, the eminent head of the Archaeological Survey Department and he inspected the site with me in December 1917 and very kindly gave me his instructions about the work to be done. All the necessary arrangements were made through the kind offices of Hon'ble Mr. Burn and Dr. Venis and I got every necessary assistance from the District Magistrate and the Tehsildar concerned. I could do the work quite smoothly. But for my transfer on deputation to Kashmir I would have explored all the places which Sir John Marshall had spotted and which appeared important as well as promising. The Society placed Rs. 3,000 at my disposal and

¹ Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, p. 180.

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri



Sir John Marshall kindly promised to render financial help out of the Imperial grant at his disposal but I could not even spend the amount set apart by the Society for the work! Under urgent orders of Government I had to go to Kashmir and take up the appointment of the Superintendent of Archaeology there. However I was able to expose the remains of several buildings two of which were certainly Mauryan, some of Gupta and others of the mediaeval period. Besides these I dug up many interesting minor antiquities such as coins, clay seals, terracottas, etc., etc. They are all noticed in detail below. I think the finds amply repay the amount spent on the excavation and go to prove the fertility of the site as regards relics of yore.

During the excavations I found several coins which have not yet been cleaned properly. I hope I shall be able to describe them in some later issue of the Journal of the Society. They are forty in number, excluding those which are too worn to be of any use. Of these the oldest and perhaps an unique specimen is the lead coin which bears the legend:—

'Gomitasa' 1

in early Brāhmī characters of about 200 B.C. One is of Hagámásha, a satrap of Mathurã (Cir. 100 B.C.) Some of them are Kushān—including the one of Kadphises II, of the usual Śiva and Bull type and some of Kanishka.

But perhaps it is the clay seals dug up during the excavations which form the most important find of the whole lot. Excluding those which are worn or fragmentary and mere symbols they are not less than 115 in number. One of these is sectarian and decidedly Buddhist. It was found at a depth of 14 feet from the present ground level of the fields in the area round the spot where the elephant capital was seen. The burnt ashes and charcoal amidst which it lay indicate that the place was burnt down.

¹ For coins of Gomitra compare Indian Museum Coins Catalogue, Volume I, p. 205 plate XXIII—6.

The legend it bears is written in the early Kushān script and reads 'avana Haimavatana' (Sanskrit ārvānām Haimavatānām.) meaning of the venerable Haimavatas. The Haimavatas followed Hinavāna and I think this is their earliest mention so far known Another seal found bears the effigy of a king seated on a couch with the name of Trivikrama written beneath in the Gupta script. Who this Trivikrama was I do not know. Apparently it stands for the royal figure itself. The remaining seals are all personal. They can be classified into three groups: first, those issued in the name of Bhadraksha, secondly, those issued in the name of Ramvaksha, thirdly, those issued in the name Svetabhadra. The first two, namely, those of Bhadrāksha and Ramvāksha, either bear the figure of Siva or his well-known emblems the bull and the trident. This fact shows that both of these persons were Saiva or followed the sect of Siva. They form the majority, being seventy-three in number—sixty-nine being of Bhadrāksha and four of Ramyāksha. The seals which bear the name of Svetabhadra show a flying figure probably of Garuda holding a serpent in the left hand. On the reverse of some of these we see a divine figure seated on what looks more like a peacock with unfurled plumage than Garuda. They are forty in number. The emblems are certainly Vaishnava and will indicate that Svetabhadra was an adherent of Vaishnavaism. On palaeographic grounds all of these seals can be ascribed to the early Gupta period. The persons whose names these seals bear are not known to history or tradition. The name of Svetabhadra, however, will remind us of that of the Bhaghabhadra who is mentioned in the now well-known record on the Besnagar pillar 1 as

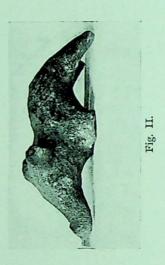
'Rāño kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa,

"King Bhāgbhadra, the son of the Princess from Benares the saviour."

¹ J. Ph. Vogel; Arch. Sur. Rep. 1908-9. p. 129.

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri

PLATE III.





EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

100

Bhāgbhadra was possibly a bhāgavata i.e. worshipper of Vishnu, otherwise he would have hardly countenanced the setting up of the Garuda standard by order of the Bhāgvata Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador of Antialkidas. That Śvetabhadra must have been a Vaishnava is evidenced by the emblems on the seals. The similarity of names at least, both ending in bhadra, if not the identity of the faith to which both the personages belonged, appear to be striking, and if a conjecture can be hazarded it does not appear unreasonable to infer that the Svetbhadra of these seals might have belonged to the line of Bhāgbhadra of the Besnagar pillar. Whether Bhāgabhadra was one of the later Sungas or not we have no means to ascertain and the identity of Bhagvata and Bhagbhadra proposed by some scholars has not yet been established. At any rate this is certain that he flourished about the 2nd Century B.C. Svetbhadra of the seals comes in the 4th Century A.D. or thereabout and five or six centuries will be a pretty long interval to connect the two names. Still I think it is not altogether impossible that the Svetbhadra of the seals might have been a very distant descendant of the house to which Bhagbhadra belonged. Instances are not wanting to prove the possibility 1.

In addition to these seals and coins what requires a special mention here is the terracotta elephant figurines which I excavated in large numbers not far from the spot where the elephant capital lay at the time when Cunningham visited Sankisa. The accompanying illustration will give an idea of their nature and size. These figurines were unearthed at the strata where the seals were found and must be regarded as coeval with the latter i.e. belonging to the Gupta age. They are votive no doubt. Whether they were offered by Buddhists or by the followers of Brahmanism we do not know. Both could offer them and to try to ascertain who did it is immaterial for the bearing

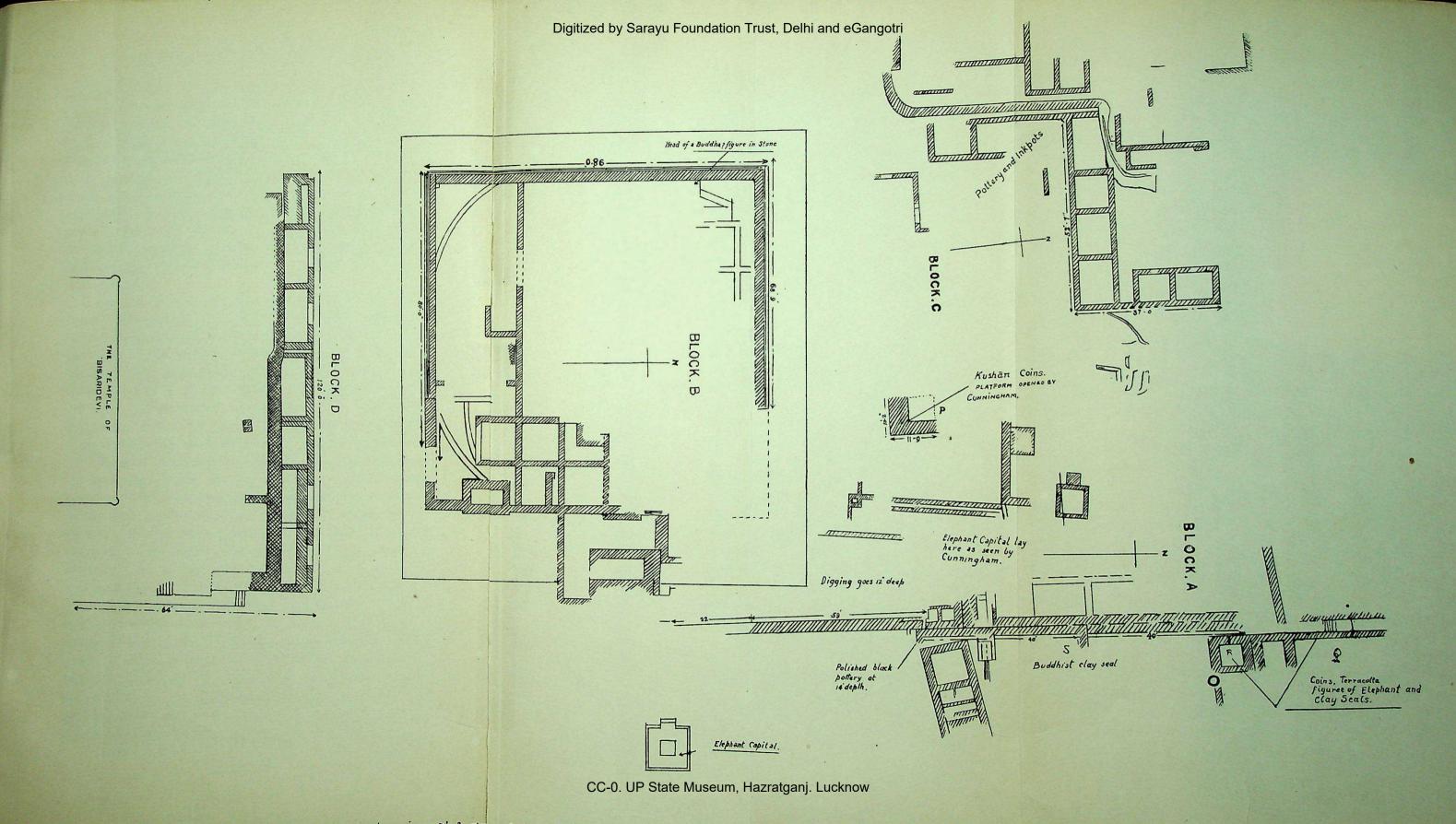
¹ Cf. For instance, the names of Chamba princes ending in Varman, etc.

they have on the existence of an elephant figure or rather the elephant capital itself on the spot when they were offered. People saw it i.e. an elephant figure standing there and left these miniatures as their offerings just as they did in other places where we see the votive offerings of miniature stup as and similar other articles. Even in these days the practice is continued by pilgrims who offer various symbols at sacred places where they see them. In my opinion it is quite clear that in the Gupta period the elephant capital lay somewhere near the place where they were dug out otherwise the find of such a large number of miniature elephant figures cannot be accounted for. As to the statement of the Chinese travellers, namely Fa-Hian and Hiuan-Tsang, that the Asoka column at 'Sankassā' was surmounted by a lion figure which roared to settle the dispute between the Buddhists and the followers of Brahmanism I am to remark that either that was another column or the trunk was broken and the elephant thus disfigured was mistaken for the lion. That the place required an elephant is shown by Vincent Smith in his history of Indian Sculpture. The figures surmounting the pillars set up by Asoka symbolize the quarters of the world. 'Sankassa' standing in the east required an elephant figure for the elephant is "the guardian of the east; the horse of the south; the bull of the west; and the lion of the north."

Mention may be made here in passing of the fragments of highly polished Chunar stones which I excavated during my explorations for they cannot fail to remind us of the Aśokan sculpture found in other places such as at Sārnāth.

After this brief analysis of the work done during the period of some two months I may give below a few details of the excavations done at Sankisa. Cunningham has given a detailed description of the mounds and other

¹ A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon; p. 59.



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KING HAWK KING remains he saw both at Sankisa and at Bihar or Pakna Bihar and I need not recapitulate what has been said by him about them. I confined my labours to the site of Sankisa which lies between the village and the mound of Bisāridevī doing some digging at the same time at a spot which is known as 'Mahādev-ka-mandir' after a modern shrine standing there and which lies near what Cunningham called the tank of a Nāga or serpent. No excavation could be done at Pakna Bihar though I was very anxious to examine at least those parts of its site which Sir John Marshall had spotted. Plague was raging and I could not work there.

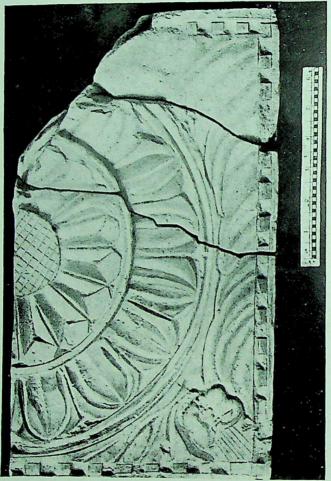
For convenience sake the different areas or parts of the site attacked by me I may call A, B, C and D, and mark the drawings illustrating the work done accordingly. The spot where Cunningham noticed the capital is called A; the field lying between this spot and the mound of Bisāridevī is called B; the site lying to the south-west of the village or the north-west of what I call B is indicated by the letter C while the foot of the mound of Bisāridevī, lying towards the north, is represented by the letter D.

Block A. Cunningham had surmised after some experimental digging near the spot where the elephant capital lay at the time of his visit that an Aśoka column surmounted by this capital stood on a platform which he had opened. He was sure and certain that the platform formed the base of the Aśoka column seen by Hiuan-Tsiang at To see how far the statement was true I attacked the spot first of all and laid bare the platform (marked P on the accompanying drawing). It is eleven feet nine inches by ten feet two inches and is built of ordinary small bricks. Cunningham says that he saw a large hole in the centre of it and that it was meant for the pillar to stand on. I took every precaution to open the platform and carefully examined it but have not been able to find anything which could go to support Cunningham's surmise. The platform had no hole whatsoever

but as is clear from the drawing it was broken on one side perhaps owing to careless digging. Supposing the column fell and broke the platform how can we account for the level of the platform which is only about 4 feet below that of the fields and where only very late relics have been found. I got a copper coin of Kadphises II from the debris lying to the north of the platform no doubt but it was dug up at a level lower by about I foot from the bottom of the platform. If there were a deep hole in it we might have fancied that the column was inserted in it say to about 10 feet or so, so as to stand against the pressure of the wind or gravitation. That the column was fairly high and colossal is clear and the elephant capital testifies to its magnitude or size. According to Cunningham himself it was between 50 and 60 feet high. So its weight could not have been less than 1,458 mds. taking 55 feet as the mean height and the weight of one cubic foot of stone to be about 2 mds. for the average diameter of the column may be taken as 3 feet 10 inches and the total measurement of the shaft and the capital as 729 cubic feet. present it has only four courses of brick layers. it a greater height it ought to have been sunk lower. is true that the superficial area of the platform is enough for supporting the column as one square foot of masonry will suffice to support the weight of four tons or 112 mds. If the column rested on it without being inserted in the ground there ought to have been some contrivance to hold it erect. Consequently I am of opinion that Cunningham was not right to think that this platform formed the base of the Aśoka column. Besides the testimony of bricks of which it is built is too strong for such a supposi-The bricks can never be Mauryan and are certainly late mediæval. Whether the platform was erected later on to place the capital after it had fallen off the pillar or whether it served some other purpose we do not know.

I continued digging round the spot under the belief that if the capital was not brought from elsewhere the

Digitized by S angotri Fig. III.







adjoining fields must contain the remains connected with it. As shown by the drawing the remains of several buildings were opened but nothing Mauryan was brought to light here. The walls built one above the other which have been exposed in this area evidently belong to structures built in different periods none being anterior to the Kushān or the Gupta period. Except a few rooms which were fully cleared no complete structure was found. Therefore nothing definite can be said about the nature of the buildings to which the rooms or walls belonged. Digging towards furthur north at the spot marked S and O and the room marked R on the drawing proved very fruitful for it was at these places that highly interesting finds were made. At S I found, amidst burnt strata and charred wood, at a depth of 13 feet, the Buddhist clay seal noticed above. It is the only piece of a decidedly Buddhist origin that has been found here. Of course it is portable and might have been brought from elsewhere and cannot itself go to prove that the site was Buddhist. In and round the room marked R as well as at O several clay seals, evidently of Brahmanical origin, were dug out. These have been described above. The typical ones are illustrated by the accompanying photographs. The coins noticed above were mostly found here. So also carved bricks, a tablet 5" by 21" representing an amorous pair which is possibly as old as 1st century A.C. and a terracotta head of the Kushān period shown in plate 4. If digging is continued at this spot towards the village it is very likely that more interesting relics may be found. If I ever got the opportunity of continuing the excavation I shall certainly explore it thoroughly.

The finds which need special mention and seem to have a particular connection with the elephant capital are the terracotta elephant figurines which were found in abundance, some entire others fragmentary, mostly round the spot where the seals were unearthed. Apparently they are votive and must have been connected somehow with the

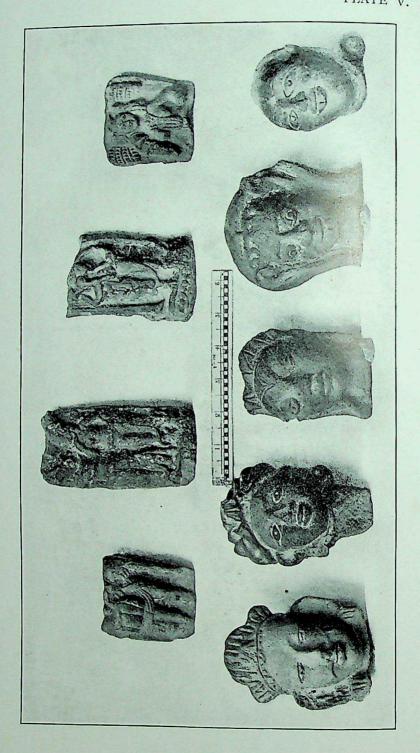
Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

elephant capital. As they were dug up from the same strata where the seals were found they are certainly contemporary with the latter and can safely be ascribed to the early Gupta period. They, to my mind, prove beyond doubt the existence of the elephant somewhere near the spot during the said epoch. If it was ever imported it could not have been brought there after the Gupta period. There seems to be no reason for the supposition that it was brought earlier and, unless such evidence is forthcoming, I do not think it necessary that it does not belong to this very place. As to the question whether it is the very pillar which the Chinese pilgrims saw or another one I have stated above what my view is.

Blocks. B and D. The plots lying between the mound of Bisāridevī and the field where the capital lay was also examined by laying two trial trenches, one going southwards and the other northwards. The former led to a suite of not less than seven rooms opening towards north and forming the northern row of rooms of an ancient building which is now hidden under the mound and, as evidenced by the size of the bricks of which it is built, measuring 21½"×11"×4," could not have been later than the Mauryan epoch. The nature of the building cannot be surmised without exposing other portions of it. wards the front i.e., the east side of the mound I found what appears to be two flights of steps, one at the north corner and the other further down near the middle. there were another at the south corner the fact will become significant particularly because these will remind us of the Buddha's staircase which, as Hiuan-Tsiang tells us, was placed in a line from north to south with the descent facing the east. The large building whose remains are now hidden under the mound of Bisaridevi might have been monastic. Over the remains of this Mauryan building, I

¹ Cunningham's supposition that it might have been stopped on its way to the temple of Mahādev is of no account. The temple is too modern and, as I have just said above, the capital must have been lying here in the Gupta period.

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri



CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

PLATE VI(a).



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saw the remains of two more structures founded later on one above the other. The debris lying on them did not yield anything of special interest except some terracotta fragmentary figures of about the Kushān period, some metal objects, mostly of iron and some beads.

The other trench led me to a square building standing on the remains of a circular structure which might have been a stupa.

The basement of it, about 120 feet square, has fully been exposed with remains of some six cells towards the north and a few more towards the east. The nature of this structure is not clear. On the evidence of its bricks, measuring 16'' 10'' $2\frac{1}{2}$," we can ascribe it to the Gupta period. Of the finds made here only one i.e., a stone-head, seems to be Buddhist. In the debris lying here I found one or two elephant figurines of clay like those noticed above. Here, too, three different structures were noticed one above the other. The earliest and the lowermost of these is of the Gupta and the uppermost of the late mediaeval period as can be surmised from the size of the bricks.

Block C. The third spot where some spade work was done lies near the village of Sankisa towards the south-west corner. Here some layers of Mauryan bricks were visible in a pit, some 15 feet deep, which had been sunk by the villagers already. An area of 1334 square yards was explored and after the removal of the heaps of debris, the remains of a few buildings, some lying above each other as shown in the accompanying drawing, were opened. Evidently they belong to different periods. The earliest of them are Mauryan and were found about 15 feet below of mediaeval origin and lie towards the east of this plot of land I found numerous inkpots and various sorts of pottery. (Photo 7 and 8.) Some showed the remains of hearths and drains, such as we see in kitchens. Here in the debris two goreyas or stone-seats such as are found in monastic build116

EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

ings, were also dug up. Possibly these rooms formed part of some school building and a boarding house. They are evidently the remnants of the last habitation on the spot. Towards the west of the wall, at a depth of 13 feet I found in the debris fragments of the well-known Chunar stone with its characteristic Mauryan or Asokan polish. Unfortunately they are neither carved nor inscribed and show nothing. That they are Mauryan is I believe unquestionable. They were found near the level where the layers of Mauryan bricks were seen and they very closely resemble the relics of the Mauryan period unearthed at Sārnāth. Possibly further digging might reveal more of them.

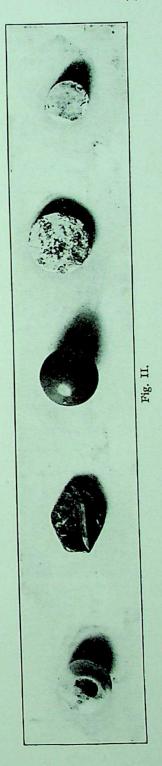
Besides these places trial trenches were sunk at three more spots lying in the fields near the block marked A. In all of them the remains of brick buildings were found. These I had to fill up, for under the existing circumstances it was found impossible to carry digging further.

Site of Mahādev temple.

A few furlongs towards the north-east of the Bisāridevi temple near the tank of a Naga there stands an extensive mound marked by a modern structure called the temple of Mahādev. Here I saw used in the walls some railing pillars of red stone of Mathura. The villagers told me that these were dug out lately from this very mound and that more pieces of the kind still lay buried there. A trial trench sunk at the spot where, according to their statements, the railing pillars were found led me to the remains of several structures in which I exhumed nicely carved but fragmentary stone figures and different sorts of pottery. Besides these a well modelled portion of a miniature terracotta stupa (Photo 9) was found lying near the mound on the surface of the ground. Possibly it was brought from elsewhere. The finds dug up here are apparently all Brahmanical and are not very old. The railing stones which appear to be of the Kushān age were

PLATE VI(b).





CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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EXCAVATIONS AT SANKISA.

obviously brought from some other spot for no other piece of the kind was unearthed there.

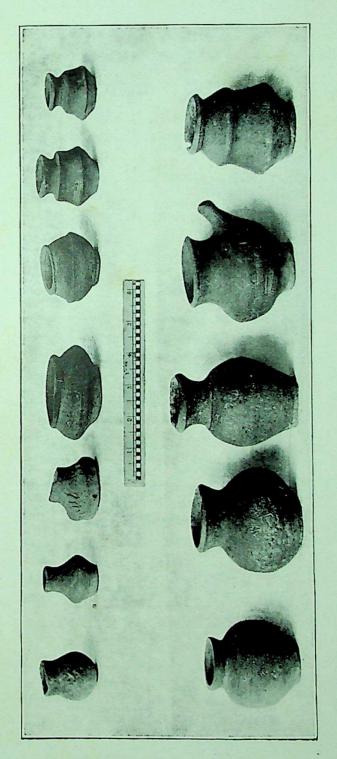
Conclusion.

To sum up the account I may say that my work at Sankisa leads me to the following inferences: first, in all probability the modern Sankisa or Sanksā stands for the old Sānkāsya and its site contains the remains of the old fortified town of Kushadhvaja of the epics; secondly, during the Gupta period the elephant capital must have stood somewhere near the spot where the elephant figurines of clay were unearthed by me and not far from the place where Cunningham noticed it in 1842; thirdly, the place must have undergone several changes. It was at least thrice inhabited and devastated. Destruction caused by fire or burning, whether wilful or accidental left very few antiquities safe or undisturbed. Fourthly, if earlier remains are to be sought for, the spots, where elephant figures and Mauryan bricks were found, ought to be explored fully and also the mound of the Bisāridevī temple.

I may say in the end that if the place is to be excavated again, which it ought to be, the site of Pakna Bihar, lying some six miles to the east of Sankisā, where Cunningham found some interesting relics of Buddhism, ought to be examined first. But for the hurry in which I had to finish the work and the spread of epidemic round the site I would have certainly attacked it simultaneously with the site of Sankisa. As the very name of Bihar would suggest there must have been a large monastery there, probably the great Vihāra described by Hiuan-Tsiang, the famous Chinese pilgrim who visited Sankassā in the 7th century A.D. There are hardly any mounds at the site of Pakna Bihar and the remains whatever they might be must be lying hidden either under the fields which are cultivated or beneath the huts and houses in the village. Still there will be no difficulty, I believe, in ex-

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amining a few places, particularly those which form part of waste lands, round or in the village, to find out a clue which may lead to some important discovery and settle all the doubtful points once for all.



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SECRETARY'S REPORT.

After an interval of about two years a number of the Journal appeared last autumn. This delay in publishing has had a marked effect on the number of members and several have given up membership as a result. It is therefore necessary to re-awaken interest in the Society and its doings. Another issue of the Journal is at present in the press and there is ample material on hand for some time to come. Efforts are being made to get old members to rejoin and to enlist new ones.

As far as the publication of the Journal is concerned it will be seen from the Budget that the financial situation is fairly satisfactory but for anything else funds are insufficient. Apart from travelling expenses to lecturers the Society should be able to do something towards financing excavation and research work. This was done in the case of the Sankisa excavations. There is a large field for this sort of activity and it is possible that with increased subscriptions something might be attempted. If Government could see their way to make an annual grant there are certain projects which could be put in hand at once.

The Society has suffered a very serious loss in the retirement of its President and part founder Sir Richard Burn, Kt., C.S.I., I.C.S., vir valde eruditus. His knowledge of the province and its antiquities was unrivalled and his judgment and advice invaluable. It will be very difficult to replace him but he has promised still to take an interest in the Society and its work. Khan Sahib Abu Mohammad was compelled to give up the Honorary Secretaryship last December owing to the pressure of his

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

official duties and at Sir Richard's request I took on the duties of the office until someone more worthy could be elected.

The annual budget of the Society is sanctioned as follows:—

INCOME.

120

EXPENDITURE.

Rs. As	3.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.
By interest on fixed			Postage for Secretary	25	0	0
deposit for Rs. 8,000 453	8	0	Postage for Treasurer	25	0	0
By interest on fixed			Pay of Secretary's			
		0	clerk	60	0	0
By subscriptions 900	0	0	Pay of Treasurer's			
			clerk	60	0	0
			Miscellaneous	30	0	0
			Balance	1,203	8	0
		_				
Rs. 1,403	8	0	Rs.	1,403	8	0
TO SHE SHOULD BE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF	100	-				

(SD.) J. C. POWELL-PRICE,
M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc., I.E.S.,
Honorary Secretary,
U.P. Historical Society, Meerut.

VOL. IV

OCTOBER, 1928

PART I

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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N.B.—There is no separate fee for membership of the Society. The annual subscription for the Journal is Rs. 10/-.

By Pt. PADMĀKARA DUBE.

THERE are two brass astrolabes, deposited in H.H. The Nawab's State Library. Both of them are of the type of astrolabium planisphærum or the flat astrolabe called in Arabic <u>Dh</u>átu'l-Ṣafá'iḥ (consisting of tablets). For convenience they have been termed A and B. Astrolabe A was constructed by Sarráj at Dimishq (Damascus), in 615 A.H. or A.D. 1204. Of all the astrolabes that have been worked out as yet, this is most probably the oldest one.

Astrolabe B was constructed by Diyáu'l-Dín, son of Muhammad in A.H. 1074 or A.D. 1663. The latter contains a good deal of astronomical information.

A. Thirteenth century Astrolabe inscribed in Arabic (Kúfic) characters.

This is an astronomical brass instrument termed the astrolabe, 5.4 inches in diameter and 6 millimetres thick. The body of the instrument, called 'Umm or mater, has a circular raised edge or rim known in Arabic as Kuff into which fit the 'Ankabūt (aranea or rete) and tablets (Ṣafāiḥ). This circular raised edge is graduated in degrees, which are numbered in groups of 10 up to 100 and similarly further, starting from the top or south point of the instrument and proceeding through the west point on the right, the north and east in order, in Abjad naskhi notation. But in the third turn of numbering degrees in groups of 10 up to 100, instead of 100 there is engraved which represents 300 and after this, degrees are again numbered likewise up to 60, which with 300, makes up the total number of degrees in a

circle. Each group of 10 is also divided into 10 divisions and every fifth division is numbered five.

Venter.—The inner part of mater is the venter or facel (Arb. Wajh).

Generally the venter of most of the astrolabes is engraved with a list of cities together with their longitudes and latitudes. But the venter of this astrolabe A is marked with stereographical projections of the horizon, almucantaráts or circles of altitude, azimuth, temporal or unequal and equal or equinoctial hour circles for the latitude 24° and also the equator and tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Hence it represents a tablet for latitude 24°. Almucanțaráts for every six degrees are drawn and numbered in Abjad Kúfic notation. As there is one almucanțarát for every six degrees of altitude, the instrument is Sudsi or sexpartite. If there is one for each degree, it is called tamm or 'complete'; if for every other degree, it is termed nisfi 'bipartite' and so on. Azimuth circles (or those great circles which pass through the Zenith and nadir, intersect the horizon at right angles and mark off azimuths or horizontal angles) for every ten degrees are drawn and numbered.

The twelve unequal or temporal hour lines, which divide the time between sunrise and sunset into twelve equal portions are drawn. These portions of time vary in length from one-twelfth of the longest day to one-twelfth of the shortest. Hence they are termed unequal or temporal or planetary hour lines or circles. Equal or equinoctial hour lines (dotted) are drawn. As the equinoctial hours are the mean of the above mentioned varying portions of time, these, on the invention of mechanical clocks, became the standard for sun-time measurements.

The latitude 24° is written just below the 'Ufk or oblique horizon on the right of the meridian line; while, in the corresponding place on the left of the meridian, the length of the longest day of the year is given, hours 13 21.

The horizon on the right is marked al-maghrib (the

west) and sunset, and on the left al-mashriq (the east) and sunrise.

Back of the Astrolabe.—(Zahr al-astūrlāb). The back of the astrolabe has the whole of the periphery graduated in degrees which are numbered in groups of 10 up to 90 in each quadrant, starting from the east as well as from west points to the south and north. Below the graduated edge there are three concentric circles which, having for their centre, the centre of the disc, are graduated in degrees. The upper circle has the names of the lunar mansions, the middle circle, the names of the signs of the Zodiac, and the lower, the names of 12 months. These show the tables of signs, mansions, etc. In the upper part of the remaining circular space, the south-east and south-west quadrants consist of a graphic table of sines. The lower part and the central rectangle consist of shadow scales. At the top of the back of this astrolabe there is engraved in Arabic Kúfic characters a passage which means 'constructed by Sarráj at Dimishq in San 615,' i.e., in A.H. 615 or A.D. 1204.

The Alhidade.—The alhidade (idadah) or sighter has near to each end one fixed sighting piece with one sighting hole and is fixed on the centre pin and revolves round the centre on the back of the astrolabe. It is not divided into any division.

'Ankabūt (aranea) or Shabakkah (rete).—The open network disc has been appropriately called 'ankabūt (spider) or shabakkah (net) by Muslims and is so arranged that the disc below it may be easily seen. The 'ankabūt of this astrolabe has ecliptic circle graduated in degrees which are numbered in groups of six, with the signs of the Zodiac, starting from the east and proceeding counter-clock-wise. It has two bosses. As a star map of the heavens, the 'ankabūt has 26 splinters (shaziyya) to which the following 26 star names are attached:—

STAR LIST OF ASTROLABE A.

No.	Name on Ins	strument.	Modern Name.
I	Al-dabaran		87 α Tauri, Aldebran.
2	Qadam al-Jauzā		 19 β Orionis, Rigel.
3	Al-shamih		 10 a Canis Minoris, Procyon.
4	Qalb al-asad '		 a Leonis or Regulus.
5	Fakkah		 5 α Cor. Borealis, Alphecca.
6	Wāqi		 3 a Lyræ, Vega
7 8	Ridf		 ?
8	Ghūl		 26 β Persei, Algol
9	Kab (al-faras)		 K Pegasi.
IO	Aqrab		 21 a Scorpii, Antares.
II	Al-Ramih		 a Boötis, Arcturus.
12	Al-khadib		 ρ Cassiopeiæ.
13	Qalb al-ghafr		 i, u, λ Virginis.
14	Al-azal		 67 a Virginis, Spica.
15	Janah al-ghurab		 4 y Corvi.
16	Al-farad		 30 a Hydræ, Alphard.
17	Al-Yamanih		 9 α Canis Majoris, Sirius.
18	Rijl al-Jauzā		 B or k Orionis.
19	Rukbat al-Thaur		 α Sagittarii.
20	Qanturus		
21	Kaff Qitus		
22	Kaff al-Khadib		 β Cassiopeiæ.
23	Qitus		
24	Al-tāir		 a Aquilæ.
25	Al-hawwā		 a Ophiuchi.
26	Al-haiyāt		 β Serpentis

As the instrument does not consist of the tablet of the latitude of the complement of the total obliquity or of the special disc for horizon on one side and celestial coordinates (latitude and longitude) on the other, hence only the names of the stars on the 'ankabūt have been given above.

Tablets of the astrolabe.—The astrolabe has four brass tablets, each 4.7 inches in diameter and about 1 m.m. thick. Each tablet is marked on both sides with stereographical projections of the horizon and other elements that can be-used in conjunction with the 'ankabūt tablet.

I. T₁° represents the obverse of the tablet No. I. It is marked latitude 41°: hours 15 1. Almucanṭaráts for every six degrees, azimuth circles for every ten degrees

and the 12 unequal or temporal hour lines are drawn and numbered. There are also the equal or equinoctial hour lines (dotted) and the horizon is marked on the right almaghrib (the west) and on the left al-mashriq (the east). The two tropics of Cancer and Capricorn and the equator are shown.

 T_1^r represents the reverse of the tablet No. I. It is marked latitude 34°: hours 14 19. Otherwise it is just like the preceding.

II. T_2° is marked latitude 21°: hours 13 18. Below the latitude the name of Mecca is engraved. But the generally accepted latitude of Mecca is 21° 40¹: hours 13 21. Otherwise it is exactly of the same type as T_1° .

 T_2^r is marked latitude 32°: hours 14 8. The name of Baitul Muqaddas (Jerusalem) is engraved below the latitude. Otherwise as T_1° .

III. T_3° is marked latitude 30°: hours 13 58. Below the latitude the name of Miṣra (Cairo) is written. Otherwise as T_1° .

 T_3^r is marked latitude 27°: hours 13 44. The azimuth circle which divides the horizon into 90 divisions on the right and left sides of the meridian is dotted. Otherwise as T_1° .

IV. T_4° is marked latitude 35°: hours 14 25. Otherwise as T_1° .

 $T_4^{\rm r}$ is marked latitude 36°: hours 14 30. Otherwise as $T_1^{\rm o}$. The body of the instrument, 'ankabūt and the tablet No. IV are made of the same quality of brass metal and inscribed in Arabic (kúfic) characters, but the other three tablets No. I, II and III are made of brass metal which differs a little in quality and inscribed in Arabic (naskhi) characters. By their appearance they seem to be constructed afterwards and substituted or added in place of those old tablets, broken or lost or not made at all for the instrument was made for four such tablets.

B. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ASTROLABE, INSCRIBED IN ARABIC (NASKHI) CHARACTERS.

This too is made of brass and is 5°1 inches in diameter and '3 inches thick. The body of the instrument has a circular raised edge into which fit the 'ankabūt and tablets, which are five in number. The rim or the circular raised edge is graduated in degrees, which are numbered in groups of 5 up to 360, starting from the top of the disc or south point and proceeding through the west point on the right, the north and east in order.

Venter.—The venter of this astrolabe is inscribed with the names of 77 cities together with their longitudes and latitudes, starting from the south point and proceeding through the west, north and east in order. (See Appendix A.)

Back of the astrolabe.—The back of the instrument has the upper half of the periphery graduated into degrees, which are numbered in groups of 5 up to 90, starting from the east and west to the top of the disc, i.e., to the south point.

The south-east quadrant consists of a graphic table of sines. The vertical radius is divided into sixty equal parts and lines parallel to the other radius are drawn to the circumference from each point of division.

The south-west quadrant exhibits a sort of yearly calendar. The horizontal and vertical radii are divided into six equal divisions and each division is divided into 30 degrees, which are numbered in groups of 10. From the points of division arcs are described and the names of the signs of the zodiac are written in the spaces, six on the horizontal radius and six on the vertical in the following order:—

Vertical .. Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Horizontal .. Gemini, Taurus, Aries, Pisces, Aquarius, Capricornus.

This division of the south-west quadrant, together with the graduated circumference, forms a scale of circular and angular co-ordinates and there are traced on this scale

the graphs showing the relation between the sun's right ascension and meridian altitudes for latitudes 27°, 29° and 32°.

The semi-circle of the lower half of the disc consists of tables of signs, mansions, etc.

The central rectangle consists of square and circular shadow scales. In the enclosed space of this rectangle, multiples of the differences between the approximately correct length of the tropical year and 365 days, are given thus:—

					-
I	87	33 6	IO	155	31
2	175	6	20	61	2
3	262	39 12	30	106	33
4	350	12	40	262	10
5 6	77	45	50	57	35 6
	164	19	60	213	6
7 8	252	52	70 80	08	37 8
8	252 340	25 58	80	164	8
9	67	58	90	319	39

Just over the central rectangle there is written a passage in Persian, which shows that this astrolabe was made by Diyáu'l-Dín, son of Mohammad, son of Mullah Ishā, son of Seikh... (illegible) in A.H. 1074 or A.D. 1663.

The Alhidade.—It is fixed on the centre pin so that its graduated edge lies on a diameter of the circle. Half of its bevelled edge is divided into 60 equal divisions, every fifth division being numbered. The left upper edge is divided into six equal divisions, corresponding to the divisions for the signs of the Zodiac in the south-west quadrant and each division is marked with its two proper signs and divided into three parts. The right lower edge is divided into six divisions, numbered I and I2, 2 and II, 3 and I0 and so on. The alhidade has near to each end one fixed sighting piece, each having two holes. A hollow pipe of brass has been attached to the two upper holes.

The 'Ankabūt (aranea) or Shabakah (rete).—The 'ankabūt of this astrolabe has ecliptic circle, graduated into degrees which are numbered in groups of six, with the signs

of the Zodiac, starting from the east and proceeding counter-clock-wise. It has one boss and about 56 points of which 44 have 44 star names attached. But three names are so rubbed off that they are quite illegible. Since latitude does not vary with the precession of the equinoxes, the latitudes on the instrument and those given in Ulugh Beg's Catalogue are nearly the same, hence the names of 41 stars with their longitudes only have been given below:—

STAR LIST OF ASTROLABE B.

No. On Instrume		ent.		Modern Name.		
110.	Name.		Longitude.			
I	Qalb al-'Aqrab		245°	a Scorpii or Antares.		
2	Kaffah Janubi		222°			
3	Simāk Azal		199°	a Virginis or Spica.		
4	Janah al-ghurab		186°	γ Corvi or Alghorab.		
5	Qaidat al-Batih		169°	a Crateris.		
	Fard al-shuja		142°	a Hydræ.		
7 8	Qalb al-asad		141°	a Leonis or Regulus.		
8	Shira Shamih		III°	Procyon.		
9	Shira Yumni		100°			
IO	Yad al-Jauza Yumni		84°	建设建设设置		
II	Rijl al-Jauza Yumni		78°			
12	Azal		73			
13	'Ain al-Thaur		63°	a Tauri or Aldebran.		
14	Rijl al-Jauza Ishri		70°			
15	Tali masā al-nahar		47°			
16	Kaff al-Khadib		35°	β Cassiopeiæ.		
17	Sadr al-Qitus		23°	π Ceti.		
18	Kaff al-Khadib		357° 354°	ρ Cassiopeiæ.		
19	Dhanab al-Qitus		354°	β Ceti.		
20	Sāq Sākib al-māh		334°	δ Aquarii.		
21	Dhanab al-Jadi		334° 317°	γ Capricorni.		
22	Zahr al-asad		· 150°	δ Leonis.		
23	Ras al-asad		126°	μ Leonis		
24	Aiyūq	••	76°	a Aurigæ, Capella o		
25	Ras al-hut		54°			
26	Rijl musalsalah kaffah		24°			
27	Dhanab al-dajajah		336°	a Cygni.		
28	Mankib al-faras		354°	β Pegasi.		
The second of	Fam al-faras		327°	€ Pegasi.		
29	Dhanab al-dalfain		309°			
30	Nasr Tāir		293°	a Aquilæ.		
31 32	Ras al-hawwa		258°	a Ophiuchi.		

No.	On Instru	Modern Name.			
	Name.	Name. Longitude.			
33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	Minqar al-dajajah Nasr Wāqi Simāk Ramih Yad al-hawwā Rukbat al-hawwā Ras al-Jathi 'Unq al-haiya Al-sarfah Al-sarfah		297° 288° 198° 258° 243° 250° 225° 177° 150°	a Lyræ. a Boötis or Arcturus. a Herculis. λ Serpentis β Leonis. Ursa Major	

The tablets of the astrolabe.—Astrolabe A has five brass tablets, each 4.6 inches in diameter and 1 m.m. thick.

I. T₁° represents the obverse of the tablet No. I. It is marked latitude 32°: hours 14 8. Almucantaráts are drawn for every two degrees and numbered. As the number of almucantaráts is for every other degree, the instrument is termed nisfi (bipartite). Two tropics and the equator are shown. Azimuth lines for every six degrees are drawn only below (to the north of) the horizon. The 12 temporal or unequal hour circles and equinoctial or equal hour circles (dotted) are drawn. On the right the horizon is marked al-maghrib (the west) and on the left almashriq (the east).

 T_1^r is marked latitude 29°: hours 13 52. Otherwise it is just like T_1° .

- II. T2° is marked latitude 22°: hours 13 21.
 - T_2^r is marked latitude 18°: hours 13 9.
- III. T_3° is marked latitude 36°: hours 14 32. T_3° is marked latitude 34°: hours 14 20.
 - V. T₄° is marked latitude 27°: hours 13 43.
 - T₄r is marked latitude 25°: hours 13 35.

The tablets No. II, III and IV are otherwise exactly of the same type as T_1° .

V. T_5 ° is the special tablet of the horizons (al-safihat al- \bar{a} faqiyah). The horizons are arranged in four sets, one

¹ Banāt al-Na'sh.

set in each quadrant, consisting of ten horizons and below each of these sets, there are two scales termed al-mail, al-kulli (Shamāli or Janubi) or the total obliquity (northern and southern).

 $T_5^{\,r}$ is the special tablet of the 'ankabūt co-ordinates, i.e., it is the tablet of the latitude of the complement of the total obliquity. This really gives the celestial co-ordinates (longitude and latitude) and by its aid the positions of the stars on the 'ankabūt can be at once read off.

My thanks are due to Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan Saheb, Librarian and Hafiz Mohammad, Israil Tahvildar, for their kind help in deciphering a number of words written in Arabic characters.

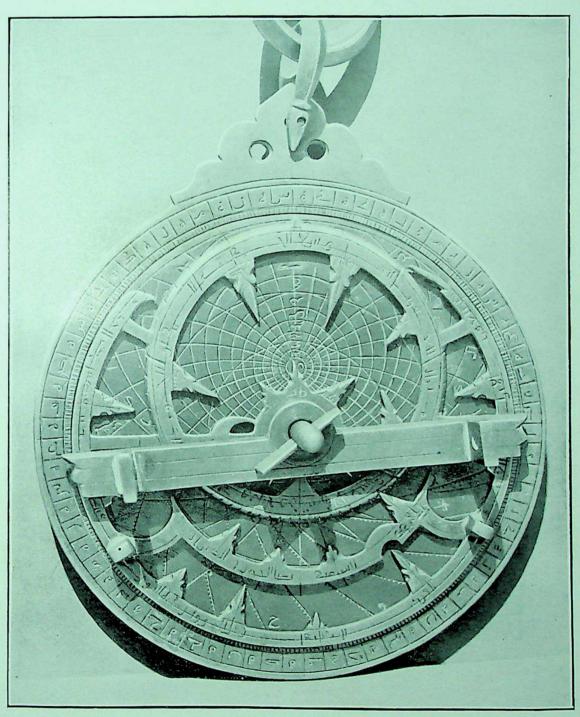
APPENDIX A.

100000			1		
No.	Name of	Cities.		Longitude.	Latitude.
-					
I	Mecca			77° 10′	21° 40′
2	Madina			75° 20′	25° 0′
3	Mahdiā Maghrib			42 0	32° 30′
	Iskandariyah 1			61° 54′	30° 58′
4 5 6	Misra ²		*	63° 20′	30° 20′
6	Yaman 3			77° 0′	45° 30′
7	Dimishq			70° 0′	33° 45′
7 8	Ḥalb			72° 10′	35° 50′
9	Al rum		and the second	74° 0′	39° 40′
IO	Jazirā 4			73 0	36° 40′
II	Mūsal			77 0	34° 30′
12	Amad			73° 40′	38° 0′
13	Marāghah			82 0	36° 20′
14	Tabriz			82° 0′	38° 0′
15	Ardabīl	• •		82° 30′	38° 0′
16	Bardah	• •		88° o'	40° 30′
17	Bābul Awāb			85° o′	43° 0′
18	Balghar			95° 0′	49° 30′
19	Kūfah	••		79 70'	31° 30′
20	Madāen			72 0'	33° 10′
21	Baghdād			80° 30′	33° 25′
22	Wāsit	••		81° 30′	32° 20′
23	Basrāh			84° 0′	30° 0′
24	Kazūn	• •		87° 0′	39° 35′
25	Shirāz			88° o'	29° 36′
26	Istakhar			88° 30′	30° 0′
27	Yazd	••		89° 0′	32° 30′
28	Shahrūd	• •		82° 20′	32° 30′
-		-			

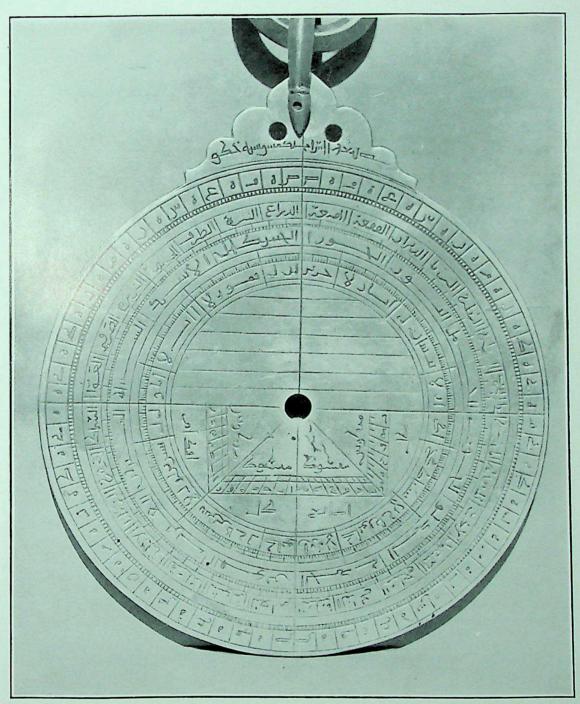
¹ Alexandria. 2 Cairo. 3 Its capital Sanāh.

⁴ Its capital Jarran (as written on the Venter).

PLATE I.

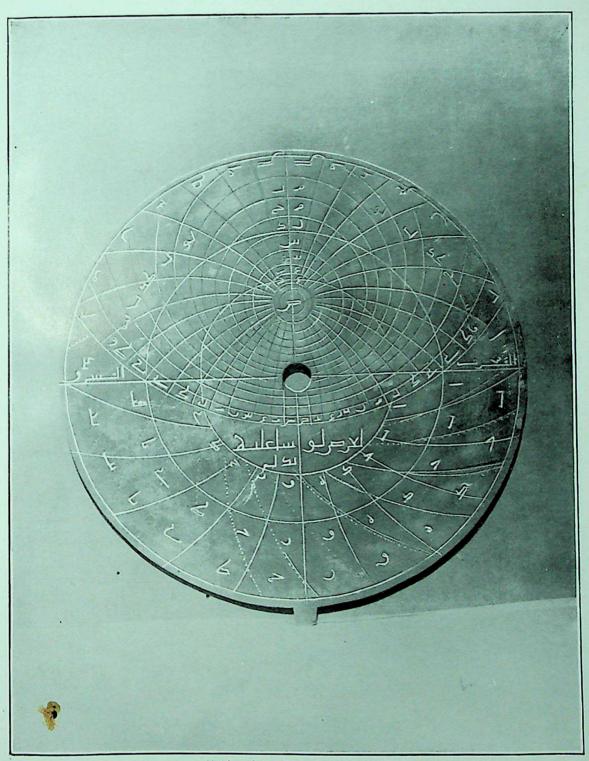


Astrolabe A.-Obverse.



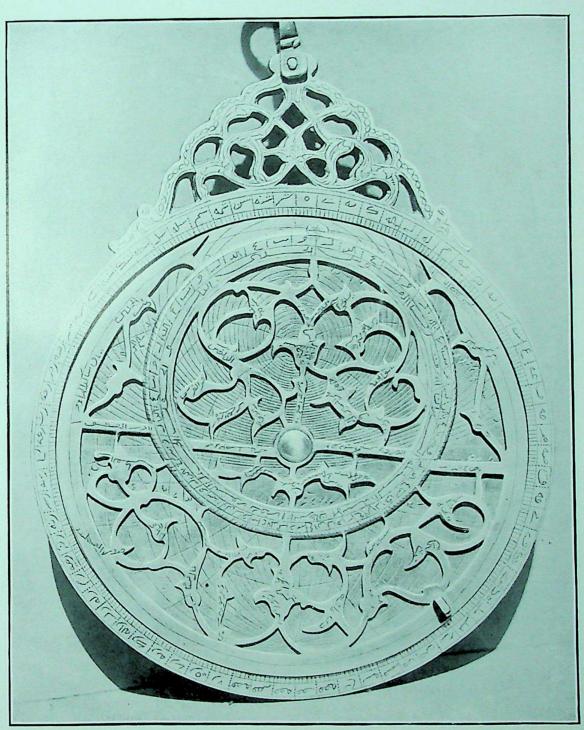
Astrolabe A .- Reverse.

PLATE III.

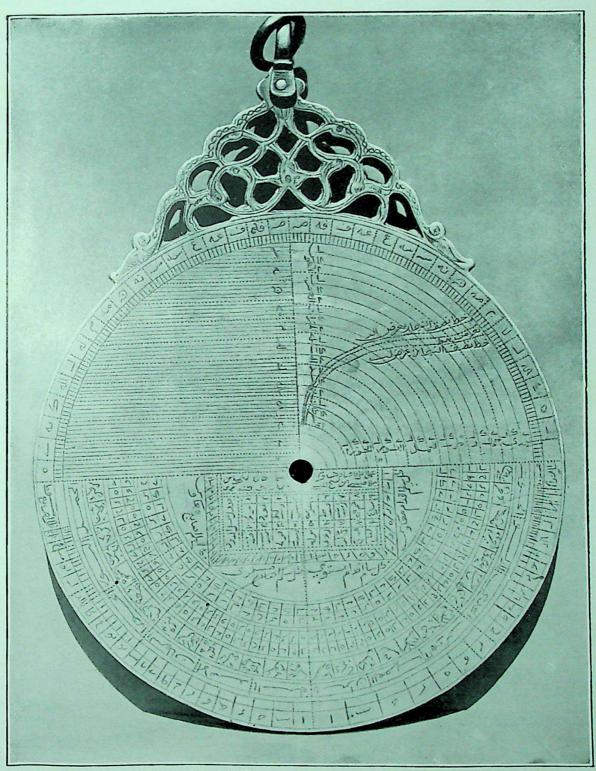


Tablet of A.—Tr4. Latitude 36°.

PLATE IV.



Astrolabe A.-Obverse.

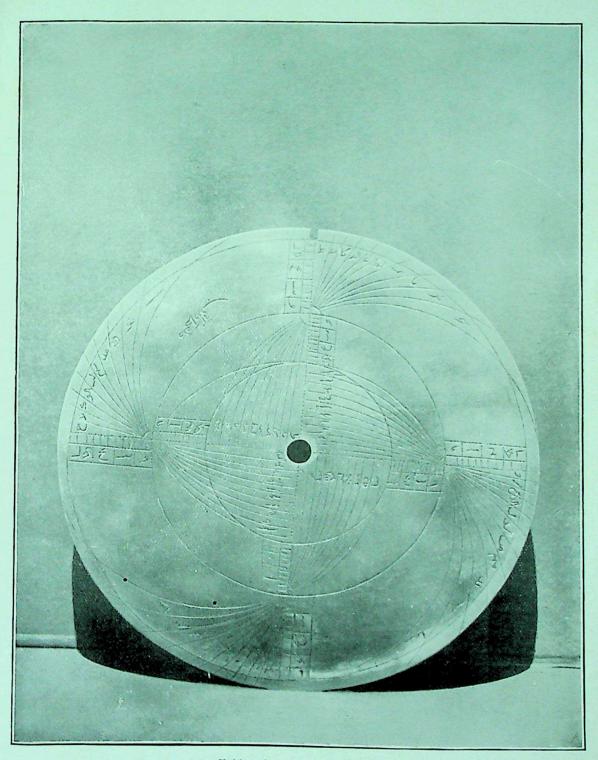


Astrolabe B .- Reverse without Altitude.

PLATE VI.



Venter of B



Tablet of B.—To5. Horizons.

No.	Name of	Cities.		Longitude.	Latitude.
29	Hamdan			83° o′	35° 10′
30	Karkh			84° 45′	34° 0′
31	Qazwin			85° o'	36° 55′
32	Isfahan			86° 40′	32° 25′
33	Raij			85° 40′	34° 55′
34	Qūm			86° 20′	35° 0′
35	Ahwaz Jilan			85° 10′	35 0
36	Sabzwār			91° 30′	36° 5′
37	Naishāpur			92° 30′	36° 21′
38	Tūs			04° 30′	37° 0′
39	Tūn			02° 30′	32° 30′
40	Herāt			94° 33′	34° 30′
41	Sarkhas			94° 30′	32° 0′
42	Marwā			94° 0′	34° 40′
43	Balkh			101° 0′	36° 41′
44	Badakshān			104° 24′	34° 10′
45	Bokhārā			97° 30′	39° 50′
46	Samarkand			99° 56′	39° 37′
47	Khazand		•	85° 30′	39° 37′ 41° 55′
48	Kāshgar			106° 30′	44° 0′
	Harmūz			92° 0′	25° 0′
49	Ahmedābād			108° 40′	28° 55′
50	Ujjain			102° 0′	22° 30′
51	Kābul		•	104° 40′	24° 30′
52	Mewāt			104 40	34° 30′ 32° 50′
53	Badaūn			107° 10′	32° 50′ 24° 32′
54	Hānsi			104° 59′ 102° 25′	24° 32′
55	Sumānah			102 25	29° 55′ 28° 30′
56			-	110° 30′	28° 30′
57	Thāneswar		•••	102° 48′ 108° 20′	30° 10′ 28° 52′
58	Pānipat	••		108° 20′	28° 52′
59	Sanām			110° 25′	30° 30′
60	Akbarābād		•••	104° 0′	26° 48′
61	Shahzahānbād	• •	••	108° 35′	28° 39′
62	Ajmer	***		101° 5′	24° 0′
63	Bijāpur	••	••	105° 30′	24° 20′
64	Burhānpur			108° 0′	20° 30′
65	Daulatābād		••	101° 0′	20° 30′
66	Bait ul Muqaddas		••	66° 30′	31° 50′
67	Lahore			109° 20′	31 50
68	Multān	•		104 35	31° 50′ 31° 50′ 29° 40′ 38° 0′
69	Kāndhār			104° 35′ 104° 40′	
70	Golkandā	**		104° 39′ 130° 0′	38° 10′
71	Dhākā (Bengal)	••	• •	130° 0′	24° 0′ 10° 0′
72	Sarandip ²			104° 0′	10° 0′
73	Kāshmir			108° 0′	35° 0′
74	Gwalior			115° 0′	26° 20′
75	Benares			117° 20′	26° 52′ 30° 30′
76	Sarhind			101° 38′	30° 30′
77	Patna			120° 45′	24° 40′
			-		

¹ Jerusalem.

² Ceylon.

THE GARDENS OF AGRA.1

The buildings of Akbarabad, the seat of the Caliphate, lie in all the four directions, North, South, East and West.

I. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS ON THE EASTERN SIDE.

As the rising-place of the world-illuminating sun is in the East, so also we begin our description with the buildings situated on the eastern side. These beautiful edifices and exhilarating gardens cover up a space approximately three kos in length and two kos in breadth. of the buildings on the eastern side situated on the bank of the Jamna and just overlooking the water is the Mahtab Bagh. It is forty bighas in area, and just in front of the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal, the Taj-Ganj. was built by Sultan Abul Muzaffar Shahab-Uddin Muhammad Sahib-Qiráni Sáni Shahjahan, who invariably enjoyed strolling in it. Indeed it is a fascinating garden, the purity of whose splendid buildings casts pallor on the bright cheeks of the fair-faced beloveds, and the beautiful paintings of its edifices excel the illuminating foreheads of the most artful damsels. In the centre there are massive and strong balconies, and close to them are delightful

¹ Translator's Note.—This is the translation of a small book in Persian written by one Raja Ram, a tahsildar of Kirauli in the district of Agra, during the Lieutenant Governorship of John Russel Colvin, a few years before the mutiny. The author wrote the book at the suggestion of the Lieutenant Governor. It describes the Mughal buildings and gardens in Agra, many of which have since perished. Unfortunately the author chose to write the book in a style unsuited to a work of historical research, and instead of plain details, he has attempted to show off his knowledge of Persian. Nevertheless it is a useful catalogue of some of the notable names and places which will afford an opportunity for further research.—S. Abu Muhammad.

tanks and water courses of which even *Kausar* and *Tasnim* (the streams of Paradise) are envious. Its boundary-walls are very strongly built and are very well fortified. The towers of the four corners of the boundary-wall are so majestic that even the flight of imagination cannot soar so high. On seeing the height of the Northern gate, even the great Architect, the Intellect, has to confess its own inability to reach it. In the centre there is a beautiful flower garden very tastefully and elegantly laid out. Flowers of various hues are always opening just like the opening of the flowers of day and night, and blossoms are blooming with fragrance and freshness. The poppy has come up with a super-added redness and excites the admiration of all.

In every row there are standing tall cypresses whose uniform height extorts for them the epithet of "Azád" (free) and with great majesty they appear to be welcoming the spring-tide. The silver-tongued lilies have opened their lips in praise of their real life—bestower, the Almighty Creator. The sweet melodies of the nightingales rival the miracles of the Messiah in their life-bestowing and life-restoring effects, and the sweet singing birds are overfilling the neighbourhood with their charming melodies. On account of the variety and abundance of flowers the whole garden looks like the garden of the Paradise. The trees laden with fresh and fragrant fruits and flowers impart exquisite feelings of pleasure and delight to the onlookers. They are standing on the bank of the river and enhance the beauty and splendour of the entire area.

1. The garden of Itimad-ud-Daula.—It has an area of nearly eight bighas of land. At the time when Vazir-ul-Mumalik Ghayas-uddin Muhammad of Tehran, known in history as Itimad-ud-Daula held the portfolio of the chief minister of the State during the reign of Hazrat Nur-Uddin Muhammad Jahangir and was distinguished with high mansabs and with naqqaras and other emblems of nobility (Imarat), he built this beautiful garden for his

amusement and recreation. What a paradise-like garden it is, whose buildings surpass even those of the Paradise in elegance and beauty, and the richness and tastefulness of its paintings excel even the variegated and beautiful tail of the peacock. Its boundary-walls with their four towers are very strongly and majestically built. The domes are big and strong like the heart of the builder.

In the middle there is a vast terrace and over it is a very beautiful building with very comfortable and grand apartments. Adjacent to it is a big cistern where fountains play, thus adding to the charm of the site and the scenery. In front of it is a beautiful garden the very sight of whose beautiful flowers enhances the eye-sight of the spectators, and a recreation trip to its different and manifold avenues of variegated colour and beauty affords ample amusement and enjoyment. It is close to the bank of the river.

- of land. Sultan Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur had very fondly built it for his own amusement. What a pleasant garden it is, whose buildings surpass even the edifices of the heavens in grandeur and loftiness! O! what a unique orchard, the fine paintings of whose palaces have not even been conceived of by the pencil and brush of Maáni and Behzád. One of the buildings which is situated in the middle of this paradise-like garden casts into shade the bright face of the sun in its splendour and purity. In front of it is a well full of water with steps leading down to it. There is a very well-adorned and delightful flower garden in the open ground lying in front. There is also a very vast Van. It is a very plain but superb building and has many arches standing on the bank of the river.
- 3. Muli Bagh.—Sultan Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad Shah who was very deeply in love with Muli Begum built this garden for her pleasure and amusement. It comprises one hundred and eighty-four bighas of land. It is now in the possession of the descendants of Mahmud

Khan who was a Bakhshi of the Emperor Akbar. O! What an attractive garden, the sweet odour of whose gentle breezes surpass even those of the Paradise, and what a delightful grove, the fragrance and lusciousness of whose fruits excel even that of the famous Tuba.1 The height of the towers of its boundary walls has even caused the towers of the sky to look wonderingly at them. It has got four lofty gates each opening just opposite the other. In front of it in the open ground there is a garden full of trees laden with fruits. There is a well-built and vast platform in the centre, over which stand various edifices whose beauty of style and grandeur of building excel even those of the gardens of paradise. In the inside there are three cisterns full of water with fountains showering water like the clouds. It is very pleasing to look at the fine style and splendid architecture of the Diwan Khána lying in the eastern direction. It stands on the bank of the river Jamna.

- 4. Haveli of Musavi Khan.—He was one of the nobles and influential men of the court of Shahabuddin Muhammad Shahjahan Sahib Qirán and held the mansab of four thousand. He erected this building for holding his court and for his residence. The beauty of its shape and style can neither be written by pen nor described in words. The said haveli consists of two portions, one consisting of a beautiful palace of residence with vaults underneath, and the other consists of a very beautiful mosque. It stands on the bank of the river.
- 5. Katra of Nawab Shaista Khan (commonly known as Nawal Ganj).—The said Nawab was distinguished with the title of Khan-khanan and held the mansab of six thousand and naqqara and alam in the court of Shahjahan. He built this katra for his own residence. It consists of very strong and numerous buildings all having beautiful balconies. Oh! what an attractive katra it is, that even

¹ The great Tree of Heaven.

at the sight of its eastern and western gates the pigeon of imagination has to confess its inability to fly so far, and the architect of Intellect fails in its attempt to climb up to the height of the towers of its boundary walls.

- 6. Katra of Aqîdat Khan.—He was one of the nobles of Shahjahan Ghazi and held the mansab of one thousand. The Katra has approximately an area of three bighas and ten biswas. Its buildings are massive and strong and consist of many rooms and numerous doors and windows. The boundary wall is also very strongly built. It surpasses paradise in beauty and excels the nicely painted and finished pictures of China.
- 7. Katra Shah Nawaz Khan Safri.—It consists of approximately twenty one bighas of land. When the sun of the prosperity of the Khan was shining on the firmament with the mansab of five thousand, in the court of Shahjahan Gházi, he built this katra for his luxury and comfort. It comprises very strong and elevated buildings and well adorned apartments.
- 8. Haveli of Sultan Parvez, son of Sultan Muhammad Nuruddin Jehangir.—The king built this haveli on the bank of the Jamna for his own amusement and recreation It has an area of nearly sixteen bighas. It is truly paradise-like, the beauty of whose boundary walls and towers imparts fresh eye-sight to the observers, and the height of its eastern gates affords abundant pleasure to the beholders. The beauty and largeness of the garden lying inside is fittingly recognised by the dove which gives expressions to these feelings in its sweet "koo-koos." The purity of its vast plain can best be expressed by silence rather than by speech.
- 9. Haveli of Khwaja Mohammad Zakariya, son of Khawaja Muhammad Bakhshi.—He was a noble of five hundred in the court of Jahangir. The Haveli has an area of twenty-one bighas. The said noble built it for his amusement on the bank of the river. The building

is attractive, the boundary walls are beautifully finished, the gate is lofty and the entire structure is fascinating.

- known as Vazir Khan, who held the mansab of six thousand in the court of Shahjahan and remained the chief minister of the State till his old age, erected this mansion for his amusement and pleasure upon an area of twenty bighas of land. Oh! what a splendid mansion of Chini, that the painters of China have failed to design and paint like it, and what a paradise-like palace that even the best and highly efficient artists fear to match its artistic elegance. The beautiful paintings upon its walls depict seas of roses and hyacinths, and the pictures and artistic engravings seem to have drawn colour and lustre from the azure sky.
- II. Bagh-i-Nur-Afshan is popularly understood to have been erected by Raja Jawahir Singh of Bharatpur, and is known as Ram Bagh. Oh! what an attractive garden! The great carpet-layer, the morning breeze, has spread the carpet of velvet green in its meadows to welcome the Goddess of Spring! Ah! what a beautiful garden, where autumn never visits and the pure morning air imparts life to the soul of verdure and foliage even before the arrival of the spring. The exhilarating green spreads out in all directions a carpet of emeralds, and the sweet singing nightingales overfill the neighbourhood with their melodious tunes. Its boundary walls with their six towers appear to have embraced even the six sides (ششر جهت) in their circumference. Its eastern gate is great in its height. There are two palaces on the western side which Raja Jawahir of Bharatpur built for his own residence at the time when he held possession of the place. In the middle of the open ground, lying in front, they have erected a very delightful tank.
- 12. The garden of Jahan Ara Begam, the daughter of Shahjahan.—It was built for the recreation of that nobleminded and generous-hearted lady. It has very high buildings and boundary walls with splendid towers. There

are foot-paths in all the four directions, made with great symmetry and taste. In the middle there is a splendid mansion which surpasses even the palace of Heaven in purity and chasteness. The garden lying in front in the open space is very finely laid out and gives every pleasure and delight to the observer.

13. Buland Bagh. - It lies in fifty-four bighas of land. It was built by Sarbuland Khan, a eunuch of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, for his enjoyment and pleasure. It is a very pleasing garden. Its gates rise up to the firmament in height and its boundary walls are so extensive that even the sky cannot pretend to equal it. The towers of this paradise-like garden, its twenty-four gates, and its splendid buildings surpass even the high heavens. There are seven wells of sweet water. A very vast vault is built on the eastern side, and there are fountains in it, which expand the heart of visitors with delight and pleasure. The eastern gate is very massive and very splendid. In the open space there is a garden full of flowers, fruits and foliage. The sweet smell of flowers makes faint the odour of the musk-pod of Khotan, and the opening of its blossoms puts to shame the constellations of the Heaven. It is a beautiful and wonderful building on the bank of the river.

These buildings were a source of delight and pleasure in the preceding reign. Now they are deserted and desolate and the mutilating hand of time has wrought so great a havoc upon them that every one who looks at them is very deeply touched.

II. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS LYING IN THE WESTERN DIRECTION.

I. Haveli of Dara Shikoh, the crown prince of Shahjahan.—It is popularly known as the Jamna Bagh Haveli. It was built for his amusement by that illustrious prince, the bright star of the forehead of prosperity and fortune, the delight of the eye of dignity and grandeur, the jewel of the crown of victory and happiness and the lavisher of justice and mercy. It extends from the foot of the fort to the Jhatta Ghat. Oh! what a beautiful mansion equalling the palaces of heaven in decoration and adornment, and shaming the sky by its height and grandeur. In the open space there is a flower garden which gives a peculiar delight to the visitors. Its unopened blossoms cheer up the dejected hearts. The vines are curling themselves as if they have fallen in the meshes of love with someone and the poppies are entwining themselves with the hyacinth. The nightingales have taken up the branches of the rose-trees in their laps like the dancing girls taking up the guitars in their hands, and are busy in their melodious singing. The parrots, like the famous musicians, have seated themselves amidst green bowers and are indulging in music.

- Haveli of Ezad Bakhsh.—This nobleman first happened to be a munshi under Prince Azam Shah, son of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb came to see his calligraphy and liked it. Consequently he called him to the court. Then he built this Haveli for his own residence upon the banks of the Jamna. What a paradise-like garden! Its boundary wall is also immeasurably high and large. In the open space there was a beautiful orchard, where beautiful flowers of variegated colour used to open. On the rose branches the nightingales sang. The poppy was a thousand times redder than the cheeks of the beautiful maidens, and the lilies were more expressive and full of speech than the best orators of the world. The builder is buried in the house. It was lying desolate when Mr. Ruthe (? Routh) took it in his possession, and effected necessary repairs. The Maharaja of Bharatpur afterwards purchased it and it is now in his possession.
- 3. Haveli of Asaf Khan.—He was distinguished with the title of khan-khanan and held the mansab of nine thousand and was also the commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies in the reign of Shahabuddin Muhammad Shahjahan. He was one of his most devoted and loyal

nobles. The Haveli was built by him for his amusement. Our ancestors have told us that when this Haveli was in good condition it consisted of six gates and fifty-two chowks (courtyards), beautiful buildings and pleasant gardens. Now there remains nothing but a tower to point the spot.

- 4. Mubarak Manzil.—It was thus named, because Aurangzeb-Alamgir started on his Deccan expedition with his victorious armies from this house. It had fallen into ruins, but the English Government has repaired it and established the customs office in it.
- 5. Haveli of Muqim Khan who held the title of Vazir Khan.—He was one of the trusted nobles and favoured courtiers of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar and Nuruddin Mohammad Jahangir. He built this haveli comprising beautiful mansions and pleasant gardens upon ten bighas and eleven biswas of land. Its buildings have fallen down and are now in ruins.
- 6. Haveli of Qasim Khan.—He held a mansab of five thousand and was one of the administrators of state in the reign of Shahjahan. He built this edifice consisting of well-styled buildings and numerous rooms for his own residence.
- 7. Mosque of Motamid Khan—one of the most influential and trusted mansabdárs of the court of Shahjahan. He erected a mosque at the Kashmiri gate. O! What a beautiful mosque! whose splendid arches excite the worshippers to observe *sijdahs* after *sijdahs*, and what a fine pulpit it is which gives an added charm and effect to the voice of the *khatib*. There is a tank full of water in the open space, in the centre of which is a beautiful fountain.

¹ Sijda means the prescribed way of bowing on the ground in prayers.

² Khatib = Preacher.

- III. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS LYING IN THE SOUTHERN DIRECTION.
- I. Haveli of Aqa Khan Khwaja Sara.—He held a mansab of fifteen hundred. He was one of the chief favourites of that king of courtesy and kindness, Shahjahan Gházi. The Haveli was built close to the Taj. It is a very attractive edifice which excels even the mansions of paradise in purity of style, and its painting and colour excel even the illuminating Sun in splendour and glory. In the open space there is a very pleasant, fresh and fragrant garden.
- 2. Bagh of Ján-i-Alam.—He is one of the nobles of Shahjahan's reign. He built this garden for his recreation. The building is picturesque, and the boundary walls are also fine. Oh, what an attractive garden, on which a carpet of emerald has been spread by the herbiage. Nightingales are singing in every direction, and the sweet-voiced parrots are skipping from branch to branch, and are chirping their songs amidst flowers of variegated colours. The trees are laden with fruits and the breeze has spread a carpet of velvet under the shade of trees. It is situated at a distance of twenty paces from the bank of the river.
- 3. Haveli of Patal Kunwar, Raja of Sheopur.—He held the mansab of five thousand in the Court of Shahjahan and erected that building for his residence and comfort. What a splendid and lofty edifice which even teaches high flight to imagination! It is surrounded on all sides by strong massive buildings. It had also a garden in it, which enhanced its beauty and afforded delight to the visitors. Formerly this building with its garden was notable. Now it is only a heap of ruins!
- 4. Haveli of Mahábat Khan Sipah-Salár who was a mansabdar of seven thousand and a great noble of Shah-jahan's Court. He built this Haveli on four bighas and four biswas of land for his residence. It was a fine and picturesque building and had very splendid arches. The

garden lying in front in the open ground was free of flowers and foliage. Now it is deserted and in ruins.

- 5. Haveli of Islam Khan of Rum, a mansabdar of seven thousand in Shahjahan's Court. The Haveli occupied four bighas and seven biswas of land and the garden, close to it upon a separate plot, had an area of three bighas and nine biswas of land. It was a splendid building and was all white. The garden was full of flowers of beautiful colours and sweet smell. The Haveli and garden were worthy of great praise, but, nowadays, only a few dilapidated walls remain.
- 6. Haveli of Khan-i-Dauran, Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang—a mansabdar of seven thousand in Shahjahan's Court. It was built by the said Khan for his residence. It was a very splendid building, with lofty gates and open rooms. Now it is in ruins.
- 7. Rauza of Asad Khan Maamari—a mansabdar of three thousand in Shahjahan's Court.
- 8. Haveli of Khalil Khan—a mansabdar of five thousand in the said Court.
- 9. Haveli of Amir Khan, a mansabdar of three thousand.

All these three buildings stand side by side, near mohalla Jhatti Tola, which is at a little distance from the river. Their walls even have gone down, and the land is now used for agricultural purposes.

to. Hammam of Ala-Vardi-Khan.—It occupies nearly four bighas of land. Ala-Vardi-Khan held a mansab of five thousand in Shahjahan's Court. He built this Bath with its splendid rooms and apartments. It was near Chouhatti Tola.

IV. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS LYING IN THE WESTERN DIRECTION.

1. Bagh of Qila-dár Khan.—He was a mansabdar of one thousand. He built this garden for his amusement along with a public market. It was a flourishing garden, full of flowers and fruits. Now it is all deserted.

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- 2. Haveli of Bahadur Khan—a mansabdar of five thousand in the Court of Shah Jahan. He built this house for his residence. The building is beautiful and stylish, having a strong boundary wall and a very imposing gate on the eastern side. The garden inside is full of fruits and flowers and affords ample pleasure and freshness to the eyesight.
- 3. Haveli of Shah Nawaz Khan—who held the rank of five thousand in the reign of Shahjahan. The building is fine and occupies an area of ten bighas of land.
- 4. Chatri of Jaswant.—At the time when Raja Jaswant Singh held the mansab of five thousand and naqqarah and alam in the reign of Shahjahan, he built this Chatri of pure red-stone. It is a very pleasant and fine-looking building. It lies near the village of Rajwara.
- 5. Rauza of Jafar Khan.—He held the mansab of five thousand in the Court of Shahjahan. This Rauza was built by him for his amusement and recreation. Oh! what a soul-expanding mansion which stands unrivalled in its grandeur and purity. The building is strong and elegant. There is a garden in the open space, where lovely streams of water flowed, which surpassed even the Salsabil in its life-giving effect. The fine bunches of grapes grown there appeared more beautiful than the constellations of stars.
- 6. Haveli of Buzurg-ummaid Khan.—It is a house situated in muhalla Mandvi and has an area of one bigha and ten biswas. It is a very bright and chaste building, purer even than the hearts of saints. It is also high and sublime. The Khán was one of the leading men of the Court of Aurangzeb Alamgir.
- 7. The buildings of Raja Bhoj,—which this Raja built for his amusement and pleasure. The buildings are beautiful and grand. The Raja ruled before the advent of Muslim Kings.

- V. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS LYING IN THE VILLAGES SURROUNDING AKBARABÁD.
- I. Gumbaz-i-Makhni.—It is a mausoleum built by one of the trusted nobles of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangír even before his death. He believed in the maxim, "die before your death" and so he made preparations for it. It is a strong building, standing upon a raised level, and has windows everlooking outside. It is close to Vazir-pura.
- 2. Mausoleum of Ládli Begam.—Sister of Abul Fazl. The said Begam constructed it for her own eternal rest. It is of red stones, and is fine and massive. What a splendid mausoleum! the loftiness of whose eastern gates even excites the eagerness of the Angel Gabriel to visit it. Its domes are very majestic. It has a beautiful tank in the middle, in the centre of which is fixed a very delightful fountain. Ladli Begum's grave is in this mausoleum.
- 3. Nine Mahals of Lashkar Khan, son of Zabardast Khan, a mansabdar of two thousand and five hundred in the Court of Shahjahán Gházi. These nine palaces along with a mosque were built by the said nobleman. These buildings occupy an area of twelve bighas of land. The structures are grand and massive and are interesting to behold. Now only one building remains to give a trace of the past.
- 4. Mausoleum of Jodha Bai.—She was one of the queens of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir. The mausoleum is one of that King's finest buildings. There is also a pleasant garden. The area of the land occupied is something like twenty-three bighas. It is near the village of Sarai Khoja. The building stands upon a high level, and commands a grand view. The garden was also very well laid Once it was well looked after, but alas? now it has gone out. The said Bái lies buried in it. Once it was well looked after, but alas! now it has gone to ruin.
- 5. The Garden of Dawadal—built by the grandson of Khan-Khanán. He held a mansab of one thousand in the Court of Shah Jahan. It is in the village of Takht-i-

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Pahlwan. It has an area of twenty-three bighas. It was a flourishing garden, full of flowers and foliage and sweet singing birds.

- 6. Haveli of Malik Sher Khwaja, a mansabdar of four thousand under Shahjahan. The building covers five bighas and ten biswas of land. The garden was beautiful and pleasant. The verdure gave a fascinating appearance to the entire area and the sweet smell of the flowers exhilarated the senses.
- 7. Dargah of Shah Abul Ala Sahib.—One of the most respectable saints of Jahangir's Court. Once the said Sháh visited the King on the 10th day of Ramazan. King was indulging in his drinking feasts. He pressed the holy man also to have a little sip, which he instantly refused to do. Thereupon the King said that the saint was afraid of his (King's) wrath, and therefore hesitated to drink. saint was angered and he warned the King to be afraid of God's anger, and instantly two fierce lions came out from the sleeves of the saint, and rushed towards the King who was much frightened. The King afterwards became very devoted to him. The devotees and believers of the saint assemble in the evening of every Thursday at his tomb and distribute alms and sweets there. Formerly this Durgah was worth visiting. Nowadays the devotion of people suffices only for the repairs to the boundary walls.
- 8. Rauza of Raza Bahadur.—He held the rank of five thousand in the Court of Shahjahan. It occupies three bighas of land and is situated in the village of Sultanpur which is at a distance of one kos from the banks of the river. It is a fine and picturesque building, and the inner and outer walls are beautifully painted and elegantly coloured. The garden is also very decent and full of beautiful sweet flowers.
- 9. The garden of Asafabad, built by Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan, Khan-Khanán, mansabdár of nine thousand in the Court of Shahjahan. The said noble built it upon nine bighas and fourteen biswas of land in the village of

Bodla for his recreation. What a beautiful garden whose delightsome flowers expand the heart of visitors! Fruits are in abundance there. Now its former prosperity is gone.

- 10. Nine Mahals (Nav-Mahala) of Amar Singh, a mansabdár of four thousand in the Court of Shahjahan. One of the nine Mahals was built for his own residence. The buildings are majestic and grand.
- 11. Bágh of Dahr-ara, built by Shahjahan for the amusement of Dahr-Ara Begum. It was full of flowers and sweet-singing birds. Now all its former splendour has vanished.
- Akbar. To the West of this village is a tank known as the Taláb of Lodis. Once it was a very dangerous spot and unsafe for travellers, who were invariably plundered of their goods and valuables and often lost their lives. Now it has been rendered safe by the vigilance and labours of Mr. Martin Richard Gates, the Collector and Magistrate, who has established there, different police stations at three different and important points.

CONCLUSION.

The City was named Agra, because in the old days a great amount of salt was produced here on account of the acidness of the soil. Formerly it was known as the pargana of Biana. At first Sultan Sikandar Lodi founded his capital here, and devoted his attention towards its development. He built the fort of Bādalgarh, upon the ruins of which the foundations of Akbar's fort were laid. The city was entirely ruined in the war that followed between the Lodis and the Emperor Babur. After that Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar selected it for his capital, and built his famous fort in the 12th year of his coronation. Its area is 12 lacs of Akbar's yards. It was built under the supervision of Qasim Khan Mir-Bahr (Lord of the admiralty) and thirtysix lacs of rupees were spent upon it. Nuruddin Jahangir,

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Shahabuddin Shah Jahan and for a time Aurangzeb Alamgir, maintained their capitals here. Consequently it grew up into a city of magnificent buildings erected by kings and nobles. When Alamgir met his death in the Deccan campaign and the Empire was nearly shattered, the Játs got hold of the city. They had neither the sense of justice, nor of appreciation of art, and consequently they destroyed many stately buildings, removed their precious stones to Bharatpur and used them in their own disproportionate and unsymmetrical constructions. Many of the famous buildings have disappeared and not even a trace of them can be found.

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DASTURUL AMAL OF NAWAB SAADAT ALI KHAN OF OUDH.

By Khan Bahadur S. Abu Muhammad, M.A.

From a Persian Manuscript in the collection of Sir Richard Burn, Kt.

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- CHAPTER II. Rules for the assessment of Revenue, and instructions concerning the same.
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- CHAPTER V. Duties of Police Officers and general instructions.
- CHAPTER VI. Instructions on the trial of cases, and enquiry into offences.
- Chapter VII. Rules on deciding disputes about boundaries and measures preventing breach of peace over boundary disputes.
 - Rules about the distraint of property and crops of the defaulters and general instructions concerning procedure.

CHAPTER I

Containing rules about the appointment of district officers and of their duties, issued on the 14th of Shawwal 1229 A.H. 1st Kunwar, 1222 F./30th September, 1819 A.D.

ARTICLE I. Lands paying revenue to the Government shall be divided into separate districts; over each shall be appointed an Officer, who shall be called Nazim. The Nazim shall take an oath on his appointment before His Majesty, or the person delegated by him to administer the oath which shall be submitted in writing with his sign

and seal in the form as given in article 2, being according to his own religion.

ARTICLE 2. (The form of oath.)

I, such and such,

Whereas, I, a party to this agreement, have received the appointment to the post of Nizamat of the district.... .. and honoured thereby with the grace of His Sublime Majesty, I hereby most solemnly affirm before God, the omnipotent, that I shall carry out the duty of my office to the best of my ability with strict integrity, honesty and impartiality, keeping always in view the interest of the benevolent Government of His Majesty, carrying out all instructions and regulations, emanating or going to emanate from him. In carrying out of my duty I shall not take any gratification from anybody on any pretence, directly or indirectly, in shape of money or commodity either on my behalf (or in my name) or on behalf of any other. Neither shall I compel anybody to render me his personal service as my retainer or servant. I shall render all the account of assessment, realisation, and expenditure of the revenue, to the Government correctly and honestly, and shall in no way transgress in my duty, or derive any benefit out of my post than what is legally due to me. If I do against this the vengeance of God, Who knows all secrets, shall visit me, besides any punishment of the world, which His Majesty's government shall consider as befitting my crime. Signed. dated. attested.

ARTICLE 3. A Nazim of the district shall dispose of the cases, according to law in force, or to be enforced in future and any such case, about which the law is not very clear, or which are not covered by any ruling, he shall refer to His Majesty, who will instruct him accordingly how to act.

ARTICLE 4. A Nazim shall keep a seal of his office, the circumference of which shall be according to \(^3\)4 of a Qitaa in diameter, and shall contain the following writing:—

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1229 Hijri.

The dominion of His Majesty
Nawab Wazir.
Seal of Nazim of District.

ARTICLE 5. A Nazim of the district shall keep a diary of his work in Persian with all details. The book shall be bound and shall remain in his office. Whenever he carries out any of his duties, he shall record it, with date and his signature.

ARTICLE 6. The following cases shall be disposed of by the Nazim of the district: (1) The settlement of revenue, subject to the sanction of his Majesty. Collection of revenue from the Zamindars, leaseholders, and ryots, according to rules. (3) Reporting about all such lands, which are paying no revenue and are liable to confiscation, or such lands which are unlawfully possessed by any body. (4) Payment of all daily wages or monthly allowance to the incumbents, or the reduction or forfeiture of any allowance, according to law, should also be communicated. (5) To carry out all orders respecting delinquent owners of land. (6) Partition of land among the co-sharers according to rules. (7) Realisation of excise and other miscellaneous revenue, according to rules in force or to be enforced in future. (8) Carrying out of Police regulations, and disposal of cases sent to the court, according to law in force or that which may be enforced in future. (9) All duties already prescribed, and any other special duty according to existing rules or any special order issued thereon. (10) Rendering monthly and annual accounts, as at present prescribed, or any other account which shall be required in future, by his Majesty. Carrying out all orders of his Majesty, or of any functionary who is empowered to issue orders.

ARTICLE 7. The Diwan and other officials of the district shall act according to existing laws and regulations, and never carry out any public work on their own sweet

will. In case they work against the rule, disciplinary action will be taken accordingly, they shall either be fined or removed from their post by persons who are invested with the authority of their removal, besides for any damage caused by their action to any person, the person shall be entitled to file a suit for damages before the Nazim of the district, appealable to his Majesty. The Nazim, however, should not cause the dismissal of any of his subordinates without sufficient reason, but on the other hand should treat them as they deserve.

ARTICLE 8. The Nazim shall on no ground let his private servants and retainers, whether or not they are in a responsible position, as long as they are not the servant of the State, interfere in public functions (Government work), nor shall he appoint any body outside the official circle to take charge of any Government office.

ARTICLE 9. A treasurer shall be appointed in each district directly by his Majesty. A security shall be taken from him against his rendering service with due diligence, honesty and integrity. He shall at once report any defalcation in the money in his custody. Both the treasurer and the Nazim shall be individually responsible for any loss in the treasury. The Nazim shall see that every chest and strong room of the treasury shall have double locks, the key of one shall be kept by the treasurer and of the other by the Nazim.

ARTICLE 10. When a demand is made on the treasury by the Nazim, an order shall be prepared, signed and sealed by the Nazim of the district, as well as by the Diwan. The Diwan shall also note the payee's name and the amount in his own handwriting. The date and number (serial) of the order shall also be put down. The treasurer shall be bound not to pay a single shell or pie without such payment order, and if anything is given away from the treasury without any such supporting order, the treasurer shall be responsible for that. The treasury clerk (Mutassadd-i-khazana) shall endorse on every payment order the

word 'Siaha shud' (brought into account), and file these orders in a bound book.

ARTICLE II. On the transfer, death, or absence of the Nazim the work shall be carried out by the Diwan until another Nazim is appointed. All officials and Tahsildars shall carry out the work of Government under his orders. The Diwan shall perform his duty according to law, and he shall be responsible for the work of the district, while he is thus officiating.

ARTICLE 12. The Nazim of the district, the Diwan, Tahsildars, and all other officials working under the Nazim, are strictly forbidden, to engage in taking land on lease, openly or secretly, or in carrying out the collection of revenue, to appropriate any land by way of lease or as security (against its distraint). This order applies to all officials of the government, as well as to private servants of the Nazim. If they purchase any land which is to be distrained, publicly or privately and if this fact is proved against them before his Majesty, such land shall be forfeited. They are allowed however to purchase land, sold by people out of their own free will, according to rules laid down in shara for the sale of land, provided they pay revenue upon it like others. The Nazim is excepted. They are allowed to purchase land outside their jurisdiction, under auction or ordinary legal sale.

ARTICLE 13. The Nazim should watch that no land is let to any European, openly or secretly, nor should any European be accepted as surety for the payment of the revenue by any zamindar whether of the headquarters or mofussil. This prohibition should be strictly adhered to.

ARTICLE 14. The Nazim shall not engage in any private trade, or take any personal interest in any such transactions.

ARTICLE 15. The Nazim, diwan and others are forbidden to lend money to any landlord or lessee of the land or the sub-lessee and if any official lends them money

against this order, he shall not be entitled to recover the same from law courts.

ARTICLE 16. The Nazim and diwan are enjoined to keep their account books, copies of all applications and orders, and all papers connected with their office, up to date, and in order.

ARTICLE 17. With a view that land of one district should not be distributed into other districts, and land in the same district form a compact whole, the Nazim shall see that any part of land of his district which lies in the jurisdiction of another district, is at once reported to his Majesty, so that arrangement be made to retransfer such lands to the district from which they were taken.

ARTICLE 18. The Nazim is not allowed to grant Takavi, without the express sanction of his Majesty.

ARTICLE 19. A Nazim is not allowed to carry his jurisdiction beyond his district by appointing anybody to another district, unless he is especially permitted to do so by any law or by the order of his Majesty.

ARTICLE 20. The Nazim, tahsildars and sazawals, and all persons appointed for the collection of the revenue, shall, whenever they deposit any revenue in the treasury, do so accompanied by an Arz-Irsal, signed on behalf of the person for whom the revenue is paid, or by his appointed agent, attested by themselves. They shall file this Arz-Irsal with them, then they will issue a receipt giving date, serial number, and the description of the money paid, to the payer signed and sealed by the diwan. The diwan and sarishtadar shall enter these receipts in the register. A copy of this shall be sent by the tahsildars to the Nazim, each month, and the Nazim shall annually forward the copy of the same to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 21. Whenever any money is taken from the treasury by the Nazim, a duplicate receipt shall be produced. The original shall be forwarded with the accounts to his Majesty, and the duplicate shall be retained in the treasury with date and serial number, and a copy

of the same shall be submitted at the end of the year to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 22. On the resignation or dismissal of the Nazim he shall give the charge of his office registers, and of the money in his custody to his successor, and until his Majesty's pleasure is known thereon, and permission to quit is received he shall not remove himself from the district. The same rule applies to tahsildars that they shall not leave their place, until they have handed over the charge of their office to their successor and have obtained permission from his Majesty.

ARTICLE 23. Whenever his Majesty or persons delegated by him require any thing to be done or wish to make any enquiry, or to examine any account, or to call forth any paper, the Nazim shall at once carry out his wishes.

ARTICLE 24. Whereas on account of extreme benevolence the Royal wisdom is always after framing of laws and regulations for the happiness of the land and the prosperity of the people therefore it is proposed that in future all such regulations which are issued for the guidance of State officials and on which they act shall every year be collected, arranged in articles and chapters, for issue. Then any thing which might suggest for the amendment of these codes by actually working upon them, shall be amalgamated into it. Therefore all Nazims are authorised that whenever circumstances call for any new regulation or for the repeal of any existing laws, they shall submit their proposal with all reasoning in the given form to his Majesty, who after satisfying himself of the expediency of it shall issue orders accordingly.

ARTICLE 26. The Nazim shall issue to all chaprassis under him, a chaprass (the insignia of their office) in the following form:—

Dominion of his Majesty, Nawab Wazirulmamalik Chaprassi, Nazamat.....

1229 Hejiri.

ARTICLE 27. A Nazim shall except on Friday, which is a holiday attend his kutchery in the afternoon, two hours before sunset, for carrying out his business.

CHAPTER II.

Containing rules for the assessment of the revenue, issued on 14th Shawwal, 1229 A.H./Ist Kuwar, 1222 F.

ARTICLE I. All lands in the dominion of his Majesty's Government are liable for assessment according to the details in possession with Nazim, or which are to be issued to him in future, and shall be given on lease for three years subject to the sanction of his Majesty.

ARTICLE 2. The triennial settlement shall be made with effect from 1229 Fasli up to 1224 Fasli, the demand being divided into three equal rentals, payable each year, but if any Nazim considers that this procedure will cause loss to the Government, the settlement of that land shall be cancelled, and the demand shall be made with annual increment.

ARTICLE 3. Anyone who has accepted to pay the revenue according to first settlement, the acceptance of second settlement shall be optional to him.

ARTICLE 4. At the time of settlement, the assessment shall be made as follows:—With the help of sighadars, patwaris, and other persons knowing about the land, and such other information that the Nazim thinks suitable, a thorough enquiry shall be made about the land in question, and assessment shall be made after deduction of Nankari, on account of the right of ownership which has been allowed by his Majesty to the zamindar, the balance shall be recorded as the demand, and all demand shall be shown not in annas and pies but in whole money. After this demand receives sanction, no further demand on account of cess or octroi shall be made.

ARTICLE 5. The settlement shall always be made with the zamindars, provided they do not act dishonestly, and accept the full demand. If the Nazim considers the inadvisability of making settlement with certain zamindars, he shall record his reasons in full, and together with the plea of the zamindar shall submit to his Majesty for orders.

ARTICLE 6. Whenever any zamindar accepts the settlement of his land, or any settlement is rejected by his Majesty, the zamindar shall receive all Nankar which he is entitled to, as a grace of his Majesty, whose one care it is to fulfil his royal promises.

ARTICLE 7. If any land is mortgaged to anybody, or is hypothecated against any encumbrance, the settlement shall be made with the person who has taken the mortgage of it, or who holds the land as surety. The landlord shall be entitled to settle with his own mortgagee, or bring a suit for the recovery of his land from the possession of the mortgagee.

ARTICLE 8. The land which is shared by many zamindars or talukdars, the settlement shall be made with the biggest of the zamindars whom the other cosharers appoint as representative.

Note. The passage is not very clear, there is apparently some omission, the other possible rendering is: "Land which is held by many co-sharers, if any of them wants to make his land independent of his superior zamindars he shall do so, provided superior zamindars apply for this."

ARTICLE 9. If the superior zamindar considers himself aggrieved on account of sequestering the land of his inferior, or if the co-sharer who can be entitled for the separation of his land and that is not done, both of them may bring a suit to his Majesty. The Nazim shall not postpone the settlement on account of his dispute. Whenever any doubt arises about the ownership and nobody brings forward any claim before the Nazim, the settlement shall be made with the actual possessor of the land.

ARTICLE 10. If any zamindar does not accept the settlement, then the settlement will be made with the villages, and a representative body shall be appointed in the land in question to accept the settlement. If the settlement is made about the land which has outlying property, separate assessment shall be made for both.

ARTICLE II. Every revenue-payer, whether he is in actual possession of the land or as a Zamin, shall be liable to pay a revenue, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole income of the land.

ARTICLE 12. Anyone with whom the settlement has been made shall be given a Qabuliat, and he shall grant patta of his fixed demand from the ryots and the leaseholders, who will in return give him a written qabuliat. Nothing more shall be demanded from the ryots and the leaseholders than what is fixed in the patta and qabuliat.

ARTICLE 13. In the Patta shall also be recorded all fixed cesses without any detail, and nothing shall be demanded besides what is written.

ARTICLE 14. The settlement shall not include any other tax which is at present known by the name of Abkari or Rahdari, for which there is a separate engagement with the Government. The Nazim shall make separate settlement about these taxes, he shall entertain objections upon it, and shall forward such applications to the Government.

ARTICLE 15. Whenever the landlord accepts the settlement, or any leaseholder, the land shall be marked down as Tahsil Kham

ARTICLE 16: The Nazim shall undertake all work of main revenue collection as well as of its settlement upon himself; he shall as far as possible look after the collection of other miscellaneous land himself, i.e. he shall constantly watch the staff of revenue collectors.

ARTICLE 17. Every landlord who shall pay his revenue to the Nazim, shall also render whatever assistance is required of him for the maintenance of Thana staff of his concern; he shall carry out all orders required of him in

this respect, the thanas of large towns being excepted, their maintenance being upon the Government itself.

ARTICLE 18. Whenever there is large property in the lease of a single man, and it is found that the Nazim shall have to treat its collection separately, its revenue shall not be collected by the Tahsildar, but the Nazim shall himself collect it.

ARTICLE 19. Whereas construction and maintenance of roads and highways is a duty of the Zamindar who owns any village, therefore it is recapitulated in this royal warrant, that the Zamindars and leaseholders of the village shall know this as their duty to keep roads and highways in perfect condition.

ARTICLE 20. The Zamindars shall set apart a portion of the land for the maintenance of the chowkidar, if they think it convenient to pay for their maintenance in this way instead of in cash. In the event of his dismissal or death that property shall be taken up by the Government. All such land which are taken from the Zamindar for the maintenace of any government official, except those which the government itself bestows upon such official, shall upon its relinquishment be taken by the Government.

ARTICLE 21. As some land of the Zamindars and the Talukdars of which they do not accept the settlement, shall be converted into Tahsil Kham or handed over to the lease holders, therefore whenever such contingency arises, the Zamindars shall be informed thereof. If they accept the settlement, the land shall be handed back to them, otherwise they shall not be entitled till that lease expires, to enter into the land, or till the leaseholder out of his own accord surrenders the land to him, provided his Majesty approves this. On the expiry of the lease, if the landlord accepts the settlement, the land shall be surrendered to him.

ARTICLE 22. With a view that the well-being and prosperity of the subjects is the main concern of his Majesty, therefore any rules which are promulgated by his

Majesty for the welfare of Zamindars and cultivators, shall be binding for the carrying out of which by the Zamindars, no evasions or grumbling shall be permitted.

ARTICLE 23. As the collection of all taxes has been settled with the Zamindar, no Zamindar shall be entitled to deduct any amount from the government revenue, as his commission. Every Zamindar, however, may derive any extra benefit which might accrue to him on account of rent for houses, mines or wells that are built on their land, or on account of pastures or orchards, in spite of its being recorded as cess.

ARTICLE 24. Any land over which no revenue is collected and is in possession of anybody, whenever any part of it is reclaimed that shall go to the government, and its revenue the government shall be entitled to.

ARTICLE 25. Any amount which is taken from the Zamindars and leaseholders on account of Thanadari (Police) shall be treated separately from the revenue. Whenever the duty of the protection of ryots by the Zamindar is taken away from them, and separate officials are appointed for this, all land and money taken from the Zamindar for this purpose shall be refunded to them.

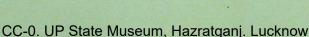
ARTICLE 26. To remove the doubt whether the landlords can transfer property without the sanction of his Majesty or not, it is hereby declared that Zamindars and talukdars are entitled to transfer their property either by sale or gift or by any other way without the sanction of his Majesty or his servants, provided the transfer is done in regular manner 'according to Shara if the parties are Mussulmans, or according to shastras if the parties are Hindoos. No law existing now or to be enforced in future shall overrule this order. No changes shall be made in the demand of revenue on account of such transfer.

ARTICLE 27. Whenever any co-sharer of a Zamindar requires any partition of his part of his Zamindari, he shall apply to the Nazim giving full details attested by two reliable witnesses.

ARTICLE 28. When such application is made to the Nazim, the Nazim shall enquire from the defendants all their objections if the defendants admit the title of applicant over the land they shall submit an application attested by two witnesses of their admission, then the Nazim shall draw up a notice proclaiming that within fifteen days of the issue of this notice, the partition shall be carried out according to the application of such and such applicant, admitted by such and such defendants. A copy of this notice shall be put up at the kutchery, another fixed at the tahsildari, and two copies at a prominent place in the village in question. On the expiry of the days, if no claimant appears, the Nazim shall make the partition according to the rules.

ARTICLE 29. Whenever any claim arises within the period given in the aforesaid section, and the claimant puts his claim or objection, and the applicant is not yet put in possession of the land, the partition shall be postponed till the case is disposed of according to the law; during this interval revenue shall be collected under previous arrangement.

ARTICLE 30. If the new claimant of the land refuses to acknowledge the claim of the applicant, or any other claimant arises after the expiry of the date of the notice as described in section 28, the Nazim shall call the parties to appoint three Zamindars or more on each side as arbitrators, these arbitrators with the help of the kanungos of the Pargana shall adjudge the claim, but before such claim is adjudged the parties shall submit an agreement attested by two The arbitrators after having adjudged the claim, shall submit their judgment with their seal and signature to the Nazim within the appointed time, giving detail of the land in suit and the name of the party in whose favour the claim was adjudged. The Nazim after receiving the decision, shall testify that it is according to the law. then he will draw up that decision with his own seal and signature, and a copy of this he shall give to the parties,



with the date from which it will take effect. If the party do not agree with the arbitration, they may within three months from the date of the receiving of the decision appeal to his Majesty. When the disqute between the parties is finally decided, the Nazim shall according to the decision proceed to divide the land and assess the revenue thereon.

ARTICLE 31. As soon as the partition of the land is undertaken the Nazim shall appoint a partition amin, who will draw up the partition with the help of kanungos and tahsildars, and submit his report of partition with his signature as well as with the signature of the tahsildar and kanungo to the Nazim, who shall submit a copy of this for sanction to his Majesty. After sanction is given, anyone can get a copy of this from the Nazim with his seal and signature. After the completion of the partition the Nazim shall get the parties to acknowledge the portion of revenue assigned to them. Warning is given that if any mistake is discovered after the appropriation and partition of the land, within three years from the date of its sanction, and a suit is brought to his Majesty to that effect, and it is proved that the mistake was due to some craft or forgery, the whole proceedings shall be reversed and the order for new partition shall be given.

ARTICLE 32. The assignment of the partition revenue from the total demand shall bear the same proportion with the present assessment, as the former partition revenue bore to the former total revenue.

ARTICLE 33. 'The fee of the partition amin shall in the following manner be taken from the co-sharers. One part of the amount shall be given to the amin, and two parts shall be reserved in the district treasury. After the partition is over and is sanctioned this amount which is deposited shall be paid to the amin on account of his expenses. The fee of the amin shall be levied from all co-sharers in the same proportion, as the fee bears to the total amount of demand.

ARTICLE 34. The partition fee shall be as follows, leviable from all co-sharers as described above. For a sum up to five hundred rupees, eight rupees per hundred; for a sum between one thousand to two thousand five hundred, the same amount for a sum not exceeding one thousand, and then 5 per cent exceeding it. From two thousand five hundred to five thousand, on two thousand five hundred as in previous rate, then exceeding that three per cent. From a sum exceeding ten thousand rupees to twenty five thousand rupees, on every ten thousand as above and on the rest at one per cent. For a sum exceeding twenty five thousand to a sum not exceeding fifty thousand, on twenty five thousand as above, and for the rest at eight annas per hundred. For a sum exceeding fifty thousand rupees to one lac of rupees at fifty thousand at the above rate, and on the rest at four annas per cent. a sum exceeding one lac of rupees, for one lac at above rate, and for any sum exceeding at two annas per hundred.

ARTICLE 35. When the partition of the amin is not accepted by his Majesty, in that case instead of the usual fee, a lower rate shall be levied on the co-sharers.

ARTICLE 36. The Nazim shall record the time limit in the certificate of the amin, so that amin should finish the partition within that period, and report thereon. If within the time limit the partition was not done, the time may be extended, but if it is found that the delay was due to the guile or the supineness of the amin, in that case the amin shall be dismissed; if it is found that the fault of the amin was serious, or there was open intrigue or evasion of duty, he shall also be fined.

ARTICLE 37. All landlords and leaseholders with whom the settlement was made, may transfer their property according to rules to anybody, provided the title of underproprietors (Talukdaran mufassal) and cultivators is not affected thereby. Every agreement between the owner of the land, underproprietors, and cultivators, shall be clearly written and the conditions and the amount shall be clearly

shown. If the landlord or the leaseholder takes a greater amount than what is provisioned in the agreement, that amount shall be considered as extortion, and he shall have to pay as fine double the amount obtained.

ARTICLE 38. Anybody who has made an agreement with the Zamindar, Talukdar or the leaseholder, and wishes to carry out the agreement, shall not be entitled to make arrangements for the taking of possession with the agent of such landholder, unless the landholder gives the authority to do so in writing.

ARTICLE 39. Whereas the excess or low demand of cess becomes a source of trouble, and many irregularities, therefore it is admonished that the total demand with respect to cess and rent shall be clearly written in the patta, and afterwards, if without the knowledge or express permission of his Majesty any cess is levied and that comes to the knowledge of his Majesty, a sum equal to three times of the sum taken shall be levied as fine, and be given to the payer.

ARTICLE 40. The royal favour has this point in view, that all landholders, leaseholders, talukdars, and the ryots, shall in the course of time consider it beneficial that during the assignment of land revenue, a portion of the land is set apart so that the cultivators might cultivate it with a crop of greater resource, but where there is a custom that the patta of the land differs with respect to the kind of crop cultivated and the landlords and the leaseholders desire, that the former custom should remain as it is, they shall include in the patta the quantity of land, and the kind of crop to be sown, the rate of rent, the amount of rent, and the limit of holding, with the provision that if the crop is changed, the assessment of rent shall be revised either within the limit of holding, or to an extended period in continuation of the running period. In this case the patta shall be rewritten with new conditions, conforming with the change of cultivation.

ARTICLE 41. The rent which has been fixed according

to any law or custom, shall be clearly shown in the patta, if possible the total demand shall be shown in cash. In case where the total demand cannot be calculated except the rate of rent, as in case where the rent is taken according to Jarib, or a portion of the actual crop gathered, or where the rent is taken in kind, the terms by which the rent is taken by cash or kind shall be clearly shown in the patta.

ARTICLE 42. If any dispute arises between the landlord and the tenant with respect to the rate of rent, the suit for fixing of the rent shall be brought before the Nazim, who shall adjudge the rate of rent according to customary rent paid on the same kind of land in his pargana, or in the absence of this according to any rule in force.

ARTICLE 43. After the rent is fixed for the tenant, the tenant shall be entitled to a patta from the person who is authorised to issue the patta. If the person or his agent refuses to give the patta without any reason, the tenant may claim any damage which might occur to him for the non-receipt of the patta. No landlord or leaseholder or Katkanadar (underproprietor) or their agents shall be entitled to grant for a period greater than what is fixed, and no agent without the express order of his employee shall grant any patta to the tenant.

ARTICLE 44. In case where a tenant cultivates land without taking any patta from the person who has authority to grant patta or without any express permission of the landlord, the tenant shall be liable to pay damage to the landlord, apart from any rent which the landlord is entitled to receive on that land.

ARTICLE 45. Whenever any land is partitioned on the application of the co-sharers, or the land is transferred on any ground except by distraint in default of the payment of the revenue, the transferee may demand any enhancement on the rent paid to the former zamindar within the period prescribed in the patta, provided this

enhancement is compatible to the existing laws or custom, and is not demanded by way of extortion. In case the demand is found to be based on extortion, the patta shall be considered as cancelled.

ARTICLE 46. Whenever any land is sold in default of payment of revenue, all agreements made between the landlords and tenants prior to the day of sale or afterwards, or during the time of sale shall be null and void. Therefore all tenants must renew their pattas with the new zamindar, according to existing custom, and the nature of the soil which was at the time before sale.

ARTICLE 47. No Zamindar, or Talukdar or Leaseholder, with whom the assessment of revenue was made for the period of three years, shall be authorised to grant patta beyond the limit of settlement time. In case the patta is granted against this rule, and the land revenue is affected thereby, that patta shall at once be nullified.

ARTICLE 48. Persons with whom the permanent settlement has been made, may cancel the given patta for any period, before that period expires, provided this is done with the perfect agreement of the tenant, for in this the right of anybody or the government is not affected. When, however, it is found that the patta was cancelled without the consent of the other party, and a new patta has been executed prior to the expiry of the period, or the parties have clandestinely agreed to the cancellation of the patta, the new patta shall at once be nullified, and the old patta shall be enforced.

ARTICLE 50. It is not prohibited under this rule, that the landlords may appropriate the land temporarily or permanently for building houses, factories, except houses for any European, without obtaining the permission of his Majesty. By this appropriation it shall not be understood that any remission in revenue shall be made. Any land which is appropriated from the land not paying any revenue, without the consent of his Majesty, shall be liable to confiscation, and the grantor of the land to a fine.

CHAPTER III.

Containing rules for collection of revenue, issued on the 14th of Shawwal, 1229 Hegri/1st Kunwar, 1222 Fasli.

ARTICLE I. Tahsildars for collection of revenue shall be appointed by his Majesty, where necessary.

ARTICLE 2. No Nazim shall be authorised to dismiss any Tahsildar. He shall report to his Majesty, whenever a Tahsildar acts in a way that will merit his dismissal, and his Majesty shall order accordingly.

ARTICLE 3. If the dismissal of the Tahsildar is required urgently without waiting for the issue of the order of his dismissal, the Nazim shall be authorised to suspend him, and appoint another to carry out his work temporarily, he shall then at once report the cause of suspension of the Tahsildar, and the reason why his suspension was not postponed till the order of his Majesty was received, besides all necessary information, as well as information about the man who was put in his place. The Nazim shall take care that the emergency action is not taken without due reason. The Tahsildar shall be entitled to petition his Majesty, if he considers himself aggrieved.

ARTICLE 4. The Nazim shall take into consideration the ability, reputation, honesty and competence of the person whom he appoints to act for the suspended Tahsildar.

ARTICLE 5. The Nazim shall take care that no Tahsildar is appointed in the district already serving in another district by the fraudulent change of name, also that the Tahsildar is independent and is not the agent of anybody.

ARTICLE 6. The Tahsildars shall receive remuneration according to the collection of the revenue, at the rate of ten rupees per hundred, and eight annas per hundred on account of Thanadari, and an agreement shall be made with them to collect the total revenue demanded. They will be responsible also for any loans or advances which are granted to tenants as well as the appointment of all police officials

necessary for the protection of the land in their jurisdiction, except the policing of the big towns, which are directly maintained by the Government.

ARTICLE 7. A security shall be taken from every Tahsildar equal to the amount of the greatest instalment of land revenue of his Tahsil. In case any deficiency in total demand of the revenue occurs, it shall be made good from the amount of their security, according to written agreement.

ARTICLE 8. The Nazim shall make enquiry of the reliability of the surety, he shall keep the surety bond in original with him, and a copy will be forwarded to his Majesty for sanction.

ARTICLE 9. Any Tahsildar who holds back any instalment of revenue, shall be liable for dismissal, and in that case the Nazim shall at once report to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 10. The Tahsildar shall report to the Nazim the amount of loan required for seed, cattle, and other agricultural implements, beforehand, to enable the Nazim to submit it to his Majesty for sanction, before it is due. When the Takavi is distributed for the next two years, for the increment of agricultural produce, whatever the loan is advanced, one per cent. shall be deducted to meet the expenses of executing bonds. Every bond shall be signed by the payee of loan, Muqaddam (village headman) and sighadar, and it will also contain the area of land to be improved on account of this takavi. In all agreements and documents which the Tahsildar shall execute, one party shall be his Majesty.

ARTICLE II. When any landlord is aggrieved by the action of Tahsildar, and wishes to pay his revenue directly, he shall prove before the Nazim, that the Tahsildar has actually done him wrong, and shall produce a surety of an instalment of his total revenue, his land then shall be taken for the purpose of revenue collection by the Nazim. The Nazim shall, however, make a thorough enquiry with regard to such complaints, so that the Tahsildar should not be compromised unreasonably.

When it is thought necessary, the ARTICLE 12. Tahsildar shall appoint watchmen to guard the crop. expenses for their upkeep shall be taken from the owner of the crop. Landlords and the leaseholders of the land for which settlement has been made as well as ryots and tenants of the lands under settlement (arazi-i-amani) shall not remove their crop, until they produce a surety to the amount of their land revenue, or when permission is granted to them for removal to save the crop from destruction. They shall not remove again, when the fear of destruction has ceased. When the payer of revenue has given surety before the crop was gathered, the Tahsildar shall not be required to place watchmen over their crop, or encumber the person in any other way. The watchmen shall be appointed, when no surety is forthcoming. daily or monthly wages of the watchmen shall customarily be given by the owner of the crop, which shall be accounted in the village expenses kept by the patwari of the village. The Tahsildar shall give to each watchman, a chit (dastak) with his sign and seal, detailing his duties, his name, his daily wages according to the custom, and the name of the person paying the wages. The kanungo shall take a copy of this chit, and submit all these chits with a list and the total wages account to the Nazim of the district; the Nazim may reduce the wages, if he considers them excessive. The wages of watchmen shall in no case exceed more than two annas daily.

ARTICLE 13. The Tahsildar shall not issue any writ of demand for any instalment of revenue before it is due but when the demand is not paid on the date appointed or earlier, he shall issue a writ of demand, and cause it to be served on the defaulter by a peon. If the demand is not sooner paid, the peon who takes the dastak, shall receive daily two annas from the defaulter, until either the demand is paid, or it is remitted. Beyond this two annas, no further charges shall be made upon the defaulter.

ARTICLE 14. Tahsildars are strictly forbidden to issue

dastaks through peons and chaprassis, who are not in government employ. They must issue these dastaks through peons who are in employ and receive their salary, and have also given security for their good conduct. The pay of the peon besides the amount payable to them on account of the service of the summons shall be disbursed by the Tahsildar, if their wages are not equal to their pay, the balance shall be disbursed personally by the Tahsildar. The Tahsildar shall keep a list of peons with him, and shall inform the Nazim of their strength, and whenever any change is made among them, or any vacancy arises the Nazim shall also be informed of it. The peons shall be provided with a chaprass, which shall always be kept by them whenever they perform any public act. The chaprass shall be inscribed with the following in Persian character:—

1229 Hegri.

MULKI NAWAB WAZIRUL MAMALIK BAHADUR. CHAPRASI.....

ARTICLE. 15. Every dastak which a tahsildar issues for the realisation of any instalment of the revenue, shall be attested by the Kanungo working in the Tahsil, and on every 8th of the month, he shall submit a list of all dastaks issued in the previous month to the Nazim of the district. The peons when they return after the service shall give an account of whatever daily fee they have received, and pay the amount in the treasury of the Tahsildar, and submit the treasury receipt to the office of the Tahsildar. The Tahsildar shall, on the 8th of each month, submit an account of what was entered in the treasury to the Nazim of the district with his signature; any amount which has been realised above the pay of the peon shall be appropriated by the government. The Nazim shall compare the list submitted by the Tahsildar and the Kanungo, and see that there is no discrepancy.

ARTICLE 16. The Nazim shall be authorised to dismiss any Tahsildar with the permission of his Majesty,

or prosecute him within the year or at the end of year according to agreement. The Tahsildar shall be liable for dismissal, if he witholds any instalment of revenue.

ARTICLE 17. The Tahsildars and all landlords paying revenue direct to the government must pay all due within the seventh of the next month, for the month of which the revenue is due. For any outstanding demand of instalment that remains unpaid, a notice shall be issued by the Nazim, through their recognized agents. The notice shall be worded according to the status enjoyed by persons. For any instalment which remains unpaid till the 14th of the month the Nazim on the 15th shall issue a writ of demand, with his sign and seal and with the sign and seal of the Diwan, ordering at the same time the peons that if the instalment is not paid at once, the peon without any consideration, shall arrest the defaulter and bring him before the Nazim. From the date of the issue of dastak till the time the instalment is paid fully or the dastak is not cancelled, the peon shall realise from the defaulter 2 annas per day as Talbana. Such dastaks and chits shall be issued through the peons in employ of the Government. In case of urgency or the distance the Nazim shall send sawars, who shall realise 4 annas a day, until the demand is fully paid. The Nazim shall in no case appoint private individuals for the work. All the peons whether sawars or otherwise shall give security against their making any extortions beyond what is due as their diet or for the horses diet. In case they extort any money they will be liable to a fine twice the amount they have taken unlawfully.

ARTICLE 18. Any talbana thus realised, shall be accounted by the Nazir and the Jamadar of the sawars, and the amount shall be paid into the treasury with the signature of the Nazim; the account sheet shall be kept in the treasury. Of all the amount of Talbana accounted, half of it shall be paid to the peons and sawars as described above.

ARTICLE 19. Whenever any due remains unpaid by the Tahsildar or landlords paying revenue direct, the Nazim may issue the writ of demand against the defaulter or his surety or against both.

ARTICLE 20. With respect to lands which do not pay the revenue direct to the Nazim, the Tahsildar shall from the 5th day of the issue of demand, issue a similar kind of writ of demand on the surety of the landlord, and when the amount is realised from him or from his surety, the writ of demand shall be cancelled, and the peons shall at once be dismissed. The time for presenting the defaulter before the Tahsildar shall be the same as fixed for the Nazim.

ARTICLE 21. A Tahsildar shall not be authorised to put any defaulter in irons or in stocks; whenever any defaulter fails to pay the amount within five days of the demand, the Tahsildar shall send him along with the statement of his case to the Nazim. The Nazim shall go through his case and all cases of default made directly to him within ten days, and during these days the defaulter shall be put in custody, unless he pays the demand at once or gives surety of paying it during the currency of the Indian month, when he shall be released, otherwise after the expiry of ten days shall commit him to jail, by a warrant to the jailor, and he shall not be released till he pays up the whole demand of arrears, as well as all the cost of his imprisonment in jail.

ARTICLE 22. In order to avoid landlords and leaseholders using the land revenue payable to the Government for deriving any gain, by purposely delaying the payment, the Nazim shall after enquiry in the case impose I per cent fine each day from the date of the date due to the date the arrears are paid, which shall be recovered with the land revenue, unless the Nazim himself recommends against this step to his Majesty, when part of this demand or whole shall be refunded.

ARTICLE 23. Whenever any land held by possession

or by lease is by alluvian or delluvian, or by any other calamity unable to produce any crop, or the crop is destroyed by the negligency of the landlord and leaseholders and the arrears of revenue warrants his imprisonment, the Nazim after satisfying himself that the defaulter shall pay up the revenue at the end of the year by any means, either by the next yield or by incurring debt or from his own money, such defaulter shall not be imprisoned, and full report of such case with reason of his not being imprisoned shall be made to his Majesty, and the final action shall depend upon his order.

ARTICLE 24. Whenever any defaulter is arrested on account of the arrears of revenue, the Nazim shall order the Tahsildar of the pargana in which the land of the defaulter lies, to recover the arrears with the help of Kanungo from the land of the defaulter, unless a Zamin comes forward to pay all dues including the wages of peons who were employed to arrest the defaulter.

ARTICLE 25. Whenever any defaulter is liable to be imprisoned on account of the arrears, and his land for attachment, and the Nazim considers that the arrears could be more easily and swiftly realised by the sale of his moveable property or that of his Zamin, and whenever the arrears of revenue could not be fully realised out of his land, and the balance could be made up by the sale of his moveable property or that of his Zamin, the Nazim shall direct the Tahsildar or make any other arrangement if the land is situated in his own jurisdiction, to attach all moveable property of the defaulter or his Zamin, and sell it by public auction, according to rules. The Nazim may delegate the authority of selling to the Tahsildar without any reference to him, according to rules and as the case of emergency arises. But if it is found out that the Tahsildar has no reasonable ground for such action, and has caused the sale and attachment maliciously, he shall be held responsible for that, like other servants of landlord and leaseholders.

ARTICLE 26. All orders of the attachment of the

income of landlords, apply also to pattidars, but this will not apply to small shareholders, underproprietors, or to tenants, nor shall they be affected by this procedure. The Tahsildar shall see that revenue collected from the defaulters is in proportion to the rent they receive from the tenant, according to the Qabuliat, and where there is no Qabuliat, according to the customary rent, in this case except where the officials of the Government, like kanungos and patwaris keep the account, the defaulters may also appoint persons on their behalf to keep such account.

ARTICLE 27. Whenever any land or lease of a defaulting landlord or leaseholders is attached, and then the outstanding revenue is paid, either from the income of the land or otherwise, together with all cost of attachment, the land shall be released and an account of the income and expenses derived from his land shall be rendered to him.

ARTICLE 28. Under the order aforesaid, when any order is given for the realisation of revenue from the tenants, according to any agreement, if it appears that a trick was played in that agreement, or the agreement was made so that as long as the land is attached, no rents are payable, that agreement shall not be carried out, and under these circumstances the Tahsildar shall realise revenue according to the rate existing in the pargana. should be also explained that during the time of attachment, no plea shall be entertained from the tenants that they had paid their rents before the attachment, and it is forbidden to the landlords and the leaseholders to take any rent from the tenants or any instalment of revenue before that instalment is due, under any agreement or instalment whatever, and it is also forbidden to the tenants to pay any rent before the instalment due. In case of doing contrary, and either paying the rent, whether legal or illegal, and keeping the receipt with himself, instead of producing it to the official in charge of the attached property to be deducted by him, or to any lord or leaseholder, authorised to attach the land to pay the revenue on behalf of other co-sharers, the amount so paid shall be disregarded. In case any person after the attachment of the land is proclaimed, and before that proclamation is withdrawn, pays his rent to the defaulter, that shall not also be counted, unless he proves that at the time of payment, he was not aware of such proclamation. It should not be forgotten that the landlord shall be excused from paying back all money which he has taken under the above circumstances. The above prohibition only refers to attached property.

ARTICLE 29. Whenever a property is attached, the patwari shall submit the required particulars about such land to the Nazim or the amin of the district or any person delegated by the Nazim, and all management shall be done by the government official, as if the land belonged to landlords. The Nazim shall enquire that patwaris are appointed in every place within his jurisdiction, and where no patwari is appointed, to appoint a patwari through the landlord, failing this he shall be liable for punishment for neglect of duty. The landlords and leaseholders whose land has been attached shall be bound to submit all accounts of their land for the last three years which they possess to the Nazim on his demand, as well as to depute. all their men kept for the purpose of realising revenue. In default of this order, the landlords shall be liable to fine by the Nazim, after an enquiry made into their conduct, subject to the sanction of his Majesty. His Majesty reserves the power of imprisoning such landlords should they refuse to submit account sheet as required.

ARTICLE 30. Whenever any Nazim acts against the orders already described, or in carrying it out he unnecessarily causes oppression, in such case, the person aggrieved shall bring a complaint against the Nazim to his Majesty, personally or through an agent, his Majesty shall then issue orders accordingly. If any Tahsildar or his subordinate does so, the aggrieved party shall bring a complaint against such official to the Nazim who shall cause

a copy of such complaint to be sent to the person accused, and get his explanation within the time limit. If the accused admits his guilt, the Nazim shall stay the proceedings, but if the accused denies the charge, the complainant shall submit a surety against payment of all dues from the date till final adjudgment of the case, and also agree to pay any compensation if the case is decided against him. The Nazim then shall issue an order upon the Tahsildar or official thus accused, to cancel all his writ against the complainant, dismiss the peons, and obey what order is made against him by the Nazim. If the accused could not make good his plea, the Nazim shall cause the release of the complainant, and order the cost and damage to be paid by the accused to the complainant, but if any due is proved against the complainant, that shall be ordered to be paid before he is released. In either case the complainant shall furnish a security for his appearance before his Majesty, should the accused appeal against the order, and his Majesty issues order for his appearance. the accused makes no such appeal, the Nazim shall release him and his security.

ARTICLE 31. Although the Nazim may take surety from the complainant, or release him from the imprisonment, or dismiss the revenue officials, he or the Tahsildar is not authorised to withold the attachment of the land, for the demand of land revenue or to postpone the sale of any moveable property, simply because a complaint has been brought. But whenever any landlord or leaseholder pays his dues under protest and then applies that dues were illegally realised, and any money which is proved to have been thus taken shall at once be refunded together with interest at twelve per cent from the date of its realisation to the date of its refund.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever any due is left till the end of the year against any zamindar or Talukdar, the Nazim shall report to his Majesty the total sum not realised and the reason why it was not realised. If it is discovered that this was due to extravagance of the defaulter, and the demand could not be paid by him or his zamin, his Majesty may order that the title of the landlord in the patti of which the balance was due may be transferred to the other co-sharer who undertakes to pay the dues. In this case the landlord shall be dispossessed entirely, the Nazim shall only put him in possession of his Jot khas to be an underproprietor of the pattidar, provided the pattidar accepts him as such, paying revenue if the lower proprietors pay the revenue, the pattidar shall not however be entitled to appropriate this land from the defaulter. The Nazim shall deliver such land to the bigger of the co-sharers who accepts the conditions.

ARTICLE 33. When the title of any defaulter is transferred to one or more pattidars, and the balance due to the government is not paid, or it is not shown that the balance remained for any other reason but the careless expenditure and appropriation of the landlord, and at the same time it is not considered advisable to write off that demand, the Nazim shall be authorised by his Majesty to let the person remain in possession of the land, provided he promises to pay the balance along with his next revenue, or if he considers that the revenue can only be realised by the attachment of the property, he shall do so in the next year. Under these circumstances all due enquiries shall be made about the land by the Nazim and the Tahsildar, and any suggestion for the improvement of the land, whether by the grant of any Takavi, or Kulandazi (?) or by the clearance of jungle, or by making canals for the outflow of standing water shall be made to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 34. Any person who is dispossessed of his land for the default of revenue by undue misappropriation of the income, the revenue derived by such land, after deducting the cost of the improvement, and any other extra amount shall be deposited in the treasury, and shall not be surrendered to the person till he accepts the payment of all outstanding balances, or puts a surety for paying such, as well

as all such extra revenue obtained on account of the improvement of the land. If it is not proved that the land was misappropriated, this extra amount realised shall be accountable to the defaulter; whenever the balance is realised from the income of the land, or paid by the defaulter with all expenses on account of sequestering of the land and in the improvement, or he gives surety for paying it, the land may be restored to him.

ARTICLE 35. When any Talukdar or Zamindar is dispossessed of his land for default, if the sarbarakar who is responsible for the payment of revenue, does not accept that land, the land may be given to a stranger for a fixed term or on perpetual lease.

ARTICLE 36. When on account of this the land becomes separated inconveniently among the shareholders or for other reason the Nazim thinks it advisable that the amount which is demanded from the Zamin may be easily realised by the sale of the property of defaulter, the Nazim shall ask the permission of doing so from his Majesty. In this the moveable property of the defaulter shall also be liable for sale.

ARTICLE 37. Whenever any balance is lelt outstanding to the end of the year by the landlord or leaseholder, the Nazim with the permission of his Majesty shall demand the due from any old zamindar of the place, if he gives the due, or puts a surety for paying it within a year by fixed instalment, such person shall be given possession of the land. . By this it should not be understood that the title of persons over the land is abolished; any one who has a stronger claim to the land may file a suit whether he is in possession of the land or not. When the new landlord fails to pay the balance, the arrangement for the payment of the revenue shall be made with the Muqaddam of the village or any reliable tenant, provided he accepts all conditions detailed above. When neither the muqaddam or the tenant or the former landlord or leaseholder accepts the condition the former owner may undertake to pay all balance next year with the revenue, and he shall be confirmed in his possession. Failing this the mahal shall be given to any person accepting the condition, and giving security for payment.

ARTICLE 38. When neither the Zamindar, nor muqaddam, nor any tenant accepts the land, or is put in possession thereof or any new leaseholder of the land fails to pay the amount due, the land shall be converted into Tahsil Kham, and shall be subject to all procedure for sequestered land.

ARTICLE 39. If the revenue is demanded from any landlord or leaseholder, and he having given surety for the payment files a protest before the Nazim or his Majesty, until his case is decided by the Nazim or in appeal, his land and crop shall not be sold.

ARTICLE 40. Whenever any Tahsildar issues a writ of demand on any landlord or leaseholder, for the payment of any last instalment or any other dues of the government, and he offers resistance to such order, and threatens the peon himself or absconds after he is arrested by the peons, or disappears or seeks shelter from where he could not be brought out, the Tahsildar shall under these circumstances, at once make a report with the signature of the kanungo to the Nazim. If the culprit does not at once present himself in the court of the Nazim, the Nazim shall depute two of his own peons or a sowar as he thinks proper, with a letter for the demand of the arrear and the reason for the man conducting himself thus, to the culprit; if he appears, the Nazim shall diligently go into his case, and with justice and reason try him, putting him in jail if he thinks fit, or releasing him on bail. If it appears that the person did not appear owing to the negligence of the peon deputed, that peon shall be dismissed, and the Tahsildar shall not appoint any body in his place. If it appears to the Nazim that the man was unreasonably summoned by the Tahsildar, and therefore he refused to obey the order, the Nazim shall suspend the Tahsildar, and report him to his Majesty. The Nazim shall make a report of all imprisonment and suspension under this article to his Majesty, who shall make a final order accordingly.

ARTICLE 41. If the Nazim of the district issues a writ of demand upon any zamindar, at the instance of the Tahsildar, and the person does not carry out the order or offers resistance, or if the Nazim at his own instance issues the writ of demand and the zamindar refuses to carry out the order, and himself or through somebody offers resistance to the peon who has been deputed to arrest him. or absconds after he was arrested, or disappears, or shuts himself up in his house and closes down his business, or remains at a place where it is difficult to get him, the Nazim under these circumstances shall take the statement of peons and of two witnesses on oath, and with the power vested in him, shall issue a proclamation, notifying the absconder to appear within a limited time, and will cause it to be fixed at his kutchery and the kutchery of the Tahsildar and at the place where the offender usually resides. Then he shall attach all his property for realising the arrear due to the Government. For apprehending the absconder great caution and discretion is to be employed to avoid disturbance and loss to the Government.

ARTICLE 42. If the defaulter fails to appear within the limited time, or when he appears and at his trial, the charge of the Nazim stands good, the Nazim shall report the case to his Majesty, who after due enquiry shall order accordingly, that the land of the person who was responsible for such misdeeds, should be confiscated, or fix an amount to be realised from the offender along with the revenue as fine.

ARTICLE 43. Whenever the title of any defaulting landholder is restored to him, all revenue derived from such land since its attachment, shall be properly accounted, and if the account has to be settled between the Government and the defaulter, any balance which remains after deducting the Government dues shall be made over to the

defaulter. If the balance remains in favour of the Government, and the defaulter does not pay, for that arrear the land shall be liable for sale.

ARTICLE 44. When an order from his Majesty is issued to enquire into the title of a defaulter under the foregoing Articles the servants of the State are authorised that if the heirs of the defaulters accept the payment of all arrears, and the settlement of the revenue of the land, the land should be released to them, and he should not sell the land by auction. In this case the amount demanded by the Government, either on account of arrears, or on account of expenses incurred by the appointment of the amin, or by offering resistance by the said defaulter, shall be made payable from the income of the land. If at the time of sale any arrear is due to the defaulter, it shall be deducted from the sale proceeds of the land, and the balance shall be disposed of as thought suitable by the Government.

ARTICLE 45. Whenever any leaseholder, according to Article 41 of this chapter, absconds or offers resistance, and after the proclamation issued under the said Article he appears before the Nazim, or in his Majesty's court, and the claim of the Nazim against him holds good, his lease for the Fasli year in which action was taken against him shall be cancelled, or a fine substituted proportionate to his offence and realised as arrears of revenue.

ARTICLE 46. In case the lease of a leaseholder is cancelled under the foregoing article, and any amount realised from his land by the officials of the government, excepting the amount incurred on such officials, whatever balance is left shall be accountable to the leaseholder. If after the expiry of the period for which his lease was cancelled, any arrear is still left outstanding against him, its payment shall be obligatory upon the leaseholder or from his security; the Nazim shall at the same time issue a writ of demand to the defaulter and his zamin to pay up the amount within the time limit, if the

amount is not paid within the time limit, the Nazim shall proceed for the realisation of the arrear from the defaulter or his zamin. If any balance is outstanding after the payment of the government revenue, it shall be paid to the leaseholder; the leaseholder shall be entitled the arrears of his dues, from the Talukdar, Zamindar, Pattidars in co-partnership or otherwise and from the katkanadars (subleaseholders) or the tenants, as the case may be, by suit.

ARTICLE 47. When the Nazim has summoned the zamin to pay the arrears and he resists the summons or defies the order, or after the issue of the proclamation as described in previous article such person does not appear, or after appearance the Nazim's claim is proved against him, an order from his Majesty shall be issued for the realisation of the fine, according to the seriousness of his offence, and that fine shall be realised as arrears of revenue.

ARTICLE 48. Although it is a custom that the land of the defaulter is not sold within a year of his arrears being due, his Majesty may, if he thinks that the delay is not desirable, order that the land may be sold within the year, provided the person does not show reasonable cause why it should not be delayed, before the sale actually takes place, or pays up the due, the sale shall be stayed, until his claim is fully decided. When the defaulter shows cause, he shall draw up an application, and together with the certificate or a reliable surety shall submit it to his Majesty, ten days before the date of sale, through the Nazim of the district, so that the Nazim might be able to testify the reliability of the zamin; in case the Zamin proves to be reliable, he shall forward the copy of the application with the certificate of the surety in duplicate to his Majesty without delay; if the original does not reach his Majesty, the duplicate might reach him. order of his Majesty shall be made upon the application accordingly, and till this order the sale of the land shall be stayed.

ARTICLE 49. Whenever the Nazim of the district, under the foregoing article takes into account the surety for the defaulter, he shall cause such property of the Zamin to be attached, by the sale of which the arrears could be realised, and shall appoint an Amin to realise the arrears; if the land of the Zamin is situated in another district, the Nazim shall despatch the Amin to the Nazim of such district with a letter, giving the amount of arrears to be realised, and the land to be attached for it. The Nazim of that district shall order a peon to point out such land, and the Amin shall attach the land, unless the Nazim requests to the contrary.

ARTICLE 50. The paybills of the officials and all expenses of the Amin shall be realised from the property of the Zamin. The accountant (Diwan) shall show to the Zamin, or any person appointed by the Zamin as such, all the income derived and expenditure incurred in respect of his land. The Amin shall realise the revenue according to what is settled between the Zamin, Talukdars, Kitkanadars, leaseholders, tenants, and shall make no changes in the agreement already existing. If the Amin acts contrary to this, a suit may be brought against him before the Nazim, appealable to his Majesty. If there is no agreement between the parties the Amin shall act according to the custom of the village, and realise revenue according to the rate current in that pargana. If the Amin while he is so working acts dishonestly, misappropriates any money or damages any property of the land, the landlord and the leaseholders as the case may be shall bring a suit against the Amin, appealable to his Majesty. The income which the Amin shall realise from the land, after deducting all expenses of service, shall be sent to the Nazim; any balance left after payment of revenue, shall be accounted towards the arrears, for which the land was attached.

ARTICLE 51. If the property of the Zamin is of small amount, and cannot pay the expenses of the Amin, the Nazim of the district who requires the arrears to be paid

from the property of the Zamin, shall request the Nazim of the district in whose jurisdiction the land lies, to give the land in charge of the nearest Tahsildar in his district, to work according to the dictates of the Nazim and he shall be responsible for carrying out all work which is required from the Amin. The Nazim of the district in which the land lies shall not be empowered to hear any case arising out of that land, but the Nazim under whose direction the land was attached shall be thus empowered. The Nazim shall take permission from his Majesty for the sale of the land within the year, the arrear fell due.

ARTICLE 52. Whenever according to law the sale of the land comes into force, the Nazim shall order the Tahsildars of the Parganas to attach the land immediately, and according to rules of attachment realise arrears therefrom. If the management of the land is vested by the Tahsildar in some other person, he shall also act accordingly.

ARTICLE 53. If any body is in the jail on account of the arrears of the revenue, or has grievance against the extortion of the Nazim, he shall be entitled to put forward an application to his Majesty, who will dispose of the case according to justice by an enquiry from the district officer. If the Tahsildar or any other official has arrested any person for any reason, or committed any unlawful act, the person aggrieved may file a complaint to the Nazim of the district, who shall dispose of the case according to justice after making due enquiry and taking explanation of the person accused. If any party is not satisfied with the order of the Nazim, he shall appeal to his Majesty within three months after obtaining the order of the court.

ARTICLE 54. When any cost or fine is made to be paid by the Nazim, and afterwards if within three months of the date of the order, it appears to his Majesty that such fine or cost was wrongly taken by the Nazim, he shall issue orders which are just and equitable.

ARTICLE 55. The arrears of the loan, or any advance granted to the owners of the land for constructing bridges,

or making bunds for the control of water, or cutting canals, or for making embankments, shall be realised as the arrears or as the case may be by any special rule to be promulgated.

ARTICLE 56. The Nazim shall not be arrested for the mistakes committed by his predecessors, therefore after the discharge of the Nazim, any suit brought against him or standing against him at the time of discharge, shall have to be contested by him, as if he was in the service, the present Nazim shall however undertake to go thoroughly into the case of his predecessor and report thereon, if his predecessor's crime was of a serious nature, or if he was responsible for misappropriation of Government property.

ARTICLE 57. When the Nazim of the district dies, or resigns, all questions arising out of his work shall be answerable by his successor.

ARTICLE 58. Whenever any land of landlord or lease-holder or surety is sold for default of revenue, and the sum realised by sale does not cover the arrear, the property whether moveable or immoveable shall be liable for sale to make up the balance, any order issued, for the sale of property, shall take into consideration the property by the sale of which the arrears could be paid. When the sale is postponed for any reason, or by the payment of the arrears, the defaulter shall pay all expenses incurred by the Amin for the attachment of the land as if the land was sold. If the defaulter does not pay the amount, it shall be realised as arrears of revenue, in manners.

ARTICLE 59. Whenever any landlord, or leaseholder or surety, has anything to complain against the action of the Nazim, who proceeds legally to sell the property, or if any person admitting the demand of the Nazim, denies the validity of any agreement between himself (the Zamin) and the Nazim, or he has to make any legal protest, the agreement or the action of the Nazim shall be considered lawful, until the contrary order is issued by his Majesty,

and the man shall be liable to pay all sums according to the aggreement; he may afterwards file a suit against the order of the Nazim to his Majesty, and his Majesty shall judicially adjudge the claim.

ARTICLE 60. Every rule and regulation in force or to be enforced shall be carried out in the absence of the Nazim by his successor, when he is disabled or leaves his post.

ARTICLE 61. Under the rule it should not be considered lawful to arrest any landlord or co-sharer, who works under Sarkari Akbar, so that that Sarkari Akbar be made responsible for the payment of revenue. The Nazim is allowed to arrest a woman and put her in custody in any case.

The Nazims of the ARTICLE 62. districts generally authorised to requisition the service of any man who has authority to make investigation or enquiry, or any person in his jurisdiction, for carrying out any of his orders, which he thinks necessary to be performed under any rule or the order of his Majesty. When any landlord or any person is appointed by the Nazim with his authority and if such person is capable of performing the duties, with the powers delegated to the Nazim, the Nazim shall issue an order on him to attend personally, under his sign and seal, and the place of the residence of the man thus summoned, and the reason for his summons shall be stated. If the Nazim acts irregularly, the person shall be entitled to claim damage by a suit to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 63. No property or land shall be put to sale without the permission of his Majesty, except when the Nazim has to realise the arrears from any defaulter, or in case where the property is not claimed by anybody, at the end of the year when the arrears fall due, or any time as the case may be. When he thinks the sale should be made under the above named conditions, he shall put to sale such property, and no property shall be liable for sale within the three months of the date of the arrears

falling due unless especially sanctioned by his Majesty; this rule does not apply to land over which the arrears were due for last year, and has been attached with a view to sale.

ARTICLE 64. Whenever any defaulter or his surety, or any person upon whom there is a claim, leaves the district of the Nazim and goes into the district of another Nazim, and he is thus traced, the Nazim of the first district shall issue the writ of demand upon such defaulter, and with a covering letter from himself forward it to the second Nazim; the second Nazim shall order his Nazir to send the bearer to the said person; in case the defaulter offers resistance, he shall follow the rules laid down about such defaulters.

ARTICLE 65. The Tahsildar shall receive one in ten as his wages, he will not employ government peons to issue writs of demand.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing rules about the record keepers, issued on the 14th day of Shawwal, 1229 Hijri, according to 1st day of Kunwar, 1222 Fasli.

ARTICLE I. Two officials from the staff of the Nazim shall be delegated to be record keepers for keeping in safe custody all records of government pertaining to the collection of revenue, and unless they are adversely reported of in their conduct, they shall not be removed, but the post shall not be hereditary.

ARTICLE 2. The record keepers shall keep all papers, accounts and documents, relating to the revenue department of the government in files of one or more, every such file shall bear on its first page, the serial number in numerical figures, and shall on every page of the file have recorded the signature of the Nazim, and in the end the total number of pages, signed by the Nazim.

ARTICLE 3. Every paper which is filed, one of the

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record keepers shall see that it is numbered according to pages.

ARTICLE 4. The record keepers shall see that all records in the record rooms, are kept safe from deterioration from damp and heat, and are not removed from the record rooms without the permission of the Nazim. In case any paper in the record room is destroyed through the negligence of the record keepers, or is lost, or disappears, and the record keepers cannot explain it properly, they shall be liable to dismissal from their post.

ARTICLE 5. The record keepers are enjoined to strictly carry out the orders issued for their guidance by his Majesty, and as they are working under the order of the Nazim, they shall also carry out all orders issued by him for the better upkeep of the record rooms.

ARTICLE 6. The Nazim shall account the following fee, in the name of the government, when reporting about the partition, and the transfer of the property, paying revenue or revenue free, whether its transfer has been made by deed of sale or gift, and they shall issue receipt to the person they obtain fee from; it is preferable to record the receipt on the back of the document:—

In the land paying revenue, @ 4 annas per cent; in the revenue free land @ $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas per cent, on the total revenue, according to annual revenue derived from it provided the land is transferable.

ARTICLE 7. Anybody having the account of revenue of any land should submit it to the Nazim when called for, failing this he shall be liable to any penalty, that may be deemed to be suitable.

ARTICLE 8. If anybody does not pay his fee or fine fixed according to law, it shall be realised from him as arrears of revenue.

CHAPTER V.

Containing rules about Thanadari (Police). Issued on the 14th day of Shawwal, 1229 Hijri, according to 1st day of Kunwar, 1222 F.

ARTICLE I. The policing of all districts shall be done by the Tahsildar subject to the control of the Nazim, and under him all Tahsildars, Zamindars and leaseholders, shall be responsible that no disturbance takes place within their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 2. The Tahsildars, landlords, leaseholders, and revenue free grantees shall be made responsible for theft, robbery on highways and robbery in the night, unless it is proved that they were not aware of the occurrence, and had no powers to keep back the thieves and robbers, and they tried their best to do what was required of them by law, and there was no negligence on their part; but the inhabitants shall be made answerable for this occurrence, and a report shall be submitted that it has been brought to light, that this theft, highway robbery, and robbery in the night has been committed either by their knowledge, or by their ignorance or by their wilful oversight.

ARTICLE 3. The landlords, leaseholders, and revenue free grantees are enjoined to be watchful every moment with the help of watchmen that no disturbance, riot, dispute, theft, night robbery, and highway robbery and marpeet (causing hurt) occurs in the lands of their concern, and any persons found guilty of these offences, are arrested by them or by the watchmen, and are made over to Tahsildars and Thanadars, and when any Tahsildar requires help from the landholders, leaseholders and Maafidars to arrest anybody, they shall render all help required of them.

ARTICLE 4. Whenever it is proved that any landlord or leaseholder or Maafidar has wilfully neglected to carry out his duty in the above cases, and especially if, when they were required to give any help by the tahsildar or the thanadar, they failed to render it diligently, persons in the neighbourhood of whom the crime was committed, or against whom the charge of negligence stands, shall be liable for the confiscation of their land, or they shall be fined accordingly, with a fine as fixed by his Majesty.

ARTICLE 5. The case of the negligence of landholders. leaseholders and muafidars shall be investigated in the same manner as the cases of crime mentioned above, and after hearing the accused, and cross-examining the witnesses of both sides, if it appears to the Nazim that such was the case, he shall release the accused from further examination, and if he thinks that the charge was frivolous, he shall order the complainant to pay costs and damages to the accused; if it is proved that the charges of the complainant have been established, he shall order a fitting punishment, either a fine or confiscation of the property, or the cancellation of lease, or the renewal of revenue in the revenue free grant; in case of fine the amount of fine, and in case of confiscation of zamindari, cancellation of lease or renewal of land-free grant, the extent of land and its income shall be recorded; a copy of this order shall be immediately forwarded to his Majesty for his confirmation.

ARTICLE 6. His Majesty after going through the records of the case shall order what is just and equitable, and the Nazim shall carry out such order.

ARTICLE 7. All revenue free grant land which lie within the boundary of a tahsildar's jurisdiction, shall be considered to be under the protection of the tahsildar and thanadar, and every such muafidar, jagirdar, landlord or leaseholder shall be responsible for any occurrence in his land to the tahsildar.

ARTICLE 8. The police arrangements of a district lie primarily with the Nazim, then the tahsildars who shall work under him, and in all lands directly paying revenue to the government, to such holders of property; and the places where police are stationed shall be constructed by

the owners of the land. The Nazim shall not be authorised to make any changes in the police station, of its serial number, and in the number of the houses to which their jurisdiction extends without the express permission of his Majesty, but when such necessity arises, he shall report to his Majesty and shall act upon his order. The Nazim shall see that tahsildars keep them always informed of the number of thanas, their localities, their staff, and the number of houses in their charge, and whenever they think any change desirable to acquaint the Nazim and with his advice act upon it, but changes in the locality of the thana and the reduction or increment of the staff shall be subject to the permission of his Majesty.

ARTICLE 9. Whenever any Nazim thinks any tahsildar or thanadar is unfit for his post, being either too incompetent or a simpleton or untrustworthy, he shall report against him to his Majesty, and his Majesty shall order his dismissal and the appointment of anybody in his place, if he thinks fit.

ARTICLE 10. If anybody has any complaint against any person for murder, theft, robbery or housebreaking, and does not wish to bring his case before the Nazim, he may file the case to the tahsildar in whose jurisdiction the crime was committed, or to the tahsildar in whose jurisdiction the criminal has been apprehended. The tahsildar shall at once arrest the accused, provided such accused is charged with a serious crime, and within twenty-four hours shall forward him to the Nazim; if the crime is not of any serious nature, such as beating, assault, suspicion for theft, and the accused is not of reputedly bad character, he shall release the accused on bail, to present himself when required before the Nazim. When the accused is brought before the Nazim, he shall dispose of the case according to the charge sheet.

ARTICLE II. Whenever anybody is arrested in the state of committing any crime or in whose possession is found the property connected with theft, or those men-

tioned in article 13, the tahsildars shall be entitled to arrest them without any complaint being made against them, or any summons issued against them. In all cases other than this the tahsildars are forbidden to take any cognizance for arresting any accused, without receiving the complaint with the signature and seal of the complainant, or without the issue of summons by his own seal and signature.

ARTICLE 12. The tahsildar shall make all complainants and witnesses to produce surety for their attendance at the court of the Nazim.

ARTICLE 13. Whenever any tahsildar receives information that a notorious robber has taken refuge in his jurisdiction, he shall at once arrest such person and within twenty-four hours of the arrest shall forward him to the Nazim with all speed and care. He shall also arrest persons of bad character who are the source of evil, and have no ostensible means of living, and do not give satisfactory description of themselves on enquiry, and those who are suspected of any crime. These he shall also forward to the Nazim. The Nazim shall make enquiry concerning them from persons who are acquainted with them, on oath, and if it is found after enquiry that they are bad people, he shall confine them unless they bring surety of respectable persons, of their good behaviour or being employed by them in their service, or the Nazim considers by their character that they will not cause any evil or disturbance if they are released but on the other hand shall engage themselves in some honest profession. When any such ground is discovered they shall be released immediately, and if they escape before the order of release is given, and are re-arrested, they shall be imprisoned for a period of six months for it.

ARTICLE 14. It should be understood that the only power to be exercised by the thanadars and tahsildars with respect to accused persons is to arrest them and forward them to the Nazim or take security from them for

their appearence before him. Tahsildars are not authorised to release any person on their own accord unless the case has been compromised between the parties.

ARTICLE. 15. The tahsildars and thanadars shall not try any case, and shall not fine or demand damages or presents from the party, nor shall punish them in any way.

ARTICLE 16. In trivial offences such as assault, beating, the tahsildars are empowered to release the accused on the condition that the complainant himself withdraws the complaint by compounding the case, which shall be attested by two witnesses, this sulahnamah shall be filed by him and shall be forwarded to the Nazim with the monthly report. If the party do not file such sulahnamah the case shall be transferred to the Nazim, but no tahsildar or thanadar shall, except in cases described in this section, take cognizance of any offence of serious nature.

ARTICLE 17. All keepers and watchmen of the mauzas, shall be under the orders of the tahsildars, who shall keep their roll in a book and whenever any change is made and another is appointed by persons who are authorised to do so, they shall at once inform the tashildar so that his name might be substituted in the register.

ARTICLE 18. All keepers, watchmen of villages, towns, cities, and bazaars shall, when any murder, dacoity or theft takes place in their presence, or when men are seen pursued by the public, arrest and forward them to the thanadar or tahsildar. He shall report at once to the Tahsilder any thief or robber who has taken refuge in his village, or rogues or vagrants, who have no ostensible means of living, and cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves. In case the watchmen neglect their duty, they shall be dismissed by the order of Nazim, through the zamindars or persons who had engaged them, and they shall be properly punished if it is found that they actually helped such persons in concealing themselves, or have wilfully overlooked the offence of such persons.

ARTICLE 19. With respect to carrying out the orders as given in articles, 13 and 18, the tahsildars, keepers and watchmen, shall employ the greatest care and caution. He shall not include any person under surveillance, who emigrates into his land to begin some trade or profession; on the other hand he shall render all assistance to persons who immigrate into the country, so that the population might increase, but they shall, notwithstanding, not relax their watch over them. When an abnormal immigration takes place, the tahsildar shall report to the Nazim.

ARTICLE 20. The work between the Nazim and police shall be divided in this way. Tahsildars, thanadars and other officials of the thana according to prohibition or sanction given in the following rules shall be authorised to arrest the evildoers and offenders in their district with or without the warrant of the Nazim, in their own circle or in the circle of other tahsildars, and all Zamindars, lease-holders and their agents, cultivators, and the inhabitants of the place are bound to help them for apprehending such person, but it should be understood that no arrest shall be made if the offence has been committed in another district, unless the victim resides within their territory.

ARTICLE 21. Whenever any official of a Nazim arrests criminals in the territory of another Nazim, according to rules above described, he shall at once communicate to the said Nazim, the name of the criminal and the offence he has committed, through the tahsildar or thanadar of that place.

ARTICLE 22. Any tahsildar making arrest of any night robber, shall receive Rs. 10 as reward from the government. If his offence is proved, and all stolen property recovered by him with the arrest of such thief and robber, he shall be rewarded with ten per cent of the property thus recovered from the owner. In view of this the Nazim shall make such owner of property or his agent to give the reward, and if he refuses to do so, his property shall be confiscated and sold to cover that reward.

ARTICLE 23. The tahsildars and thanadars shall whenever any fair or gathering takes place, and in market places, bazaars, and towns, detail a person to watch that no untoward incident takes place.

ARTICLE 24. The tahsildar and daroghas shall submit their monthly diary to the Nazim; in the diary shall be shown the names of all persons who have been arrested, with the offence alleged to have been committed by them, the date of arrest, and the date they were forwarded to the Nazim, or were released on bail or on terms of mutual compromise. They shall also record besides what orders pertaining to their duties they have carried out. A copy of such diary shall be submitted on the fifth of each month, together with such reports as are required from them by any order or rule.

ARTICLE 25. If the Nazim finds that the tahsildar or thanadar has not correctly recorded any arrest or release he has made, or any duty performed, the Nazim shall report to his Majesty, with his opinion about it, and his Majesty shall either fine or dismiss him as he deems fit.

ARTICLE 26. When any tahsildar or thanadar or any official under them takes bribes, or extorts, or commits zulm or any irregularity, the person grieved shall bring complaint against such person to the Nazim, from whom an appeal shall lie to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 27. All officials of a thana appointed in the territory of any tahsildar, shall be under his orders as well as under the orders of Nazim, but any person who are paid by the government, and are appointed without the tahsildar, shall be directly under the Nazim.

ARTICLE 28. In appointing persons for the thana, the Nazim and tahsildar shall exercise their authority vested in them, carefully appointing only such persons who are competent, honest and well spoken of.

ARTICLE 29. Any official of the thana shall when he hears any death occurring, proceed to the place where the corpse lies, and examine whether it bears any mark which

caused death, if he finds any mark, he shall investigate about its length, breadth and depth, the number of injuries, and on what parts of body they are and by what instrument they were caused.

ARTICLE 30. Investigation shall be made at the place, where the corpse was found, whether murder took place there, or somewhere else, and the body was thrown there; if anybody could identify the corpse, from him the name of the dead man shall be enquired into.

ARTICLE 31. If the murdered man is found to be a stranger and wayfarer and nobody knows his name, enquiry shall be made where was the destination of the man and where he had come from, and where he slept last night.

ARTICLE 32. All above enquiries shall be made in the presence of reliable persons of the neighbourhood, and the report of enquiry shall be attested by them as well as by the thana clerk, and shall be sent immediately to the Nazim.

ARTICLE 33. In case of any murder, the thana officials should try their best to secure the instrument by which the murder was committed, in order that it may be produced at the time of trial as evidence.

ARTICLE 34. All police regulations which concern tahsildars also concern landlords and leaseholders, for they are responsible for the protection of their territory. The kotwals and such thanadars as are under the Nazim shall also be considered to be as much bound with these regulations as others.

ARTICLE 35. Whereas some persons are in the habit of imposing on fools and cheating them, the Nazim shall see that no one commits this offence in his territory, and if any one is found to be attempting to do so, arrest him and try him under rules described above. The landlords and watchmen are also strictly enjoined to report to the thana, whenever they come to know of these matters.

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ARTICLE 36. Whereas the protection of wayfarers and travellers is a duty of the Jahanparwar (protector of the world—his Majesty) therefore it is the duty of all Tahsildars, Thanadars, Zamindars, and other owners of land, that wherever there is danger of robbery and theft, to try to safeguard that place from any such occurrence; the Tahsildar shall appoint guards in such places, for they receive imprest under this head at the rate of one rupee eight annas per head.

ARTICLE 37. Whenever any man takes a journey and in the way finds that he cannot proceed without help, he may apply to the nearest Thanadar or Tahsildar for any help and for providing Kahar and labourers, boatmen, carts and bullocks or any eatables. The Tahsildars and Thanadar's shall be bound to help such applicant according to his need, they shall take care that in providing labourers they do not compel any body to work who is not by profession working as Kahar, boatman, etc. or, requisitioning such carts and bullocks which are not usually for hire, and are only meant for agricultural purposes. If any official works against this order, he shall be liable to dismissal. The Kahars (Doli-bearers) who have been let by the thanas to accompany the wayfarers, may when they reach the next thana leave the travellers and return to their home, or may proceed with them out of their own free will, by any agreement with the employer. The thana officials shall recover the cost of such provision and labour as supplied to the travellers by them, at equitable rates prevailing in the neighbourhood. If the travellers do not pay what is due, no thana staff shall be bound to provide for them.

CHAPTER VI

Containing rules for the trial and investigation of crimes, issued on the 14th day of Shawwal, 1229 Hegri/1st month of Kunwar, 1222 F.

ARTICLE I. The court work of the district shall be conducted under the rules herewith issued or to be issued by the collector (Nazim). The Nazim therefore must make such rules his guide and shall not go beyond them.

ARTICLE 2. The Nazim shall try the offences committed by murderers, highway robbers, thieves, night robbers, housebreakers, forgerers, cheat, and men of bad character, and the offence of such other persons, against whom a complaint is brought to his court or to the Tahsildar and Thanadars.

ARTICLE 3. When the Nazim receives any complaint against any person for murder, robbery, theft and other crimes, he shall record the statement of the complainant on oath according to his religion, then he will issue a summon with his seal and signature, stating the nature of the complaint for the arrest of the accused.

ARTICLE 4. When the accused, after arrest, is brought before the Nazim, the Nazim shall proceed with the case and call in evidence persons acquainted with the case. He shall take down all their statements on oath as well as their cross-examination. No oath shall be administered to the accused.

ARTICLE 5., If the Nazim finds that the offence was not committed, or that the accused had no share in the commission of the crime, he shall forthwith set the accused at liberty and record the reason of his acquittal on the file.

ARTICLE 6. If the Nazim finds that the offence has been committed, or the accused had been an accomplice thereto, he shall submit the proceedings to the mufti of the court, who shall record his fatwa on it. In case the fatwa is of acquittal, the accused shall be acquitted, and

the reason of this acquittal shall be recorded in the file. If the crime is of grave and serious nature, and in the opinion of the Nazim acquittal is not just, he shall forward the record along with the accused, and his objection to the order of the mufti to his Majesty. If the mufti of the court finds the accused guilty, and the case is one in which the Nazim is competent to award the sentence, the accused shall be sentenced accordingly. After undergoing the sentence he shall be released forthwith. If the offence is of a grave and serious nature, the Nazim shall forward the accused together with the copy of the proceedings, the order of the mufti and his own opinion thereon to his Majesty. The Nazim shall take surety from the complainant and witnesses, for their appearence before his Majesty.

ARTICLE 7. On receipt of any complaint, the Nazim shall enquire from the complainant the date, month and year, and the time for the offence being committed, and record the same. The Nazim shall in all statements and proceedings get the attestation of two respectable persons, either from among his own officials or other persons. He shall seal and sign the statement himself as well as have the signature of the witness affixed thereto.

ARTICLE 8. It shall not be proper for the Nazim to release on bail persons against whom a charge for murder, robbery, dacoity, arson, counterfeiting of coins, or forgery has been brought, and Nazim has reasons to keep them in custody.

ARTICLE 9. Persons who are accused of murder, highway robbery, robbery by night, arson, housebreaking, theft, counterfeiting coins, or forgery, and there are sufficient reasons before the Nazim to imprison them, they shall not be released on bail, till the final disposal of the case.

ARTICLE 10. When a complaint is brought before the Nazim for assault, beating or some other small offences, the Nazim shall dispose of the case without referring the case to

the mufti of the court. When the complainant establishes his case against the accused, the term of imprisonment in such cases shall not exceed six months, or a fine of fifty rupees. If the accused is paying a land revenue more than ten thousand rupees, or in the case of muafidar, having an income of a thousand rupees a year, the fine shall not exceed 200 rupees. The Nazim shall consider at the time of awarding sentence of imprisonment and fine, the nature of the crime, the seriousness of the offence, and the circumstances of the accused, and shall not pass an order which is excessive.

ARTICLE II. In case of theft of trivial nature, when the accused has not committed any other offence, and has no bad reputation, the Nazim may sentence him to not more than thirty stripes, or to imprisonment of not more than six months, as he thinks fit.

ARTICLE 12. When any complaint is brought for the offences mentioned in articles ten and eleven, and is found to be unfounded and is maliciously brought, the Nazim shall call the complainant to pay a fine or undergo imprisonment to an extent as described in article 10.

ARTICLE 13. The Nazim shall forward a monthly statement of the cases brought in his court, to his Majesty, according to the following form.

ARTICLE 14. The Nazim shall forward with the accused who is to be brought before his Majesty, copy of papers as described below and all other papers concerning his offence, with his sign and seal, and with the signature of the Sarishtadar of copies.

Copy of complaint

Examination of the complainant on oath, taken at the time of filing the complaint, and in case the offence is of theft, murder or dacoity, to be accompanied with all exhibits of money and articles recovered or other instruments. 80

Complainant's bond for his Warrants of arrest. appearance in the court.

When the case is reported to the police, or the accused is arrested by them, all reports of the police and tahsildars on the case.

The lists of all accused, with remarks of the number not arrested with dates of arrest and the reason for nonarrest.

Any subsequent examination of the complainant, which might have been recorded after the first examination.

The list of all witnesses, with remarks, who have been summoned at the request of the parties, and the reasons of their summons, the persons who have not appeared, and the reason of their non-appearance.

The examination of the witnesses, who have given evidence.

The complainants and witnesses' bond, of their appearance before his Majesty, when called for.

All papers and records filed in the case.

Judgment of the Nazim.

The Fatwa given by Mufti.

ARTICLE 15. The statements taken before the Nazim shall be written on separate pages, and shall be signed by the person examined, by the Nazim, and two respectable persons, with date, and shall be put on record.

ARTICLE 16. Whenever the Nazim imprisons any zamindar, talukdar, or leaseholder, he shall see that no hindrance is caused to the government revenue by such arrest.

ARTICLE 17. The Nazim shall occasionally, which in no case shall be less than once a month, inspect the jail, if any prisoner brings a complaint against any jail official for ill treatment, he shall if the case is proved, remove such grievances. He shall also see that the prisoners are in good health, and that the jail is in a clean condition, and see that any order which he makes and which are not against rule, are carried out.

ARTICLE 18. Every prisoner shall be classed as follows, and shall be separately recorded.

Prisoners who have been sentenced to death.

Prisoners, who are to be produced before his Majesty according to rules.

Prisoners who have been convicted for trivial offences, which are solely tried by the Nazim and have been imprisoned by his order.

Prisoners, who are detained till the final disposal of the case.

As the prisoners differ in the above classification, they shall be separately kept, according to the nature of their crime. Women prisoners shall be separately confined. The Nazim shall also see that the prisoners do not indulge in gambling or drink.

ARTICLE 19. All applications presented to the Nazim, with his orders made over it, shall be kept in the record rooms.

ARTICLE 20. The Nazim shall, when dacoits are captured and brought before him, reward with the sanction of his Majesty, every such capturer at the rate of 'ten rupees per dacoit captured.

ARTICLE 21. The Nazim shall pay the diet money of the accused, who have been imprisoned from the date of arrest to the date of their release at the usual rate.

ARTICLE 22. The Nazim shall, whenever any prisoner undergoing imprisonment for six months or more, is released, and is too poor to find sustenance, grant him some money according to his need, which may enable him to provide food for a month. In no case, shall such amount exceed rupees five, and should be as much less than this amount as possible.

ARTICLE 23. Persons accused of highway murder and robbery or any other crime of serious nature, shall receive for their sustenance, if they are needy, and the Nazim thinks it necessary, at the rate of two annas per diem per head.

DASTURUL AMAL.

ARTICLE 24. The Nazim shall submit a yearly report of the jail, giving the casualties of prisoners, to his Majesty or to persons authorised by him to receive reports. The return shall be as follows.

Serial No.	Name of prisoner (2)	Offence	impriso		Term of imprisonment (5)		
Date of relea	ase Deatl	date (7)		of prisone sconding (8)	ers Remark (9)		
Prisoners rel	eased after s No.	erving the	sentence	Died No.	Absconded.		
List of o		bmitted t	o his Majest	y by the	Nazim for the		
Serial Number	т.	ainant 2)	Accused (3)		Complaint and ce of complaint (4)		
Date of the a of the accus			nesses of mplainant (6)		Witnesses of the accused (7)		
The substance of the case (8)	e D	by the N		th	of forwarding e prisoner to is Majesty.' (10)		
Vame of accureleased on b		me of the of the acc		nave and the	f accused who een arrested, reasons for non-arrest others (13)		

Summary.

On account of murder.....On account of theft.....On account of robbery.

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List	of	cases,	disposed	of	by	the	Nazim	for	the	month
year			26 JAN							

Serial Number.	Name of complainant.	Name of accused	Date of complaint.	Date of report at the Thana.	Offence.	Date of the offence committed.	Date of the arrest of accused, and their names.	Substance of enquiry.	The sentence of the accused.	Fine realised from the accused, if any.	Date of release of accused.	Date of Razinamh, if filed.	Name of accused, forwarded to his Majesty, and the date.	Date of the order.	Remarks, showing for what reason the accused was arrested.

List of appeal cases, filed before the Nazim, for the month, year.

Serial Number.....Complainant.....accused....date of complaint....Date of arrest of accused....

ARTICLE 25. The Nazim shall, when he orders the corrections and submission of other statements, besides what are given in the above rule, and every change made in the above statements with the order of his Majesty, see that it is duly recorded.

ARTICLE 26. The Nazim shall remit all amounts taken by him as fines to the treasury.

ARTICLE 27. If the accused is unable to pay a fine, the Nazim may sentence him for further imprisonment, and this term shall not exceed the term what is laid down in this rule.

ARTICLE 28. Whenever the Nazim forwards any accused to his Majesty with the record of his case, he shall enquire from the accused whether he wishes to call for other witnesses to rebut the charge; if the accused wants to call for other witnesses, he shall file a list of such witnesses, with name, title and the place of residence, which shall be forwarded to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 29. The Nazim shall dispose of the cases of accused, forwarded to him by the Thanadars, or arrested

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otherwise, without delay, and if delay is caused for some reason, he shall record such reason in his order.

ARTICLE 30. If the complaint is brought of offences, committed before second Rajab, 1229 Hegri, the date of his Majesty's coronation, the Nazim shall not dispose of the case, except with the permission of his Majesty. Offences which are committed after this date shall usually be disposed of according to rules, without any sanction obtained.

CHAPTER VII.

Containing rules for the trial of cases of boundary disputes and such preventive measures against any disturbance or riot on the boundaries. Issued on the 14th day of Shawwal, 1229 Hegri, according to 1st Kunwar, 1222 Fasli.

ARTICLE I. If any landlord, leaseholder, talukdar, has any claim against the landed property of any other person, or about the yield of such land, he is strictly forbidden to take possession of such property by force, or attempt to do this, but he shall file a suit before the Nazim.

ARTICLE 2. Whenever any man dispossess any person from the property owned and possessed by him, by force, then any person so ejected, shall bring a suit in the court of the Nazim, so that the Nazim may summarily try his case; if the complainant proves that the property belonged to him, the Nazim, notwithstanding any sufficient enquiry about the title of the complainant over the land, shall reinstall him over the disputed property, and if any crop has been damaged, or lost, he shall make the person ejected pay the damage. This provision is not meant to rob the right title of any claimant, and he shall be entitled to bring a suit in the court of Nazim, and may appeal to his Majesty.

ARTICLE 3. When taking possession of the land by force, or attempting to do so, if any casualty is caused to the party, and the Nazim finds that the land formerly belonged to the complainant, the Nazim shall, besides

acting under article 2, cause such offender and his men to undergo imprisonment, or to be bound over.

ARTICLE 4. When in the absence of the master, his servants, agents, take possession of the property of others by force, the Nazim shall in this case too, after a summary enquiry, re-instal the former owner, and if anybody is killed, wounded, or beaten, he shall sentence such persons as laid down under article 3, and if it was found that this act was done at the instigation of the master, or with his knowledge, or with his connivance, the master shall forfeit all his claims over the property, and shall also be liable to punishment.

ARTICLE 5. As anybody who is wrongly dispossessed of his property can easily obtain justice, is therefore strictly forbidden to all owners of land to employ arms for the protection of their property, or engage armed persons. If anybody thus arms himself to take possession of any disputed land, or instigates some armed body, and it results in an affray and bloodshed, or if anybody to protect his rights resorts to arm, the land shall be forfeited to the Government, and the Government may dispose of the land as it thinks fit, and both parties and their helpers and abetters, shall be imprisoned or put under security during the trial of the case.

ARTICLE 6. Whenever any owner of the land, having taken possession of any disputed land, well, tank or pond, by himself or through his servant, causes riot, the Tahsildar or Thanadars with their staff shall immediately reach the scene, and disperse the rioters, informing them to bring their suit before the Nazim; if it appears that the rioters will not hear his words and will not refrain from rioting he shall loudly proclaim that in the event of any casualty occurring as a result of the riot, their respective titles over the land shall be annulled, and everybody taking part in the riot shall be prosecuted, at the same time the policemen shall make an attempt to arrest the rioters, if they cannot arrest them, they shall note their

names and addresses, and report the matter to the Tahsildar, who shall inform the Nazim, and the Nazim shall proceed to arrest them as he thinks fit. When any suit is brought for the disputed land, tank or pond, for the right of its ownership, or its lease, or for any produce derived therefrom, the Nazim shall ask the parties to appoint three arbitrators on behalf of each, from the Zamindars of the neighbouring village, and file their igrarnamah, the Nazim then shall refer the case to such arbitrators, to dispose of the case with the help of the qanungo within a fixed time mentioned in his order, and submit their enquiry to the Nazim, who, if there was no fraud committed, shall confirm the decision with his signature and seal, according to the rules of this dasturulamal, and having prepared a copy of this decision, he shall give it the party with his seal and signature, with dates. If any party is dissatisfied with this decision he may appeal to his Majesty within three months.

ARTICLE 7. If the case cannot be disposed of within the time fixed, the Nazim may extend the period.

ARTICLE 8. As in some chapters of this dasturulamal some rules have been made empowering the Nazim, to referring cases to arbitrators, the following rules for the guidance of arbitrators are given.

ARTICLE 9. Whenever the Nazim of the district orders the party to have recourse to arbitration, the parties or their agents shall select three or more persons of good reputation on each side, and file the igramamah of such arbitrators of having consented to act as such, attested by two respectable persons. The Nazim then shall send the pleading of the parties with all papers connected with it, to the arbitrators, with his order for authority, and the time limit for the disposal of the case. He shall also warn them that in disposing the case, no fraud, irregularity, partiality, delay, or undue influence shall be exercised.

ARTICLE 10. The arbitrators after receiving the parwana, and the record of the case, shall busy themselves

in taking down the statement of the parties, their evidence and their cross examination, they shall sign all what they have thus recorded and get it attested by two respectable persons, then they will forward their decision to the Nazim with all records within a fixed period. If the case could not be disposed of within the time limit, they will ask the Nazim to extend the period, who shall extend the time as he thinks fit, unless it is proved that they are purposely delaying the case in order to commit some fraud, the arbitrators in which case shall be dismissed.

ARTICLE II. The Nazim shall see that the witnesses attend and their taking oath as prescribed in this book, is being observed, and in case they fail to appear before the arbitrators by the order of the Nazim, or refuse to give their statement on oath and sign the same or act in contempt of the arbitrators, such witnesses shall be liable to punishment in the same way as if they were before the Nazim himself.

ARTICLE 12. The arbitrators shall whenever they require the attendance of any witnesses, apply to the Nazim, and the Nazim shall issue summons or their appearing before the arbitrators, as well as require the witnesses to take oath, in such form as is found necessary in their evidence. If the witnesses cannot be made to take such oath, they shall take oath according to the form prescribed in law.

ARTICLE 13. Unless the Nazim is satisfied with two reliable witnesses that the arbitrators have taken bribes or have shown clear partiality and fraud, he shall not quash the decision of the arbitrators.

ARTICLE 14. When any case is brought before the Nazim, which he is empowered to hear by the order of his Majesty, he shall dispose of it according to rules.

ARTICLE 15. When any suit is before the Nazim under rules 14, the application shall contain the grounds of dispute, the name of the defendant, his place of residence, the purport of any bond filed and the sum claimed for, and

shall be submitted by the plaintiff or his agent. The Nazim shall mark upon the application number and date and sign the same, and then he shall dispose of the case according to the rule given for the disposal of cases about property. After delivering judgment, he shall give a copy of such judgment to the plaintiff or defendant or their agents within ten days, if any delay is caused of more than ten days, he shall record the reason in his order sheet, he shall also record the fact of the delivery of the judgment on the judgment and the order sheets, so that if any party is affected, he may appeal to his Majesty within three months.

ARTICLE 16. The diary for such case which has been given to Nazim, and that which is kept according to rules in chapter first of these rules, shall be recorded in a bound register.

ARTICLE 17. All papers filed in the case shall be numbered serially, and signed by the Nazim, and the number of such judgment shall be recorded in the judgment.

ARTICLE 18. The party shall be at liberty to examine and cross-examine each other before the Nazim, either by themselves or by their pleaders, except in cases where the pleaders are not authorised to act.

ARTICLE 19. The Nazim shall submit a return of cases, according to following headings, in each month, and at the end of every year for last year's cases.

List of revenue cases, disposed of in district.....for month.....
year.....

Serial No.....Plaintiff....Defendant.....Substance of case....
..Substance of judgment....Date of filing the suit......Date of judgment.....Remarks....

List of revenue cases, filed in the district, now pending for the month.....year.....

Serial No.... Plaintiff.... Defendant..... Substance of suit....

.. Date of suit.... Remark showing why it was not yet disposed of.

ARTICLE 20. All summonses issued for the appearance of witnesses and defendants, shall bear the name of

the person summoned, the name of the parties to the suit, the reason of their summons, and shall be signed and sealed by the Nazim, with serial number.

ARTICLE 21. In case the defendant disappears, and does not contest the case, the Nazim shall issue a proclamation, with effect that if the defendant does not appear within fifteen days from the date of such proclamation, the case shall be decided in his absence against him. This proclamation shall be affixed in the court of the Nazim, and one copy at the house of the defendant. If the defendant appears, the case shall be disposed of accordingly, if he does not appear, he shall try the case in his absence with as much diligence as possible. The Nazir after the proclamation, shall report to the Nazim the manner it was promulgated, which shall form part of the record.

ARTICLE 22. When it appears to the Nazim that anywitness has given false evidence, he shall arrest him and try his case like an ordinary criminal.

ARTICLE 23. If the complainant does not for six weeks make any attempt to prove his case, the Nazim, unless the plantiff shows reasonable cause of the delay shall dismiss the case.

ARTICLE 24. Whenever the right and title of any-body is adjudged, the Nazim of the district shall cause that decree to be executed, and make the defendant yield to the claims of the plaintiff. The Nazim is empowered to put to sale the moveable property or crop of the defendant to realise the sum decreed, except, his landed property, but if the landed property must be sold, permission shall be taken from his Majesty to do so, or to put the defendant in custody.

ARTICLE 25. When any party wishes to appeal against the decision of the Nazim, the sale shall not be made of his crop, but a security shall be taken from him; failing such security, he shall be detained in custody, or his moveable and immoveable property shall be sold, according to his liability; for the detention of such men, a sum not less

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than two annas and not more than four annas daily shall be recovered from the plantiff, which shall be refunded to the plantiff on the release of the defendant.

ARTICLE 26. If the parties do not agree to have their case referred to the arbitrators and abide by their judgments, the Nazim shall himself dispose of the case, according to existing laws.

ARTICLE 27. Any case pending before the Nazim may be referred to the Maulvi for enquiry, who shall make enquiry according to rules and send the record to the Nazim for his decision. If the Nazim accepts the enquiry he shall write his judgment accordingly.

ARTICLE 28. In this dasturulamal the time-limit for appeal to his Majesty has been fixed as three months; it does not mean that no appeal can be heard after that period, but on the other hand his Majesty reserves to himself entire liberty of allowing the party to appeal beyond this period, if it so pleases his Majesty....

PLACE-NAMES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

By PAUL WHALLEY, Retired Bengal Civil Service.

CHAPTER III. Sec. 3.

DUBIOUS ETYMOLOGIES.

The title Dubious etymologies does not imply that all the etymologies previously proposed are above suspicion. Far from it. But it is convenient to gather under one head the remaining names many of which admit of a double interpretation or are so obscure that only a guess can be hazarded as to their origin.

It is not easy to classify them satisfactorily. We may take first the remnant of names excluded from the last section, viz.:—

Names ending in N or with apparent N suffix.

from the name Bhadra (v.s. Bhadek 639), with -an suffix, the same as -ana in Jasrana.

Dasna Meerut .. 670
Dāsna has cerebral D. Fallon gives Dāsan in the sense of bedding, but according to Crooke this is Kahars' slang. Crooke also gives Dāsā as meaning threshold with dental D, and this is more likely.

Kasna .. Bulandshahr .. 671 Kāsnā can hardly be other than Kashinath which is a name of Siva. It is also the name of a dihvar.

Parauna Gorakhpur .. 672 spelt Parrauna in the vernacular in both Urdu and Nagari columns, may be a simple expansion of Parao, an encamp-

ment, or if we have regard to the unusual double R, we may refer it to Skr. padrah, a hamlet. Compare Parauna in Allahabad, Paranipur in Allahabad and Paruna in Shahjahanpur.

UJHANI Budaun .. 673
spelt in the Nagari column Ujhyani, must be understood as the wizard's residence, from Ojha, a wizard. Ojha is usually derived from Upadhya, a section of the Brahman caste, but the Ojhas are not necessarily Brahmans. They may even be Chamars, and the popular mind rather associates Ojha with Bujha, a knowing man. Their principal function is to locate a Dih (dihvar) for the protection of a village.

PAILANI .. Banda .. 674

There is a name in Ajmere, Palani, Whiteway, p. 152, which seems to be the same. Palānī in the Rural Glossary is a thatch, small hut. Crooke derives the word from palāla, straw, but it is more likely from paṭāna, to roof a house.

Sahaswan .. Budaun .. 675

Sahaswan may be nothing more than a proper name from Skr. sahas, might,—or Sahas may be genitive of Sah, merchant. The Wan suffix, owing to its detachability is occasionally appended, like Wala, to an inflected form of the noun. So we have Sahaspur in Bijnor and Sahanpur, where Sahan is a genitive plural, in Budaun.

Beswan .. Aligarh .. 676

has a singular resemblance to the Skr. word Vesman, a house; but it is perhaps safer to take it as Bishn-wan from the name Bishn or Vishnu. The uses of the Wan suffix are manifold.

Pawayan Shahjahanpur .. 677
Pawāyān belongs to the Wān series. Wān has been changed to Yān by dissimilation. The derivation is from Skr. purva, Prakrit puvva, eastern, plus Wan. V.s. Punch (649) and compare Nagla Puwaiyan in Mainpuri,

Pawayan nagla in Aligarh and Pawai, Chak Pawai, etc., in Azamgarh. Perhaps also Bawayan in Etawah.

RASDHAN .. Cawnpore .. 678

The Dhan suffix usually means a receptacle of some kind, but in the two cases in which it occurs in the Government list the first element is uncertain. I do not think Rasdhan can be Rasad-dhan, a store of forage; I would rather take it as Rāja-dhāni, a royal residence. The alternation of J with Sh is seen in Raja, a king, with Rashtram, a kingdom.

Ras- occurs again in Ras-mai, Muttra (cf. Raj-mau, Etah), and in Ras-wara, Etah.

SARDHANA .. Meerut .. 679

Here too the first element is ambiguous. Sar may stand for water or grass or the Sal tree or for sar, a cattle shed. But whatever the name may mean it is ancient. Sardhanā was the name of a district a day's journey from Pataliputra.

The name might come from Srāddham, funeral rites.

KAMASIN .. Banda .. 680

As, to sit, forms its present participle Atm. irregularly in Asin. This Asin is used suffixally; e.g. Kamalāsin, lotus-seated, is a name of Brahma. Similarly Vāsin as in Banvāsin, a hermit. What Kam- may mean is not clear. There is another Kamasin in Allahabad and also a "Kamasingh ki sarai," which looks like an effort to get a meaning out of Kamasin. We find also Kamansi in Fatehpur and Kamsan in Cawapore and other names in -āsin, as Mahuasin in Azamgarh, but none that help to understand Kamasin. (See Revisions and Corrections.)

SIYANA .. Bulandshahr .. 68r possibly from Skr. sīman, a boundary, represented in the modern language by the pseudo-Persian siwānah.

We may take next—

Apparent cases of disaspiration.

KERA MANGRAUR Mirzapur .. 682

where Kera probably stands for Khera, v.s. Kairana (447). For Mangraur v.s. Manglaur (617). Kera perhaps from Skr. Ketahsû, a house

PACHWARA .. Jhansi .. 683

This name admits of various interpretations. The one I prefer is Pachhim-wara, the western village. The sibilant in Skr. paschima going out should aspirate the following letter, giving Pachh-wara, like pachhwa, the west wind. It might be said that an H between CH and W is difficult to articulate and would disappear, but this does not apply to analogous names such as Pachāwar in Ballia (in Allahabad Pachwar), nor to Pachomi and Pachauni in Bareilly, nor to Pachauli and Pacholi in Jaunpur. There seems to have been a conspiracy to extrude the H from this set of words.

There is an alternative derivation in Skr. Pāśva-pālanam, pasturage for cattle, which would account for the suffix as well as the characteristic, but, though the change of the Skr. palatal S to CH is normal, the word Paśu has been adopted in Hindi in the form Poha (by anaptyxis of stem vowel, elimination of sibilant and simultaneous aspiration and addition of suffix A), which makes it very doubtful whether it can also be represented by pach.

Other possible derivations are from Skr. pārsva, neighbouring, and Skr. pracharaḥ, a road, path, or the proper name Pancham or pachpacha, soft plashy soil, whence Pachār, a well-watered tract in Etah. Compare also in language pichhwara, a court behind a house and pachdwar, a house with five doors.

Pachotar Ghazipur .. 684

I take this to be Pachh-uttar, west and north, with the same loss of aspiration as Pachwara.

If from pasu then -tar is for Thar, Skr. sthalam, station.

Compare Pachota in Bulandshahr and Pachtaur, a name of frequent occurrence in Farrukhabad, Bareilly,

Pilibhit and the Tarai and with no less than six examples in Budaun.

Aiyah and Sah are separate villages. Sah is Sah a merchant with lost suffix.

Aiyah is spelt Ayah in the Urdu and Aya in the Nagari column. Probably the correct orthography is Aiya. It stands for Ahiya. The aspirate is apt to go out before an I, as in Airwa for Ahirwa. Ahi or Ahika in Sanskrit is a snake. Ascoli identifies Ahi with Greek echis (not ophis) and Zend azhi. Ahi was used as a proper name, like Nahir, lion and Vyaghra, tiger, as we see in the name of the legendary Raja Ahi Baran.

It appears in place-names in Ahiai and Ahiapur in Azamgarh and Ahiyapur in Jaunpur.

BANDA .. Banda .. 686

According to the Rural Glossary Banda has the meaning of granary in Bundelkhand, which looks as if it were a disaspirated form of Bhanda, a storehouse. Aspiration is rather uncertain in Bundelkhand; witness the names Bandron and Bhandron in Lalitpur as well as Bandwa and Bhandra. But the name is not confined to Bundelkhand. There is a Banda in Pilibhit and Bela-band and Sahri-band in Azamgarh. The two last names rather point to a derivation from bāndh, an embankment, Persian band.

The Gazetteer (I 127) says that Banda took its name from a sage named Bamdeo. Credat Judaeus.

From disaspirations we may pass to aspirated forms, especially in suffixes.

Sarh Salimpur ... Cawnpore .. 687
Sarh is spelt Sāṛh with cerebral R. In spite of this I think it is no more than Sāṛ, a cowshed, with an aspirate tacked on after the R, though it might be a name from family relationship (sāṛhu). As for Salimpur there must be a name Salīm, meaning Sahib-i salamat. (See Revisions and Corrections.)

HADRAKH		Jalaun	 688
SAURIKH		Farrukhabad	 689

These two names present the same problem. Are they proper names with possessive K aspirated by the preceding R or are they compounds with Rakh, Skr. Rakshā, a reserve of grass land, which appears in place-names as Richha (482)?

In Hadrakh the proper name might be Hirde, as in Hidra Mai in Aligarh. We have the original form in Hridika, the name of a Yadava prince. In the Urdu column of the list Hadrakh is written with an Arabic H, as if from the name Haidar, but this perhaps is a false spelling.

In Saurikh we might recognise the name Sanwal or, having regard to the I link vowel which is unusual with a K suffix, perhaps Saurih, a name of Vishnu. Mr. Hooper however has called my attention to the names Misrikh in Sitapur and Satrikh in Bara Banki.

If we take the names to be compounds with Rakh we may compare Bhuj-rakh in Banda and San-rakh in Muttra.

As regards Saurikh however we have the name or something closely approaching it in Etah and Mainpuri, Sorkhia in Etah and Saurikh and Sārikh in Mainpuri and besides Saurikh there is another village named Saurikhi in Farrukhabad. These names suggest a derivation from Skr. Saundikah, a distiller, which is not impossible.

Perhaps Saur in Muttra belongs to this set.

BARHAN		 Muttra	690	
BARHWAL		 Benares	 6qI	

So far as one can guess both these names are from the Bar tree with suffixes N and WAL respectively. The aspirate is the outcome of the preceding R.

Bhadoni Mirzapur .. 692 Bhad- is no doubt for Bhadra (v.s. Bhadek 639). In Ohi the H is intervocalic and negligible. Or may be Wi or Skr. suffix -vati.

We may proceed to place-names derived from the names of men.

Jewar .. Bulandshahr .. 693 from the name Jai or Ajaya, invincible, with suffix -war. Compare Jaipur (Jeypore) and Jeora, Moradabad, Jiwaria, Hamirpur, Jewarai, Basti and with -pār suffix Jaipar, Benares.

The Gazetteer says the ancient name was Jawali, but, having regard to the names above quoted, this is hardly credible.

Marora .. Bulandshahr .. 694 may be from Nar Singh, the man lion, a form of Vishnu. In Fatehpur we have Naraich, i.e. Nar-isa, indicating religious worship; or Narora may be simply a variant of Naraoli q.v. (610).

There seems to have been a Hindu name Alam, distinct from the Musulman name 'Alam which appears in Sarai 'Alam in Allahabad. The evidence rests on the following names: in Kumaun Alamguing, Almiya-ganw, Almiya kande; in Garhwal Almorha, Almarhi; in Muzaffarnagar Alams-pur and Alma-wala; in Fatehpur Pura Almas; in Moradabad Fatehpur Alma and Patai Alma and in Bareilly Alampur and Alam-dandi. Almās (diamond) occurs as a n. pr. in Ferishtah.

BARAN .. Bulandshahr .. 696
This must, I think, be a proper name. Such a name is vouched for by the legend of Raja Ahi Baran.

possibly Baran ka khal, Baran's threshing floor, but more likely an adoption from Varanāvata, a town mentioned in the Mahabharat where an attempt was made to burn the Pandavas in a house of wax. The change of the final T to L is not to be scouted, provided the name is an ancient one. In Eastern Hindi an L has supplanted the Skr. T in the passive participles.

from the proper name Bilasia, Bilāsi. According to the Gazetteer, vol. v, Bilsi was founded (1774–1801) under the orders of a landholder Bilasi Singh. There is nothing im-

probable in this.

The name Bilasi is from Skr. Vilās, joy, sport.

Видам .. Еtah .. 699

from the name Bali Ram. Compare Balramnagar and Balrampur in Aligarh.

NAKUR .. Saharanpur .. 700

Nākūr is said to have been founded by Năkula, Long Nose, one of the Pandavas and called after him Nākula. The Gazetteer (vol. II, p. 309) which supplies the above information, also mentions that the town is on the eastern border of a jhil infested by alligators (Nākū, Skr. Nakraḥ) and this seems a more likely derivation. Also Nakuh in Skr. is an ant-hill and the name may mean full of ant-hills, like Bambhet.

MUSSOORIE .. Dehra Dun .. 701

This name is spelt in the vernacular Mansuri and in the Urdu column Mansuri with the Arabic letter svād like Mansuri in Bulandshahr which comes evidently from the name Mansur, as also Mansurpur in the same district and Mansurnagar in Basti. But Sir D. Brandis derives the Dehra Dun name from a plant called Massuri. See his Forest Flora under Coriaria Nepalensis, Order Anacardiaceae.

DADRI .. Bulandshahr .. 702

There is a class of village names, touched on under Phaphund (586) and Chhachhund (587), based on family relationships. Such is Dulhapur; such are Jethpur and Dewarpur in Pilibhit, and Dadri appears to belong to this set, meaning the village of the paternal grandfather. Dadka is a usual rustic variant of Dadihal and Dadri with possessive R should mean the same thing. The name Dadri occurs again in Basti and we have Dadupur in

Moradabad and Dadia in Pilibhit, Dadar and Dadarpur with the R suffix as well as Dadhawal and Dadoli in Allahabad.

NANU		Meerut	 703
NANU	 	Aligarh	704

It is an open question whether these two names fall into the same category, meaning the maternal grandfather's village or that founded or acquired by him, or whether Nanu is here a proper name (v.s. Nanauta 655). Similar names are Nannupura and Nanhera in Bijnor, Nanaura in Basti and Nanhi in Benares.

There is again a small class of village names drawn from the trades or professions of their inhabitants or owners. Among them we may reckon

NIHTOR Bijnor .. 705

The Nagari column has Nihtor, the Persian, more correctly, Nihṭaur with cerebral T, from nih, nihāī, anvil and Ṭaur for Ṭhaur, place. Or, if you like, from Nihṭa with suffix -aur. Nihṭa is explained in the Glossary as a brazier's anvil but there seems to be no reason why the meaning should be thus limited. Ṭa is the suffix of instrumentality, answering to the Skr. -tram. The word in Skr. would be nabhitram (vide Nahwai 578) and would apply to any sort of anvil. Niḥṭa probably means a blacksmith's forge.

must be from Barej, a betel garden. There is no other satisfactory way of accounting for the final J, which is the Skr. suffix ja of production and is rare in Hindi.

A possible derivation is from Bargadya with elision of G, but a comparison of the names Bareji in Ghazipur and Barji in Jaunpur should settle the point in favour of barej.

KAURIA .. Azamgarh .. 707

The R in Kauria is cerebral. In discussing the name Kauriaganj (195) the origin of the name Kauria was left doubtful. It has been inserted here among names from trades and professions in view of the possibility that it may

come from Skr. kārpaṭikaḥ, Hindi kāvriya, either in the special sense of a man who brings water from holy rivers or in the general sense of a pilgrim.

The next series of names, that from local features and situation is a more prolific one.

ARING Muttra .. 708

Aring has cerebral R like Arang Barang, across (Fallon), but the name is presumably from Skr. aranyam, a forest. The final G is not a true G but part of the sound NG, the Skr. guttural N having replaced the lingual N of aranyam. In Aranj (Cawnpore) it is the palatal N that takes the place of the guttural, and in Arand (Jaunpur) it is the dental. All three names are from aranyam. The vacillation of the class nasal is not peculiar to Hindi. In English the suffix -ing of the present participle has usurped the place of the A.S. -and.

The I in Aring comes from the revection of the palatal vowel contained in the Y of aranyam.

RASRA Ghazipur .. 709

the forest dwelling. This also comes from Aranyam as is evident from the less curtailed forms Ransara in Ballia and Ransura in Aligarh. The second element is sār, a house or a cowshed.

The name Rasra occurs again in Jaunpur and Benares.

Pandwaha Jhansi .. 710

Pandwāhā with cerebral D. The interpretation of the name must be doubtful without knowledge of the locality. The word pāndu is given by Fallon as meaning a light-coloured soil or land dependent on rain-water and the suffix -waha or wahu is a common one in the Trans-Jumna districts.

On the other hand Pandu and Pandhoi are river names and river names are not seldom appropriated to villages in the vicinity. Pandohan language means a drain, probably from Pāniḥ, water and Dhav, to run, to stream. Fick (I, p. 351) quotes dhauti, n. fem. Quelle, a source.

Pandohia is a village name in Basti.

MARPHA .. Banda .. 7II

from Mār, the black cotton soil and pah or paha, Skr. pakshah, side. Pah is frequently found in place-names both as a prefix and a suffix. Side is used in much the same way in English place-names and in country side.

KHAILAR .. Jhansi .. 712

Crooke gives Khelar, lowlands in river valleys, which is also Khalar and in Pilibhit Khalla. It may be this.

But a better derivation is from Skr. Khilam, a piece of waste or uncultivated land. The Hindi form of Khilam is Khīl, and Mr. Hooper tells me that this term is used in the Hills for temporary unterraced cultivation. The word however is not confined to the Hills. In the Azamgarh Glossary Khil is land the first year after it is broken up from the waste. The next year it is called Khilpah.

Cf. Khaila, also Khairwa, Meerut, but these are perhaps from khaila, khela, calves.

GAHMAR Ghazipur .. 713

This is the Skr. Gahvarain, a thicket, forest, M taking the place of V, as in Kasmar, Garhmar, Pachmar in Basti. Skr. gahanain has the same meaning. It appears in Gahuni, Azamgarh and as a suffixal base in other names.

, AHAR Bulandshahr .. 714

Ahār is Skr. Adhāraḥ, a tank or reservoir, in Hindi āhar, āhari, and ahrā. Compare Ahar, Ballia and Ahari, Saharanpur.

OL Agra .. 715

is an adjectival formation from Skr. uṭam, leaves, grass and means a thatched place. It is in fact the same word as Oṛ, a screen or cover, with cerebral T changed to L, as in Kol for Koṭ.

Other derivations are from Skr. avilah, a sheepfold or from War, on this side, as in urla and ulli taraf.

Mariahu Jaunpur .. 716

from marai or mandiya, a hut, a name of frequent occurrence in Farrukhabad, with suffix -āhu. Under Pahāsū (569) it was said that U, as in Simrahu, was a Marathi termination of the nominative. In the present case it is more to the purpose to quote, "the common ablative of the "Apabhransi dialect ended in Hu or Āhu and this was "used also as a locative." The R in Mariāhu is cerebrate.

Daнa Meerut .. 717

Dāhā is from dahna, to burn, Skr. dah, either because the village was burnt or because the land was cleared by burning.

A less probable derivation is from Skr. drahaḥ, Hindi dahaṛ, a pool.

Lонва Garhwal .. 718

so called perhaps from the red soil (Skr. loha) or because iron was found there. The Ba suffix is for Wa or Wan. See Mahoba. (See Revisions and Corrections.)

Magarwara Jhansi .. 719

means perhaps a village on a ridge. For magar, a ridge, see Whiteway s.v. Dhomagri. Magra is the ridge pole of a house and magro in Muttra is a sandbank in a river. Compare the Greek makros and the Kumaoni names Makarganw and Makarhan and Magargoha in Basti. Or the name might mean infested by crocodiles, magar, Skr. makarah, v.s. Nakur (700).

the last possibly from Math, a convent, temple.

Middhi in Ballia.

I hardly think Meja can come from Madhya, middle.

The Kumaoni names which might suggest it, Majbe, Majethi, Majgawan owe their conformation to a peculiarity of the Hill dialects which abhor an aspirate other than final.

KHUTAR .. Shahjahanpur .. 722

Khuṭā has cerebral T in the Persian column. Khunṭa is a spike and khunṭi stubble. The name may have reference to the stubbing up of roots in jungle clearings preparatory to cultivation.

The -ar is suffix of locality.

KARARI .. Allahabad .. 723

possibly from Karāra, a high river bank, or like Karra (523) from kaṭakam, a came with decerebration of R and -ār suffix.

TIRWA . . . Farrukhabad .. 724

Tirwa is for Thairwa, a station, a camp, a settlement, from thairna, to halt. The disappearance of an aspirate followed by an I or a diphthong involving an I is not unusual. Hence we have Jogiter, the Jogi's station, in the Tarai beside Jogithair in Bareilly.

There is another village in Farrukhabad named Tira and seven named Tera and in Cawnpore Taira and Tirhwa and in Muttra Tirwa, Terwa, Tiriya and Tahra.

CHAIL Allahabad .. 725 from the Skr. root ksha or kshi to dwell, kshayah, a house, abode.

CHOLA Bulandshahr .. 726

Cf. Chora in the same district. It may be from Chaur, a swamp, land liable to submersion, or it may be an adopted name. The ancient Chola was on the banks of the Kaveri, and there is a Sholapur in Bombay.

Сніцкія .. Китані .. 727

Skr. Śulkam, toll, śulkyam, śulkasthanam, a toll-house.

MILAM .. Kamaun .. 728

might be for Milwa, i.e. Mela, meeting place of men

or waters. For change of W to M cf. pachhim and pachhwan, western.

We have already noticed two names derived from the mode of acquisition of property, Sasni (402) and Kalpi (403) and there are three or four more that seem to belong to the same class though it is by no means certain.

Spelt with an Arabic khe, as if from Persian kharidah, Skr. krita, purchased. I should suspect the name to have been metamorphosed by popular etymology but for the fact that there is another place of the same name in Ballia and a Kharida in Azamgarh.

Labhauwa Mainpuri .. 730
Rural Glossary tells us that Labhao is a hand

The Rural Glossary tells us that Labhao is a handsel, a piece of land given into the bargain but this is a special and incidental sense. Labhao of itself means no more than giving. It is of the form of a verbal noun from a causative verb. The Skr. causative labhayati is used in the sense of giving, acquiring, bestowing, and so Labhao may mean an endowment, say of a temple, or a gift to Brahmans.

LAWAIN .. Allahabad .. 731

Lain in the Rural Glossary is the taking or pledging of an animal or other property in discharge of a debt. Further East this is called Lawan (Grierson) and lao lagana is to receive property on these conditions. We may conclude that Lawain means property assigned to a creditor in satisfaction of a debt.

. Compare Lawayan, Jaunpur and Lawa, Jaunpur and Saharanpur.

Seohara .. Bijnor .. 732

if from Seva, service, may mean and estate held on service tenure; but see Revisions and Corrections.

Miscellaneous names.

Babina .. Jhansi .. 733

The name may have been formed like Nagina from Baba,

Brahman, and Inah, the lord Brahman, Inah being a title given to kings and Brahmans. V.s. Baberu (605) and Nagina (400). The termination -ina is found in the Meerut district in the names Tatina (from Skr. tātah, father), Ratina (? Rati-patih) and Ukhlina.

must be, I think, from Khalisah, crown lands, though a derivation from Kalas, the spire on the dome of a temple, is admissible if this is a conspicuous object.

Fatehpur

MUTAUR

I was once in a place called in the Govt. Register Maotul, killed, slaughtered, a very singular name. On enquiry among the inhabitants I learnt that there was no legend to account for the name. The village was a new one, having been colonised within the memory of living man by one Mukat padhan. The correct name therefore was not Maqtul but Mukt-aul. So Mutaur may have been Mukt-aur. The word Moti from Skr. muktā, a pearl, has similarly dropped the K.

мотн Jhansi .. 736 with cerebral Tн. May be for Mau-thana. Final Tн is apt to be cerebrated.

The word has two meanings which tend to coalesce, (I) a market, (2) a suburb. Mr. Hooper defines it as "a place, generally a bazaar, outside the main town and separated from, it," and he is inclined to connect the name with Kāṭna, to cut, as a place cut off, separated. Fallon, laying more stress on the meaning of market, derives it from kratralaya, buying place, a doubtful word. One would rather say krayatram, whence probably Skr.-KARVATAM, a market. Kaṭra from Karvaṭam would not be a very forced derivation, but a simpler one is from kaṭakam, a camp, the camp being naturally outside the city walls.

Sirathu Allahabad .. 738 for Sraya-vastu, city of refuge, or Sri-vastu, Sri- being

nothing more than an honorific prefix. Sravasti was the name of the capital of northern Kosala. Cf. Siratu in Bareilly.

TILHAR .. Shahjahanpur .. 739

from the proper name Til or Tilak. Cf. Tilpur (92). The -har suffix may be ghar, house or Khal, threshing floor or Har, fields. Cf. Til-pahi in Farrukhabad from pah, pakshah, side.

KANDHLA .. Muzaffarnagar .. 740

from Skr. Skandhah, which has various meanings. Skandhavārah is a royal residence or camp. Skandhah was also used as a proper name. V.s. Khandeh (532). It may be so taken in Kāndhlā.

Konrh .. Mirzapur .. 741

is said to mean a cattle-pen in Bundelkhand, but the Bundelkhandi word seems to be khonra. However, Konrh may be the same with the aspirate displaced.

In Basti we have the names Korha, Korhi, Korhwa, Konrahi, and Konrea, suggestive of konrha, a gourd, Annona squamosa, and this may be the right explanation.

Сніви.. .. Banda .. 742

The vernacular columns read Chhibu with aspirated initial. The name is either from Chheo marna (Fallon) with the meaning of a marked out site, or from Skr. Kshapanah, a Buddhist mendicant, Hindi Chīvarin, like Kauria from Karpaṭikah (707).

Perhaps Chhibramau (378) and Chhibrau, Muttra may also come from Kshapanah.

There is another Chhibu in Bijnor and a Chipia in Basti, the last possibly from the Chipis or chintz printers.

HALDI .. Ghazipur .. 743

Perhaps for Handi, a grocer's shop; v.s. Handiya (502), or the name may have been Haldoi from the Haldu tree, v.s. Haldwani (442), transformed in village fashion into the

more familiar haldi, turmeric. See examples under Phaphund, Chhachhund (586, 587).

Possibly from the name Sikhar, illustrated under Shikarpur (III). See also Kariyat Sikhar (353), or from Skr. sikaṭa, sandy soil. See Revisions and Corrections.

KIWAI Allahabad .. 745 might be for Khiwai, a ferry, disaspirated, or Kaiv-arthah, fisherman.

There remain only half a dozen very ancient names the diagnosis of which must be left to Sanskrit scholars and archæologists.

They are

KANKHAL .. Saharanpur .. 746

There was an ancient city Kanakhalam, mentioned in the Puranas.

MATHURA .. Muttra .. 747

called Methora by Arriam and Modoura by Ptolemy.

MANDAWAR .. Bijnor .. 748

The D is cerebral in the Urdu column. On the identity of this town with the ancient Matipura see Beal's Buddhist Records, I, 190 and Sir A. Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 349.

Popular Etymology has been at work on this name connecting it with Manda, mandi, a mart.

· KAMPIL Farrukhabad .. 749

The name Kampilya is as old as the Mahabharata. Kampilla is a Skr. name for a tree, species unknown. There is another Kampil in Fatehpur.

MALWA .. Fatehpur .. 750

No doubt an adopted name. Mālam in Skr. is an eminence.

SAKIT Etawah .. 751

also an adoption. Sir A. Cunningham (p. 403) says, "Saketa "Nagara is mentioned in the Ramayana as the capital

"of Dasaratha which establishes its identity with "Ajudhya."

ADDENDA

Kon Mirzapur .. 752

The name is sufficiently explained under Tappa Kon (408).

PATIALI .. Etah .. 753

should be spelt Pativali. It is a very old town mentioned in the Mahabharata. The derivation is not clear but it is probably allied to Pattanam. See the tabulated names of this set on p. 12a under the article on Par.

REVISIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

MAU (Introduction to 370-379), BUDAUN (379), DEORYA (516).

The word Mayūta, of unknown meaning, occurs first in the Budaun stone inscription as part of the ancient name of Budaun, Voda-Mayūta. We meet it again in the Deval Prasasti, or eulogy of Deval, which records the grant of certain temple lands in the district of Pilibhit in the year 992 A.D. The word is not found in classical Sanskrit not has it survived in the modern dialect but it appears to have been in current use a thousand years ago. In the Deval Prasasti it evidently denotes a piece of land. It can therefore have nothing to do with the Buddhistic Mayaṭa which meant primarily a grass hut.

The name of Budaun, Vodamayuta, was modified in later times into Beda-mau or Beda-maya, the latter no doubt being locally correct since all names in Budaun with a similar termination (there are 27 of them),—take the form of Mai and not of Mau. Thus Basomai, Bithamai, Ora-mai, Pathra-mai. The list is too long to give in full. Setting aside the T suffix the body of the word Mayu-corresponds, not only with Mai, but with most of the aberrant forms, Mauyi in Nitamauyi in Kanauj Grant F, Mayo in Kumaun, Myao in Lalitpur, Jajmoya in Fatehpur and Moi and Moiya and Mawaiya, which differ only by

the interchange of Y and W and their representative vowels. It is strange that the T suffix of Mayuta nowhere reappears in the modern names, but there is a parallel to this in the universal rejection by Hindi of the T and Ter suffixes in family names, brother, daughter, which have been preserved in most modern languages.

The relevant passage of the Deval Prasasti runs thus in Dr. Buehler's translation: "The excellent land connected with" (? belonging to) "the MAYUTA of Bhushana" has been presented to the two deities having been "given the name of Devapalli."

Accepting Mr. Hooper's postulate that Mau and Mar denote land bordering on water and granting that Mayuta was an antecedent form of Mar we must interpret the Mayuta of Bhushana out of which land was asigned to the temple as a *strip of riverain land* and this coincides with the situation of Deval. I give up the idea advanced under Deorya that the latter was the original Devapalli. It must have been Deval and not Deoriya. For Deval is in the open plain on the banks of the Khanva or Khata naddi while Deoriya is at a little distance on rising ground nestling in a nook of the forest.

It would be interesting to know if the old temple of Budaun stood on the water's edge. It may have been built by the side of an artificial tank. Tanks and temples often go together.

So far as they go the facts tend to corroborate Mr. Hooper's conclusions.

Kamasin 680

If Kam- is here a n. pr., Kāma or Kāmta or Karan, then the suffix is not the participle Āsīn but the noun Āsanam. Āsan mārna or āsan lagāna is a phrase still used in Hindi for taking up an abode at a place.

SARH 687

Considering the number of place-names derived from funeral rites and obsequial offerings, such as Pipram Pitrai,

the sacred spot where oblations to dead ancestors were offered; Pitra-kriya, the name occurs in Basti; Chitaura, Budaun, the place of the funeral pyre; Chitaon, Jaunpur and at least fifty other names derived from Chita, it seems not unlikely that SARH may be a corruption of ŚRĀDDHAM, a funeral rite performed in honour of deceased relatives.

LOHBA 718

Names with the characteristic Loh- are some from the Lodha caste, others from the name Lok or Lokman, others again from Lohār, which has been curiously changed in some instances by Munshi scribes into its Persian equivalent of Ahankar.

SEOHARA 732

A better derivation of Seohāra is from Sephālikaḥ, the Skr. name of the Sihora tree, Trophis Aspera.

KANDHLA 740

Kandhla may be understood as Kahars' village. The name kahār is from Skandhadhāraḥ, porter, which becomes first Kandhāl and then Kahār. From the intermediate form Kandhāl comes Kandhla. This derivation is supported by the name Kandharapur in Fatehpur.

Sihal. 744

Sihal may be derived from Si-phalam, Sinha's cultivation. Compare the name Ceylon, Skr. Sinhalam and Sihauli, Jaunpur, and Sion, Benares for Sinha-grama. On the whole however I prefer to take Sihal, like Seohara, from Skr. Sephālikah, the tree.

A LAST WORD.

In conclusion we may add a few words on the nature and growth of suffixes both in language and placenames.

In the first place it is important to distinguish between suffixal bases and pure suffixes. A suffixal base is a living and recognizable word with a definite meaning, such as Kot, a fort or Ban, a wood. A pure suffix, such as AL or

Wan, has ceased to be a word and has no fixed meaning. It has however a kind of magnetism, a power of attracting suffixal bases and remoulding them after its own type. Thus the suffixes are perpetually drawing in and assimilating suffixal bases. Not that all suffixal bases eventually become suffixes. Some are of hard material and hold fast to their form and individuality. Others are more malleable and merge easily into suffix shapes.

This attractive power which is inherent in suffixes is shared to some extent by suffixal bases in process of being absorbed. An apposite example is PALAH. This word, as a suffixal base, created, or helped to create, a group of words such as Raksha-pālah, a watchman, Koţi-pālah, the guardian of a fort, Dwāra-pālah, a door-keeper, Kshetrapālah, a field watchman, in which the original sense of Pālah, that of guard or ward, is predominant. It began to assert an assimilative power in Kalya-pālah, a distiller and Khanda-pālah, a confectioner, from which the signification of guard or ward is wholly absent and which presumably were at first compounded with Pānah, a trader. Having thus disembarrassed itself of its primary meaning palah fell in with the great VALA series and became WALA. Again in the Hindi word Kal-āl, which is a direct descendant of Kalya-pālah, it became simple -ĀL, a pure suffix.

Observe however that -ĀL does not come only from Pālaḥ but also from Sālaḥ and Ālayaḥ as in Susr-āl, Skr. Svasur-ālayaḥ; so that, if this is to be called an origin, the origin is complex, and the same is true of all pure suffixes. Take the -ĀR suffix. Dhāraḥ in Skandha-dhāraḥ becomes -ĀR in Kah-ār, a bearer (see Kandhla (740) in Revisions); but -Ār in Sunār and Lohār is from Kāra and in other cases from Vāṭaḥ. Once more the suffix -Aun has ingulfed Grāmaḥ and Vanaṃ and Maya (see ref. to Mr. Beames under Budaun 379).

With these examples before us we cannot follow Dr. Hoernle when he tells us that Drish, meaning like, is the starting point of the L and R suffixes or that the

suffix -Aut has its origin in Vartta, livelihood. These are merely instances of suffixal bases which, one after other, Drish, Vartta and the rest of them, have fallen as tributary streams into the broader current of pure suffixes and been lost in it.

Moreover it is incorrect to speak of suffixal bases as origins of pure suffixes. These latter for the most part have their origin far away in prehistoric times, and though they change in form according to the genius of the language which adopts them, they can be traced, and have been traced by competent scholars, in one after another of the Aryan languages. The Skr. Vant for instance appears in Greek and Latin as -ent, in German as -end and in English as -ing; but it is none the less the same suffix prennial and universal.

In Hindi the practice of adding a final long vowel, which is itself a suffix, to consonantal suffixes has diversified and amplified the suffix forms. So N becomes -ān, -ānā, -ānī, -ahnā.

The absorption of suffixal bases in suffixes has not been altogether void of influence on the latter. It has often given them a fresh impulse and direction, infusing into them a shadow of new meaning. So in the case of the -ĀR suffix the incorporation of the base KĀRA led to its employment as a suffix of agency, as in Sunar and Lohar, and of the base Vāṭah as a suffix of locality, as in Kolhār, a sugar factory, and in many place-names.

The way in which suffixal bases have imported a glimmer of their earlier meaning into the suffixes which have absorbed them may be seen in the following examples of Vāns, called from the Rural Glossary, Vāns being a hybrid variant of Ās.

Vāns from Bās, dwelling—Upar-vāns, a stranger in a village, a duplicate of Upambās. Bhenr-vāns, locating sheep on land to manure it.

Vāns from Pāsaḥ, a rope—Hath-vānsā, the ropes in the siding of a cart. Khur-vāns, heel ropes.

- Vāns from Māsaḥ, a month—Pach-vasā, a ceremony in the fifth month of pregnancy.
- Vāns from Vansari, bambu—Ag-vāsi, Ag-māsi, Pach-māsi, different pegs and wedges.
- Vāns from Vāsanam, a vessel, receptacle, Lat. vas— Tel-vāns, Telaunchī, vessel for holding oil.
- Vāns from Ansah, a share—Manḍh-vanch, dues paid on a wedding; Bap-ans, property inherited from a father; Bapauti, of the same meaning is probably from Vanṭaḥ, a share.

SERIAL LIST OF NAMES DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER III.

- 370 Mau, Banda
- 371 Mau, Jhansi
- 372 Mau, Azamgarh
- 373 Maudha, Hamirpur
- 374 Mauhar, Fatehpur
- 375 Khakatmau, Farrukhd.
- 376 Seramau, Shahjahr.
- 377 Singramau, Jaunpur
- 378 Phaphamau, Allahabad
- 378a Chhibramau, Farrd.
- 378b Jajmau, Cawnpore
- 379 BUDAUN, Budaun
- 380 Mawana, Meerut
- 381 Mah, Allahabad
- 382 Mahul, Azamgarh
- 383 Mahuli, Basti
- 384 Mahroni, Lalitpur
- 385 Mahoba, Hamirpur
- 386 Dhuriyapar, Gorakh.
- 387 Bhavapar, Gorakhpur
- 388 Chillapar, Gorakh
- 389 Turtipar, Azamgarh
- 390 BIJNOR, Bijnor
- 391 Bidhuna, Etah

- 392 Bithur, Cawnpore
- 393 Bidauli, Muzaffr.
- 394 Bahsuma, Meerut
- 395 Bachhraon, Moradd.
- 396 Chakrata, Dehra Dun
- 397 Irichh, Jalaun
- 398 Shiuli, Cawnpore
- 399 Titron, Saharanpur
- 400 Nagina, Bijnor
- 401 Somna, Aligarh
- 402 Sasni, Aligarh
- 403 Kalpi, Jalaun
- 404 Karor, Bareilly
- 405 MEERUT, Meerut
- 406 Rath, Hamirpur
- 407 Tappa Jar, Fatehpur
- 408 Tappa Kon, Mirzapur
- 409 Tappal, Aligarh
- 410 Chaurasi, Mirzapur
- 411 Bārah, Allahabad
- 412 Shamli, Muzaffarnagar
- 413 Amroha, Moradabad
- 414 Amorha, Basti
- 415 Amauli, Fatehpur

416 Amethi, Farrukl

417 Dhakiya, Shahjahanpur

418 Badausa, Banda

419 Barauli, Aligarh

420 Jarcha, Bulandshahr

421 Bhander, Jhansi

422 Pipraich, Gorakhpur

423 Pilkhuwa, Meerut

424 Gulaothi, Bulandshahr

425 Bhuma Sambalhera, Muzaff.

426 Sambhal, Moradabad

427 Aonla, Bareilly

428 Aonla, Gorakhpur

429 Agori Barhar, Mirzapur

430 Katehir, Benares

431 Kachneha, Jhansi

432 Kusmara, Mainpuri

433 Kosi, Muttra

434 Champawat, Kumaun

435 Chunar, Benares

436 Bilhaur, Cawnpore

437 Sarsa, Allahabad

438 Sarsawa, Saharanpur

439 Sarsaul, Cawnpur

440 Baheri, Bareilly

441 Kithor, Meerut

442 Halwani, Kumaun

443 Sidhua Jobna, Gorakhpur

444 Khurja, Bulandshahr

445 Karanda, Ghazipur

446 Karhal, Mainpuri

447 Kairana, Muzaffarnagar

448 Ingoi, Jalaun

449 Kunch, Jalaun.

450 Dudhi, Mirzapur

451 Bilari, Moradabad

452 Sihonda, Banda

453 Bansi, Basti

454 Bansi, Lalitpur

455 Maskara, Hamirpur

456 Bhabar, Kumaun

457 Babrala, Budaun

458 Kaswar, Benares

459 Kasia, Gorakhpur

460 Darhiyal, Moradabad

461 Khair, Aligarh

462 Nigohi, Shahjahanpur

463 Simauni, Banda

464 Sagri, Azamgarh

465 Barwa Sagar, Jhansi

466 BENARES, Benares

467 Dibai, Bulandshahr

468 Dongara, Lalitpur

469 Rura, Cawnpore

470 Rurki, Saharanpur

471 Nipania, Jalaun

472 Rehar, Bijnor

473 Dhus, Benares

474 Kabrai, Hamirpur

475 Loni, Meerut

476 Noner, Mainpuri

477 Kakrala, Budaun

478 Kakarbai, Jhansi

479 Dhanaura, Moradabad

480 Dhanari, Budaun

481 Khera Bajhera, Shahjahr.

482 Richha, Bareilly

483 Marauri, Lalitpur

484 Dabhaura, Banda

485 Jhusi, Allahabad

486 Soron, Etah

487	Soraon, Allahabad	524	Kutiya Gunir, Fatehpur
488	Kumaun, Kumaun	525	Kutana, Meerut
489	Farah, Agra	526	Kutahan, Jaunpur
490	Gokul, Muttra	527	Kuthaund, Jalaun
491	Gorai, Aligarh	528	Pauri, Garhwal
492	Ghiror, Mainpuri	529	Pulwa, Mirzapur
493	Ghosi, Azamgarh	530	Kharaila, Hamirpur
494	Landhaur, Dehra Dun	531	Khandauli, Agra
495	Landhaura, Saharanpur	532	Khander, Banda
496	Karchana, Allahabad	533	Sikrara, Jaunpur
497	Mana, Garhwal	534	Sikraul, Benares
498	Ekdala, Fatehpur	535	Sakrawa, Farrukhabad
499	Agra, Agra	536	Sighra, Benares
500	Khatauli, Muzaffarnagar	537	Gajner, Cawnpore
501	Khati, Kumaun	538	Achhnera, Agra
502	Handia, Allahabad	539	Morthal, Aligarh
503	Bela, Etawah	540	Kirthal, Meerut
504	Belha Bans, Azamgarh	541	Garotha, Jhansi
505	Bewar, Mainpuri	542	Jabarhera, Saharanpur
506	Ata, Jalaun	543	Bhukarheri, Muzaff.
507	ETAH, Etah	544	Bharwari, Allahabad
508	Етаwaн, Etawah	545	Mursan, Aligarh
509	Itaura, Jalaun	546	Sikandra, Aligarh
510	Ait, Jalaun	547	Sikandra, Agra
511	Eka, Mainpuri	548	Sikandra, Cawnpore
512	Iglas, Aligarh	549	Sikandra, Allahabad
513	Karra, Allahabad	550	Sikandra, Azamgarh
514	Pali, Kumaun	551	Baksha, Jaunpur
515	Pali, Aligarh	552	Lakhna, Etawah
516	Deorya, Gorakhpur	553	Supa, Hamirpur
517	Kol, Aligarh	554	Bashta, Bijnor
518	Kotila, Fatehpur	555	Barna, Etah
519	Kotra, Jalaun	556	Bahara, Farrukhabad
520	Kuraoli, Mainpuri	557	Pahara, Mirzapur
521	Kurauli, Agra	558	Baldeo, Muttra
522	Kurara, Hamirpur	559	Ajitmal, Etawah
523	Kora, Fatehpur	560	Orai, Jalaun

110	FLACE-NAMES IN	OIVI	TED PROVINCES.
561	Auraiya, Etawah	598	Bilhari, Tarai
562	BALLIA, Ballia	599	Arail, Allahabad
563	Jalali, Aligarh		BAREILLY, Bareilly
	Kishni, Mainpuri	601	Majhera, Mirzapur
	Naini, Allahabad	602	Baghera, Jhansi
	Niti, Garhwal	603	Baghra, Muzaffarnagar
	Shahi, Bareilly	604	Marahra, Etah
	3 Jhalu, Bijnor	605	Baberu, Banda
	Pahasu, Bulandshahr	606	Khakhreru, Fatehpur
	Airwa, Etah	607	Narwal, Cawnpore
	Ghiswa, Jaunpur	608	Charthawal, Muzaffr.
-	2 Haswa, Cawnpore	609	Minhdawal, Basti
573	3 Karwi, Banda	610	Naraoli, Moradabad
	4 Hardoi, Jalaun	611	Sahawar, Etah
	Gangoh, Saharanpur .	612	Bhainswal, Muzaffar-
576	5 Barah, Mirzapur		nagar
577	Khajuha, Fatehpur	613	Garhwal, Garhwal
578	Nahwai, Allahabad	614	Bharaul, Mainpuri
579	Chakia, Mirzapur	615	Gajraula, Moradabad
580	Thathiya, Farrukhabad	616	Gunnaur, Budaun
581	Lathiya, Ghazipur	617	Manglaur, Saharanpur
582	Zamania, Ghazipur	618	Dankaur, Bulandshahr
583	3 Achhalda, Etah	619	Majhauli, Gorakhpur
584	Upraudh, Mirzapur	620	Atrauli, Aligarh
585	Bilanda, Fatehpur	621	Atraulia, Azamgarh
586	Phaphund, Etawah	622	Bisauli, Budaun
587	Chhachhund, Etawah	623	Datauli, Aligarh
588	B Darsenda, Banda	624	Nidhauli, Etah
589	Barauda, Lalitpur	625	Chandauli, Benares
590	Barla, Aligarh	626	Chhaprauli, Meerut
591	Arjar, Jhansi	627	Sarauli, Bareilly
592	Kanar, Jalaun	628	Singrauli, Mirzapur
593	Daurala, Meerut	629	Gangoli, Kumaun
594	Churara, Jhansi	630	Dasoli, Garhwal
595	Chhatari, Bulandshahr	631	Manauri, Allahabad
		-	7.7 1 1 111 1

632 Mandrak, Aligarh

633 Augasi, Banda

596 Chhata, Muttra

597 Mangari, Benares

634	Aung, Fatehpur	670 Dasna, Meerut
635	Bindki, Fatehpur	671 Kasna, Bulandshahr
636	Kandarki, Moradabad	672 Parauna, Gorakhpur
637	Jhinjhak, Cawnpore	673 Ujhani, Budaun
638	Chandwak, Jaunpur	674 Pailani, Banda
639	Bhadek, Jalaun	675 Sahaswan, Budaun
640	Hathras, Aligarh	676 Beswan, Aligarh
641	JHANSI, Jhansi	677 Pawayan, Shahjahanpu
642	JHANJHANA, Muzaffar-	678 Rasdhan, Cawnpore
	nagar	679 Sardhana, Meerut
643	Jhajhar, Bulandshahr	680 Kamasin, Banda
644	Damras, Jalaun	681 Siyana, Bulandshahr
645	Jaurasi, Saharanpur	682 Kera Mangraur, Mirza
646	Satasi, Budaun	pur
647	Chandaus, Aligarh	683 Pachwara, Jhansi
648	Chandausi, Moradabad	684 Pachotar, Ghazipur
649	Punch, Jalaun	685 Aiyah Sah, Fatehpur
650	Basti, Basti	686 BANDA, Banda
651	Kantit, Mirzapur	687 Sarh Salimpur, Cawr
652	Kant, Shahjahanpur	pore
653	Usehat, Budaun	688 Hadrakh, Jalaun
654	Baraut, Meerut	689 Saurikh, Farrukhabad
655	Nanauta, Saharanpur	690 Barhan, Muttra
656	Nanakmata, Tarai	691 Barhwal, Benares
657	Lakhnauti, Saharanpur	692 Bhadohi, Mirzapur
658	Silhat, Gorakhpur	693 Jewar, Bulandshahr
659	Narhat, Lalitpur	694 Narora, Bulandshahr
660	Jauli Jansath, Muzaffr.	695 Almora, Kumaun
661	Rankuta, Agra	696 Baran, Bulandshahr
	Budhana, Mirzapur	697 Barnahal, Mainpuri
663	Dhaulana, Meerut	698 Bilsi, Budaun
	Jasra, Allahabad	699 Bilram, Etah
	Jasrana, Mainpuri	700 Nakur, Saharanpur
	Tarhawan, Banda	701 Mussoorie, Dehra Dun
	Jalaun, Jalaun	702 Dadri,Bulandshahr
	Jakhlaun, Lalitpur	703 Nanu, Meerut
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116	Daurala, Meerut		593 Daur, a boundary	
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128	Ekdala, Fatehpur	••	498 Ek, one and dal, irrigation lift	
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130	ETAWAH		508 Int, place of brick buildings	
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133	Gajner, Cawnpore		537 Gajpati, n. pr. and ner, i.e.	
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135	Gangoh, Saharanpur		575 n. pr. Gangu	
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152	Hathras, Aligarh		640 n. pr. Hastin
153	Iglas, Aligarh		512 for ikla bas, lone dwelling
154	Ingoi, Jalaun		448 Tree name, Skr. Ingudi
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158	Jajmau, Cawnpore		378B Old Hindi Jaj, sacrifice
159	Jakhlaun, Lalitpur		668 Skr. yakshah, a kind of demon
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161	JALAUN, Jalaun		667 n. pr. Jal or Jallaka
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163	Jasra, Allahabad		664 n. pr. Jaswant or Jasalla
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178	Kakrala Budaun		477 Kankar, gritty soil
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181	Kamasin, Banda		680 ? Kam (doubtful) with—asin
182	Kampil, Farrukhabad		749 Skr. name Kampilya
183	Kanar, Jalaun,		592 n. pr. Karan with suff. ar
184	Kandarki, Moradabad		636 Skr. kundrakah, a house on
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185	Kandhla, Muzaffarnagar	• •	740 n. pr. Skandhah
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199	Katra, Allahabad		737 ? Skr. Karvatam, a market
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204	Khakhreru, Fatehpur	• •	606 Khakh or khakhra, hollow
205	Khandauli, Agra	••	531 Khandua, a kind of well
206	Khandeh, Banda	••	532 N. pr. Skandhah
207	Kharaila, Hamirpur	••	530 Kandar, a ruin
208	Kharid, Ghazipur	••	729 Persian Kharidah, purchased
209	Khatauli, Muzaffarnagar	••	500 Khatta, a grain pit
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246	Mahoba, Hamirpur		385 for Mahowa, from Mahuwa		
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248	Mahul, Azamgarh		382 Mahu, for Mahuwa with I,		
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256	Mandrak, Bijnor		632 adoption (old name Madrah)		
257	Mangari, Benares		597 Skr. margah, a road		
258	Manglaur, Saharanpur		617 n. pr. Mangal		
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260	Marahra, Etah		604 Marah, mandha, a hut		
261	Maraura, Lalitpur		483 from the mar soil of Bundel-		
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262	Mariahu, Jaunpur		716 Mandiyan, huts with suff.— ahu
263	Marpha, Banda		711 Mar, soil and pah, paha, side
264	Maskara, Hamirpur		455 Skr. Maskarah i.e. Vansa-
			kandam
265	Mat or Mant, Muttra		720 ? Skr. mattakam, ridge of a roof
266	Mathura, Muttra		747 origin unknown
267			370 a word of uncertain deriva-
/			tion
268	Mau, Azamgarh		372 sometimes meaning Mhaua tree
269	Mau, Jhansi		371 sometimes shore or border
270	Maudha, Hamirpur		373 Mau and dhaman, house
271	Mauhar, Fetehpur		374 Mau and har, fields
272	Mawana, Meerut		380 from Mahu, Mahuwa, dis-
			aspirated
273	MEERUT		405 from Mai and rashtram, king- dom
274	Meja, Allahabad		721 ? Skr. methih, a pillar
275	Milam, Kumaun		728 ? for milawa, mela, meeting place
276	Minhdawal, Basti		609 n. pr. Mahindra
277	Morthal, Aligarh		539 Mor, n. pr. and Skr. sthalam
278	Moth, Jhansi		736 abbreviated fr. MAU-thana
279	Mursan, Aligarh		545 Mor n. pr. and san, suffixal
			base
280	Mutaur, Fatehpur		735 ? n. pr. Mukat
281	Nagina, Bijnor		400 Skr. Nagah, snake and inah,
			lord
282	Nahwai, Allahabad		578 Skr. nabhi H. nih, an anvil
283	Naini, Allahabad	• •	565 N. pr. Nain, as in Nainsukh
284	Nakur, Saharanpur	••	700 ? n. pr. Nakula
285	Nanakmata, Tarai	••	656 n. pr. Nanak
286	Nanauta, Saharanpur		655 n. pr. Nanu
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296	Noner, Mainpuri		476 Non, salt, Skr. Lavanam		
297	Ol, Agra		715 Skr. utam, leaves, same as		
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298	Orai, Jalaun	.:	560 from the Aonla or Aunra tree		
299	Pachotar, Ghazipur		684 pachhim and utter, north, west		
300	Pachawara, Jhansi		683 pachhim, western		
301	Pahara, Farrukhabad		556 Pahar, a bluff, cliff		
302	Pahara, Mirzapur		557 Pahar, n. pr. or as above		
303	Pahasu, Bulandshahr		569 Pahas, soft ground		
304	Pailani, Banda		674 palani, a small hut		
305	Pali, Kumaun		514 Skr. Palli or Pallika, hamlet		
306	Pali, Aligarh		515 Same as above		
307	Pandwaha, Jhansi		710 a river name, Pandu or Pan-		
			dhoi		
308	Parauna, Gorakhpur		672 ? parao or padrah		
309	Patiali, Etah		753 ancient name		
310	Pauri, Garhwal		528 Pauli, gate, entrance		
311	Pawayan, Shahjahanpur		677 puvva east with suff. WAN		
312	Phaphamau, Allahabad		378 N. pr. Puhpa and Mau		
313	Phaphund, Etawah		586 ? phupha in sense of father-		
			in-law		
314	Pilkhuwa, Meerut		423 Pilkhu or pilkhan, a tree		
315	Pipraich, Gorakhpur		422 Pipal tree and chaya, a cluster		
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317	Punch, Jhansi		649 puvva east and anch towards		
318	Rasdhan, Cawnpore		678 Rajadhani, royal residence		
319	Rasra, Ghazipur		709 Skr. aranya and sar		
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322	Richha, Bareilly	••	482 a grass preserve, Skr. rakhsha		
323	Runkuta, Agra	• •	661 rund, fence and kata, clearing		
324	Rura, Cawnpore	• •	469 original of ruriya, high ground		
325	Rurki, Saharanpur		470 Dim. of Rura		
326	Sagri Azamgarh	••	464 Dim. of Sagar, a lake		
327	Sahaswan, Budaun,	••	675 sahas gen. of sah and wan		
328	Sahawar, Etah		611 n. pr. Sahay		
329	Sakit, Etawah	••	751 ancient name [sites		
330	Sakrawa, Farrukhabad	••	535 Sikri, potsherds on ruined		

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. T28 426 the cotton tree, Skr. Salmali Sambhal, Moradabad 33I Sarauli, Bareilly 627 ? sar, water or cowshed 332 679 Sar, grass and dhana contain-Sardhana, Meerut 333 ing 687 ? sar, cow house, Salim n. pr. Sarh Salimpur, Cawnpore 334 437 from the tree Saras or Siras Sarsa, Allahabad 335 Sarsaul, Cawnpore 430 Same as Sarsa 336 Sarsawa, Saharanpur 438 Same as Sarsa fland 337 402 Sasnam, an edict, grant of 338 Sasni, Aligarh Satasi, Budaun 646 Sat or Satva n. pr. and bas 339 Saurikh, Farrukhabad 689 ? Skr. saundikah, a distiller 340 . . Seohara, Bijnor 732 ? seva, service lands 341 Seramau, Shahjahanpur 376 Sehra n. pr. and Mau 342 . . Shahi, Bareilly ... 567 Shah n. pr. 343 . . 344 Shamli, Muzaffarnagar 412 Persian shamili, included Shiuli, Cawnpore 308 SIVA-Kulam, Siva's house 345 346 Sidhua Jobna, Gorakhpur ... 443 Asidh tree and Yauvanaka Sighra, Benares 536 Sikri, marking ruined site 347 347A Sihal, Moradabad 744 ? n. pr. Sikhar . . 348 Sihonda, Banda 452 from the Sehund tree Sikandra, Aligarh 349 5467 Sikandra, Agra 350 547 These five from the name Sikandra, Cawnpore 351 548 Sikandar Sikandra, Allahabad 352 549 . . Sikandra, Azamgarh 353 550 354 Sikrara, Jaunpur 533 from sikra, potsherds Sikraul, Benares 534 Same as Sikrara 355 658 sil, stone and ghat, fort 356 Silhat, Gorakhpur Simauni, Banda 463 from the Semal tree 357 . . Singramau, Jaunpur 347 Sanga and arama, Buddhist 358 resort Singrauli, Mirzapur 628 Sang-arama-palli, Buddhist 359 resort Sirathu, Allahabad 738 Sraya-vastu, city of refuge 360 Siyana, Bulandshahr 361 681 ? Skr. siman, boundary Somnath, Aligarh 401 Somnath, the Lord Soma 362 363 Soraon, Allahabad 487 Shor-ganw i.e. Usar-ganw . . Soran, Etah 486 Same as Soraon 364 . . Supa, Hamirpur 552 N. pr. Srup, i.e. Surupah 365 .. Tappa Bhawapar, Gorakhpur 387 Tappa and Bhavah, N. of Siva 366 Tappa Jar, Fatehpur 407 Tappa and jhar, jungle . . 367 408 Tappa with Kon, boundary Tappa Kon, Mirzapur . . 368 mark

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 129

- Tappal, Aligarh 360 400 Tapara, a roof, cottage Tarhawan, Banda 666 Tar i.e. tala, below and WAN 370 Thathiva, Farrukhabad 580 thath, thatch of reeds 371 Tilhar, Shahjahanpur 739 n. pr. Til and ghar 372 Tirwa, Farrukhabad 373 724 thairwa, a halting place, a camp 373A Titron, Saharanpur 399 Tentar, the three holy trees Turtipar, Azamgarh 389 Trimurti, the threefold divinity 375 Ujhani, Budaun 673 Oiha, a wizard 376 Upraudh, Mirzapur 584 Upar, above with suff, and 377 Usehat, Budaun 653 usar, barren land and-ait 378 Zamania, Ghazipur 582 n. pr. Zaman ADDENDA.
- 187 Kant, Shahjahanpur .. 652 Skr. Kantakah, a factory
 188 Kantit, Mirzapur .. 651 kantakah, thorn or Kanta
 1. pr.
 290B Narora Bulandshahr .. 694 n. pr. Nar or Narayn

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PART 2

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1930

U.P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AN APPEAL

The U.P. Historical Society was founded in 1915 "to promote the study of the history of the United Provinces and adjacent territories by holding meetings for the reading and discussion of papers, and by the publication of documents, studies and notes relating to the history, languages, literature and economics of the Province." The introduction to the first issue of the Journal expanded this and asked for notes on subjects of historical, archæological or ethnological interest, rubbings or other mechanical reproductions of unpublished inscriptions, photographs of undescribed statues and carvings and statements of problems which other members might be able to solve.

Sir John Hewett in his inaugural address referred to the large amount of MSS. material contained in the arcana of temples, mosques and theological schools—and in family histories and memoirs—which has never been explored. Secondly, he suggested an organised search for coins, a field which has hardly been touched. Next he advised the copying of inscriptions and copper plates for further recension and the preliminary reconnaissance of sites which would repay excavation. Finally came the bypaths of history, ethnology, caste customs, folk-lore and unwritten traditions.

Such was the sketch of the Society's activities and these remain its objects. The names of well-known scholars and public men were associated with the Society at its inception: Dr. Venis, the Hon. Sir Sunder Lal, the late Bishop of Lucknow, Dr. Westcott, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, Dr. Ganga Nath

Jha, Professor Rushbrook Williams, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pt. Hiranand Shastri, Mr Justice Rafique, Sir George Knox, Sir Richard Burn and Syed Karamat Husain.

The Society for a time flourished with a membership of 130. It undertook and financed, under the direction of Pt. Hiranand Shastri, Government epigraphist, the excavation of the ancient site of Sankisa an account of which may be found in Volume III, Part III of the Journal. The Journal took a distinguished place among learned publications and was recognised in learned circles abroad. It has been judged of sufficient merit to be included as an authority in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology published by the Kern Institute, Holland, under the direction of Professor Vogel.

The first number was published in September, 1917, and further numbers appeared in 1918, 1919, 1921, 1922, 1926, 1927, 1929. The gap from 1923 to 1926 however had a serious effect on membership and the comparative regularity of issues since then has not been enough to regain the position lost. Two appeals have been circulated but with little result and membership has now sunk to vanishing point. This is a last appeal. If it fails, the Society will collapse and archæological studies in this province will certainly be the poorer.

If sufficient support is received, it is proposed to issue two numbers a year, but a membership of a hundred is necessary to ensure this. It is hardly conceivable that the Province will suffer one of the few learned Societies it possesses to collapse for lack of support. It would certainly be a loss to archæological and historical studies if this happened. The Province is very rich in unexplored sites and the fringe of research has as yet hardly been touched. There are in every district and in every town people interested in these studies—they only need a focus to do very useful work. The Society awaits them—it is for them to take the next step and join. The subscription

AN APPEAL

is Rs. 10 per annum and for this members will receive two issues of the Journal and will be entitled to any further privileges the Society may become entitled to—such as affiliation to other historical societies and associations. They will also have the privilege of feeling that they each individually are doing something to promote the study of the origins and history of their country.

Attached to this number is a banker's order which may be filled in and sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Rai Sahib Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow—or members, if they prefer, may pay direct to him by cheque or money-order.

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SOME NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF KUMAON

BY

J. C. POWELL-PRICE, M.A., F.R. HIST. S.

Kumaon as a political entity is a late development but something may be conjectured as to its early beginnings. There is very little material to work upon and the best in this sort is mainly conjecture.

Vedic literature contains no reference to that part of the Himalayan range which borders upon Kumaon though in the Brahmanas there is a reference to Badrinath. When we come to the Epics we find little that is definite, though of course in local legend Kumaon is full of sites connected with the wanderings of the Pandus. Uttara-Kuru, where there is neither rain nor cold, is the Hyperborean realm of Indian story, and if we must give it a local habitation and a name it must be Kashmir and not Kumaon.

There are two main problems which require discussion first of all in any attempt to outline the early history of these hills. The first is to try to discover who the early inhabitants really were and the second to endeavour to fix within limits (however wide) the period when the Aryan invasion penetrated this tract of country. The modern theory* is that the Aryan movement from their Southern European home unto India is later than it has been generally supposed to be, while the discoveries in Sind lately show a prior civilisation, so that the old idea that the Aryan invasion was the beginning of things in India requires adjustment. Unfortunately this helps us very little where Kumaon is concerned. We know that by the time of the Mahabharata story the Aryans had reached the land between the Jumna and the Ganges. They

^{*} See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen Landischen Gestlschaft, 1927. Prof. Hillebrandt on the age of the Rigveda,

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knew the Himalayas well but there is nothing to suggest one way or another that they had penetrated into what is to day called Kumaon. The country would be almost impenetrable, covered with thick scrub and jungle and there are no great waterways along which progress would be easy. As to its inhabitants we can only hazard a guess. We are told of the Nagas who seem to be an aboriginal people concealed under the epic disguise of a snake—people something like the Painted People of the land beyond the Roman wall in Britain. But beyond this it is difficult to go. Some time after this period it would seem as if the Arvans slowly made their way into these hills, not probably in great numbers, but enough to establish themselves as ruling chiefs and to impress their religion on the earlier animistic faith of the inhabitants they found there. Some slight evidences of this penetration may be gleaned from a few references here and there.

The Kiratas are mentioned in the Mahabharata as a people dwelling near the sources of the Ganges and the They are also connected with the early history of Nepal. Thus they seem to have covered much of the ground now represented by Kumaon. They were apparently not Aryans. Then came the Khasias. People of similar name are mentioned in the Epics as dwelling on the upper waters of the Jumna and the Ganges and may be identified with the Casiri mentioned by Pliny as "of Indian (i.e., Aryan) race." Similarities of name however have put more historians wrong than anything else and we cannot place too much reliance on their connection with the modern Khasias. Herodotus has an interesting account of "Indians who border on the city of Kaspatyrus..... These people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and from them men are sent forth who go to procure gold."* Then follows the famous account of how ants digged the gold.

^{*} Herodotus, III, 102,

In the Mahabharata the Khasias are mentioned among the northern tribes who brought presents to Yudhishtira among them "paipalika or ant gold."

Speculations as to the wide extent of the name as in Caucasus, Kasghar, Kashmir and as far as the Kashia hills in Assam lead us nowhere but we may hazard the opinion that they were Aryans in custom and religion at any rate, though of course there would have been a great admixture of the original inhabitants. They were then possibly the result of the first Aryan settlement in Kumaon.

The value of the Puranas from the historian's point of view is very small. Still they are undoubtedly based on early material and are valuable in furnishing indications.

The records in Buddha's time seem to show that the most important kingdom of the period—Kosala—extended to Nepal and may have included Kumaon though later indications would seem to show that most of this part was outside their boundary.

After this there is a great gap in the history of Northern India and when the curtain next rises we are treated to that remarkable episode, Alexander's invasion. Arrian the historian of that adventure however tells us nothing about the hills and attention is directed chiefly to the Punjab.

It is probable that the fringes of the Himalayas at this period were occupied by innumerable petty clans subject apparently to no one head and possibly many were by now of Tibeto-Chinese origin. Tibet and China certainly exerted quite a considerable influence over the parts bordering on their territory and an Indian dynasty reigned in Tibet from about 250 B.C. There is a tradition that the founder of the dynasty who came from Vaisali near Patna restored the Pon religion and Atkinson* states that there is an image of a Pon raja at Jagesar

^{*} Atkinson's Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts, Vol. II.

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near Almora but we have not been able to confirm this.

It has been suggested that the Nandas who ruled in Magadha before the Mauryas came from a tribe of Nandas who lived near the Ramganga between the Ganges and the Kosi river in Kumaon. This is an interesting speculation but only a speculation at the best. Still in this early period the difficulties of communication must have kept Kumaon very isolated.

The empire of Chandragupta Maurya probably did not include Kumaon and it is fairly certain that Asoka did not include it in his dominions. He did of course pay a visit to Nepal but the position of the rock edicts in the Dun seem to suggest that that was the limit of his empire. References to the border peoples show that they were independent in fact though they may have paid a nominal tribute, but the belt of ruined cities and monasteries of a Buddhist civilisation which lie all along the foothills from the Gandak to the Dun and beyond seem to point to a great change after the time of Asoka. It is quite clear that the Tarai was by no means always the feverish and wild beast infested jungle that it later became. This being so communication with the hills would be much easier. What connection is there between this civilisation and Kumaon? A stray reference in Ptolemy refers to a people who may be identified with the Kulindas of the Mahabharata. There they are said to have dwelt in the upper valley of the Ganges in the Himalayas. These Kulindas or Kunindas were a people whom Cunningham has connected with the Kunets whom he calls "the original inhabitants of the whole of the lower slopes of the Himalayas from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra." He goes on to associate them with the Khasias and assumes that they were the original inhabitants and so non-Aryans.* Hodgson however in his interesting work on Nepal is of the

^{*}Arch. S. Reports, XIV, p. 126.

opinion that the Kunets were "clearly of mixed breed, aboriginal Tartars by the mother's side but Aryan by the father's."* If the theory that the Aryan penetration of the Himalayas was comparatively early is accepted the latter view would be more suitable.

We will now consider what evidence is available for the Kunindas. Varahamihira who wrote his astrological work about 500 A.D. places the Kunindas with the Kashmiris, Abhisanas, Kulutas and others—all hill peoples—and mentions the "King of the Kunindas," (Rajnya Kunindasa). The Markandeya Purana mentions the Kunindas in the same connection and the Vishnu Purana also has a similar reference. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who visited these parts in the time of Harsha describes the kingdom of Po-lohih-mo-pu-lo known as Brahmapura in 636 A.D. The description he gives is interesting:

"The kingdom is 666 miles in circuit surrounded on all sides by mountains. The capital is small but the inhabitants are numerous and prosperous. The soil is fertile and seed time and harvest occur at regular seasons. Copper and rock crystal are produced here. The climate is slightly cold and the people are rough in their manners; a few devote themselves to literature but the greater number prefer the pursuit of commerce. The inhabitants are naturally uncultured and there are followers of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. To the north of this kingdom in the midst of the great snowy mountains is the kingdom of Suvarnagotra where gold of a superior quality is procured and hence its name... For many centuries the ruler has been a woman, and hence it is called the Kingdom of the Queens."

Cunningham identifies Brahmapura with Lakhanpur on the Ramganga while Atkinson considers that Barahat in Garhwal suits the description better. More

^{*}Language and Literature of Nepal, Pt. II, p. 37.

recently Führer has identified it with Panduwala in Garhwal. The Katyuri valley below Kausani might as easily be the site and would certainly repay excavation. At Sugh near Buriya on the west bank of the Jumna on the Ambala-Saharanpur Road is a site which has been identified with the Srughna of Hiuen Tsang. Here have been found coins of Amoghabhuti, king of the Kunindas. With them were large numbers of the coins of the Greek king Apollodotus and so Amoghabhuti has been dated as from about 150 B.C.

There are now in the British Museum three coins found in the Almora district which have aroused considerable interest. They are of some alloy of silver and are heavier than any other Indian coins of the period. They have been dated as belonging to a period between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. They bear the names Sivadatta and Sivapali (ta?). On the reverse is a Bodh tree similar to the Panchala coins and on the obverse a stag—the sign of the Kunindas. The designs are Buddhist. These coins are of the same type as the Panchala coins found in Rohilkhand of the Sunga dynasty which is dated about 176—66 B.C. by Rapson. was a group of Indian Buddhist kings, Mitras or Sungas, Devas, Kunindas, etc., with somewhat similar coins who began about the time of the Greek dynasties of the Punjab and lasted until the time of the Guptas. Rai Sahib Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has also found several coins of the Kunindas at Srinagar in Garhwal.

Thus we may conjecture that the Kunindas ruled over the lower Himalayas including the present Kumaon and some portion of the plains from the second century B.C. to the time of the Guptas. It is clear that in the time of Hiuen Tsang their dominions had been split into various small kingdoms like Brahmapura and the kingdom of Govisana mentioned by Hiuen Tsang

and identified by Cunningham with a site near

Kashipur. *

The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta 350 A.D. mentions the frontier kings of Nepal and Kartripura as paying tribute to him. Kartripura is the name given to the capital of the Katyur rajas of Kumaon. This does not necessarily mean that the Katyur dynasty was then in existence but confirms us in our view that by this time the kingdom of the Kunindas had been divided into a number of small independent states. Princes of the Kuninda dynasty may have still ruled in one or more of these. There is a passage in Ferishta which suggests that this is likely. He states that Ramdeo Rathor (circa 440-470 A.D.) fought against the "Raja of Kumaon who inherited his country and his crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of two thousand years." This battle occurred in the plains and on his defeat the Raja retreated to the hills. also a tradition that princes from the Siwalik hills held sway as far as Delhi before the coming of the Tomars.

Of course, Kumaon as a political entity did not then exist and the Raja in question may have been a Kuninda or rather one of the kings who had succeeded to a portion of their dominions.

The Katyur dynasty plays a large part in the history of Kumaon. Tradition declares that they came originally from Joshimath in the Nitti valley. It is impossible to discover whether they took the name from Katyur or Katyur from them. If the Karttikeyapura on the Allahabad pillar is really Katyur then it is probable that the name of the dynasty was derived from the place. In any case it would seem more probable that they were a remnant of the Kuninda empire and thus their rise to power presents no difficulties. The mysterious figure of Sankaracharya is associated with them and they are definitely supporters of Brahminism.

^{*} Though it is more likely that the capital Vairata Pathan was the present Dhikuli where there are considerable Buddhist remains to be found.

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There does not seem to have been any violent change and it is quite possible that the Katyurs were a branch of the old Kunindas representing one of the petty states into which it had split up and not, as has been suggested, a new dynasty which rose to power owing to its support of Sankaracharya amidst the struggle with the supporters of Buddhism. Such a conflict probably never took place.*

We have fortunately several inscriptions dealing with the Katyur dynasty. At Bageswar, sixteen miles from Almora, a stone inscription was found which gives the names of eight rajas who were ancestors of the giver. The names are

1.	Basantana	Deva
2.	Khanppara	"
3.	Kalyanraja	"
4.	Tribhuvanaraja	,,
5.	Nimbarata	,,
6.	Ishtarana	"
7.	Laliteswara	,,
8	Bhudeva	

In the Pandukeswar temple near Badrinath there are four copper plates containing grants to the temple by various Katyur kings. Two of them have the names Nimbarata Deva, Ishtarana Deva and Laliteswara Deva. They are dated from Karttikeyapura.

The other plates give: Salonaditya Deva, Ichata Deva and Desata Deva which names are confirmed by a plate found at Balesar. The name Padmata Deva is given as the son of Desata Deva. Finally another plate gives Subhisksharya Deva as the son of Padmata Deva.

These names are probably those of rajas who followed those mentioned in the Bageswar † inscription and

^{*} But cf. Oakley, Holy Himalaya, p. 95 seq.

[†] J. A. S., Ben, vii, 1056, and see also Atkinson's Gazetteer.
All trace of this inscription has been lost. It was removed to Almora apparently in 1870 by the then D. C. but there is now no trace of it and all my efforts to find it have been fruitless.

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thus a very useful list may be compiled. But the Pandukeswar plates have a further interest. They are apparently copied from the inscriptions of the Pala rajas of Magadha. Atkinson in his Gazetteer of Kumaon has compared them with the Munghir plate of the Pala raja Devapala Raja* and the Bhagalpur inscription of the Pala Raja Narayana.† The tribal name of the writer, viz., Badhra is the same in all. All the officials mentioned are those of the Pala rajas which is of course absurd for a little hill princeling. The dedication and verses are also the same. The nations to whom the grants are addressed are copied from the Pala grants also and have no connection with Kumaon. The Buddal pillar inscription states; that Deva Pala conquered the Himalayas. From various references the accession to power of the Pala rajas of Magadha may be put in the second half of the 9th century. It is stated that Dharma Pala and Deva Pala visited Kedarnath. The Senas who succeeded the Palas left an inscription in the temple of Jagesar near Almora read by Atkinson as Madhava Sena. This however is not to be found now. The records of Nepal show that the rajas of Magadha invaded the hills. Pandukeswar plates refer to Nimbarata Deva fighting with some foreign foe. He is said to have vanquished his enemies "as the rising sun dispels the mist." His son Ishtarana "with the edge of his sword slew furious elephants." Lalitasura however is the hero of the plates. He was invincible and "established the monarchs of the earth." This probably refers to the Palas' invasion (if invasion it was) and points to a treaty by which in all probability the hill rajas were enrolled as supporters of the Palas. This would explain the copying. If this will stand it will give us some idea of the period in which

^{*} A. S. Reo, 1, 123. † J. A. S. Ben., xlvii. 1, 384. ‡ A. S. Res., 1, 133.

these Katyur rajas mentioned lived, not earlier, that is, than A.D. 900 and not later than 1000 A.D.

The later Katyurs were cruel and tyrannous. Tradition tells of the exactions and cruelty of Dham Deo and Bir Deo the last rajas. After Bir Deo's death tradition states that dissensions arose and the kingdom was split up between members of his family-one in Doti, another in Askot, another in Baramandal and a fourth at Dwararahat and Lakhampur, while Katyur and Dhampur were still held probably by the main family. The Tarai had by the 11th century fallen into jungle and the history of the later dynasty, the Chands, shows that possession of the Tarai was essential to real lordship in Kumaon. Thus the date of the Katyurs' fall is clearly about this time. The story that Som Chand the earliest Chand came from Jhusi and married the daughter of Brahm Deo the last descendant of the Katyurs may have elements of truth in it but the date assigned (A.D. 700) is far too early. Vikrama Chand is dated by a copper grant in 1423. Between him and Som Chand are thirty names. That the Mohammedan conquests in the plains led to a migration of Rajputs it is known. Ahmad Nialtgin sacked Benares as early as 1033 though Kanauj did not fall before Kutab-ud-Din the general of Shahabud-Din before 1194. Atkinson gives 953 for the beginning of the Chands. This seems somewhat early but it gives an indication for the terminus ad quem of the Katyurs.

The object of this paper is to suggest that they were the successors and perhaps actual descendants of the Kuninda dynasty who in their turn were the power responsible for that lost Buddhist civilisation whose mounds and ruins stretch along the foot of the hills from Gorakhpur to Kulu.

BY

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Lucknow University

THE Asokan legends to be discussed in this paper are those contained in the northern text of *Divyāvadāna* and the southern text of *Mahāvamsa* to be referred to as *Div*. and *Mahā*. respectively in the course of the paper.

Geiger, in his Introduction to his translation of the Mahāvamsa [Pali Text Society, 1912], has discussed 'the trustworthiness of the Ceylon Chronicles' and defended them against 'undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism' on the basis of the confirmation they have received from certain external sources. There are some inscriptions found on the stupas of Sanchi which curiously mention three of the Buddhist missionaries mentioned in the legends, viz., Kāsapagota, Majjhima, and Dadabhisāra. Geiger, however, has not brought out the remarkable degree of confirmation which the legends relating to Asoka receive from another external and unimpeachable source. the inscriptions of Asoka. It will appear on a close and comparative study of both these sources, the legends and the inscriptions of Asoka, that both must be used, like a pair of scissors, for the construction of a complete Asokan history. Nay, more: for, so far as the most important aspect, of that history is concerned, its chronological framework, the degends are more helpful than the Inscriptions; they furnish us with a fairly complete set of dates in the life and history of Asoka, which readily fits in with the fragments of chronological scheme found in the Edicts and other sources.

To Greek writers we owe the starting point of Indian chronology. If we make a start with 323 B. C. as the date of the commencement of Chandragupta Maurya's

kingship, the Brahmanical and Buddhist texts, the *Purāṇas* and the Ceylon Chronicles, both cite the same number of years for his kingship, *viz.*, 24. Thus we come to 299 B. C. as the date of Bindusāra's accession to the throne. The *Purāṇas* assign to him a reign of 25 years, so that Asoka's accession to the throne took place in 274 B.C., and his coronation in 270 B.C., after allowing for it an interval of four years according to the *Mahā.*, V. 22, which states: "Four years after the famous Asoka had won for himself paramount sovereignty (*ekarajjam*) he consecrated himself as King in the city of Pāṭaliputra." It may be noticed that where the Edicts mention dates, they count them from the King's coronation (*abhiṣeka*) which must have thus been an important event in Asoka's reign.

The same date, 270 B.C., that we get for Asoka's coronation from his legends, we also get from his Edicts. In his Rock Edict XIII, he refers to five Western kings as his contemporaries. According to the Cambridge History of India [Vol. I, p. 502], these kings were all living up to 258 B.C. when one of them (Magas of Cyrene), if not another (Alexander of Epirus), died. It is just possible that Asoka at the other end might not have heard of his death for a year, i.e., till 257 B.C. which may be thus taken to be the date of R.E. XIII. From R.E. III, IV, V, and Pillar Edict VI, we know that the Rock Edicts were issued in the 12th and 13th year of his coronation. The date of R.E. XIII being found to be 257 B.C., we come to 270 B.C. as the date of the coronation.

We come to the same date, 270 B.C., by another way. From Mahā. V. 37—48, we come to know that Nigrodha, the posthumous son of Asoka's elder brother, Sumana, was born in the year of his father's death which was followed by Asoka's accession to the throne, and hence in the year 274 B.C., and that he converted Asoka to Buddhism when he was seven years old, and after the seventh year of

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THE AUTHENTICITY OF ASOKAN LEGENDS

Asoka's accession, i.e., about 266 B. C. Curiously enough, we obtain about the same date for Asoka's conversion to Buddhism from a close study of the two Edicts bearing on this question, viz., R.E. XIII and Minor R.E. I. The former refers to the king's bloody conquest of Kalinga in the eighth year of his coronation, i.e., in 262 B.C., and to the further fact that it was followed by a mental reaction in the shape of an intense (tivra) devotion of the king to his Dharma (of non-violence) The Minor R.E. I also refers to two stages in Asoka's attitude towards the Dharma: (1) a stage of indifference lasting for more than 2½ years when he was only an upāsaka, a lay worshipper; (2) a stage of active devotion to the dharma (badham cha me pakam, etc.). It is evident that (2) represents the mental reaction of the Kalinga conquest which took place in 262 B.C. And so about three years earlier, 266-265 B.C., Asoka became a convert to Buddhism as an Upāsaka under the influence of Nigrodha, as stated in the Mahā.

Taking now the initial dates for Asoka's accession to the throne and coronation as settled, we obtain a crop of other dates from the legends without any violence to reason or sober history. From Mahā. V. 204, we learn that Asoka's eldest son, Mahendra, and daughter, Sainghamitra, were both ordained in the sixth year of his coronation, and that they were respectively 20 and 18 years of age at that time. can now find the precise dates of these three events. The ordination of the brother and sister took place in 264 B.C. The brother was born in 286 B.C., and the sister in 284 B.C. From the date of birth of his eldest son, we may infer the date of birth of his father. It must have been somewhere near 304 B.C. This assumes that Asoka became a father at the age of 20. A younger age for his fatherhood is not permissible under the limits indicated in Māhā. XIII, 8—11, stating that Asoka was already old enough to have been deputed as his Viceroy by his father to Ujjayini and, on his way, at the town of Vedisa, he met his first love Devi. who later became the mother of Mahendra [Ib.]

F. 3

We may now present the following table of dates establishing a fairly complete chronology of the life and reign of Asoka on the basis of the twofold sources, the texts and inscriptions:

- 304 B.C.—Birth of Asoka as inferred from the date given below for the birth of his eldest son. It is interesting to note that Chandragupta Maurya lived to see the birth of his grandson who outrivalled his greatness.
- 286 B.C.—Asoka (at the age of 18) deputed by his father Bindusāra to Ujjayinī from Pāṭaliputra as his Viceroy. Avantirāṣṭra was the name of the Central Provinces of the Maurya Empire with its two famous towns, Ujjayinī, which was its capital, and Vedisa, where Asoka married his first wife, Devī [Mahā. XIII, 8—10]. Asoka's age at that time is taken to be 18 as the lowest possible age, considering that he was then old enough (1) for marriage, and (2) for the rulership of a Province (Avantiraṭṭham bhuñjante). Besides, Hindu Law has fixed 18 as the age of majority. Asoka, as a minor, could not have been trusted with the government of a Province.
- 286 B.C.—Asoka marries his first wife, Devī of Vedisa, at the age of 18 [*Ib.*].
- 284 B.C.—Birth of Asoka's eldest son, Mahendra [*Ib.*, V. 204].
- 282 B.C.—Birth of Asoka's eldest daughter, Sanighamitrā [Ib.].
- 274 B.C.—(1) The War of Succession between Asoka and his brothers.
 - (2) Death of the Crown Prince Sumana.
 - (3) Asoka's accession to supreme sovereignty (ekarajjam).
 - (4) Birth of Prince Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha [16., 40-50.]

270 B. C.-Asoka's Coronation [Ib., 22].

270—240 B.C.—Asandhimitrā figuring as Asoka's Queen (Mahesi) at the court of Pāṭaliputra [Ib., 85; XX, 2], instead of his first wife, Devi, who was all along left at her native town, Vedisa [Ib., XIII, 1.8—11]. This agrees with the fact stated in R.E. V that Asoka had his harems (olodhana) both at Pāṭaliputra and 'in outlying towns' (bahilesu cha nagalesu) [Dhauli Text].

270—266 B.C.—Tissa, Asoka's youngest uterine brother as his Vice-regent (uparāja) [*Ib.*, V. 33, 168].

268 B.C.—Samghamitrā married to Agnibrahmā.

267 B.C.—Birth of Asoka's grandson named Sumana, son of Sanighamitra [*Ib.*, 170].

266 B.C.—(1) Conversion of Asoka to Buddhism by Nigrodha [*Ib.*, 45].

This is also the date derivable from data contained in the R.E. XIII and M.R.E. I, as already explained.

- (2) Asoka converts his brother, Tissa, his vice-regent, to Buddhism [Ib., 160].
- (3) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammavakkhita [*Ib.*, 168].
- (4) Appointment of Prince Mahendra as vice-regent in place of Tissa [*Ib.*, 202]. As Mahendra took orders two years later, it is inferred that he must have been acting in the interval as the king's vice-regent in the vacancy caused by Tissa's resignation of that office. It is to be noted that Mahendra was then 18 years old and thus just qualified for an administrative office.
- (5) Agnibrahmā, nephew and son-in-law of Asoka, ordained [*Ib.*, 170].
- 266-263 B.C.—Construction of Vihāras and of Chaityas at places visited by the Buddha (Jinena parivtthestḥānesu) by Asoka [Ib., 173-175].

According to the Divyāvadāna also [XXVI, pp. 380-381, Cowell's ed.], the conversion of Asoka is followed by his building activity. His conversion is announced by him in the following words: ' Śaranam risim upaimi tam cha Buddham ganavaram āryaniveditam cha dharmam.' His building activity is described in two stages. comprised the construction of what are called dharmarājikās or stūpas all over the empire to receive the Buddha's corporeal relics, which were extracted by 'arya-Maurya-śrī' Asoka out of seven previous Kritis of his predecessors, including the Drona stūpa of Ajātaśatru. By this pious work (cp. puññena kammuna of Mahā. V., 189), Asoka earned the title of Dharmasoka. These Stunas are described as being "resplendent like the autumn clouds" (śāradāi hrapratha) and also as "high as hill-tops" (qirisringa-kalpa). The second stage of Asoka's building activity consisted of Chaityas which were erected at places where the Buddha had dwelt (ye pradeśā adhyuşitāh Bhagavatā Buddhena) [Div., p. 389].

- 265—262 B.C.—Asoka as an *Upāsaka* [M.R.E. I, as already explained].
- 264 B.C. -(1) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva under Majjhantika acting as President of the chapter which met for the Kammavācham; his second ordination by Mogguliputta Tissa as his Upādhyāya.
 - (2) Ordination of Sainghamitrā by her āchārya Ayupālā and *Upādhyāya* Dhammapālā [*Mahā*. V, 204–209].
 - (3) Promotion of Dhammāsoka from the rank of a Pachchaya-dāyaka to that of a Sāsanadāyāda [Ib., 197].

- 263 B.C.—Birth of Kuṇāla, son of Asoka's wife, Padmāvatī, "on the day when 84000 dharma-rājikās were completed by King Asoka" [Div., p. 405].
- 262 B.C.—(1) Conquest of Kalinga and the consequent *intense* (*tīvra*) devotion of Asoka to Dharma [R. E. XIII]; Asoka's closer connection with the Sanigha (*Sanighe upagate*) and wholehearted exertions (*parākrama*) on its behalf [M.R.E. I].
 - (2) Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by increase in the riches and number of heretics in the Sangha, and the consequent retirement of Moggaliputta Tissa [Mahā. V, 227-30]. This happened "in the eighth regnal year of the king." (rañño vassamhi atthame).
 - (3) Accession of Mahendra to the headship of the Sanigha [*Ib.*, 232].
- 263-250 B.C.—Period of Asoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places—" places where the Lord Buddha had dwelt." The pilgrimage, according to Div. (pp. 389 - 397), had followed the completion of the Stūpas and included visits to holy places in the following order: (1) Lumbinivana, "first of all" (sarvaprathamena), (2) Kapilavastu, (3) Bodhimūla or Bodhi, (4) Vārānasī, (5) Risivadana, (6) Kusinagara, (7) Jetavana where Asoka worshipped the Stūpas of the Buddha's chief disciples Śāriputra, Mahāmandgalyāyana, Mahākaśyāpa of Vatkula and Ananda. The Div. also marks out the four most important of these places of pilgrimage as those which are associated with the Buddha (1) Jātī, (2) Bodhi, (3) Dharmachakra, (4) Parinirvāna.

The fact of Asoka's pilgrimage is also attested by his own inscriptions. Only there are

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discrepancies between the Div.¹ and the inscriptions as regards (1) the places visited, (2) the order in which they were visited, and (3) the dates of some of these visits. The Edicts do not mention all the places visited, but only two of these, viz., Lumbini and Bodh-Gaya or Sambodhi. The former pilgrimage is dated 250 B.C. in the Rummindei Pillar Inscription and the latter in 260 B.C. in R.E. VIII. The Edicts thus make the visit to Bodhi as prior to that to Lumbini. The Edicts also mention Asoka's pilgrimage to a place not mentioned in the Div., viz., the Stūpa of Buddha Koṇā Kamana as recorded in the Nigliva Pillar Inscription.

262—254 B.C.—The Sanigha under the headship of Mahendra; recall by Asoka of Moggaliputta Tissa who taught him the doctrine of the Sambuddha; meeting of the Samgha under him and expulsion by the king of the heretical monks ('te michchhādiṭṭhike sabbe rājā uppabbajāpayi' [Mahā. V. 231—274].

It it to be noted that the expulsion of heretical monks by the king is also referred to in the Pillar Edicts at Sanchi, Sarnath and Kauśāmbī.

260 B.C.—Issue of the first Edict, the Minor R.E. I; the first of Asoka's *dharma-yātrās* to Bodh-Gayā [R.E. VIII]; addressing the Bhabru Edict to the Sanigha; popularising the gods [M.R.E. I., as interpreted by some scholars].

259 B.C.—Issue of the two separate Kalinga Edicts.

258-257 B.C.—Issue of the 14 Rock Edicts; grant to the Ajīvikas of cave-dwellings in the Barabar Hills [as stated in the Nigrodha and Khalatika Caves Inscriptions].

¹ It is interesting to note the words 'atana ā gācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte' correspond closely to the following words of the Div: 'ye Buddhena Bhagavatā pradeśā adhyusitās tān archa-yanm aham gatvā chihnāni chaiva Kuryām
... asmm Mahārajā pradeśe Bhagavān jātaḥ.'

- 257 B.C.—Institution of officers called Dharma-Mahāmātras [R.E. V].
- 256 B.C.—Double enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Kona Kamana [Nigliva Pillar Inscription].
- 253 B.C.—Meeting of the Third Buddhist Council under Moggaliputta Tissa [Mahā. V, 280] and despatch by him of missionaries to different countries [Mahā. XII, 1—8].

The fact of despatch of missionaries to foreign countries is also attested in the Edicts. But there are points of both agreement and divergence in the versions of the event presented by the Edicts and the legends. The former attribute the despatch of missionaries to Asoka, the latter to Tissa. The Edicts call them Dharma-Mahāmātras or Dūtas. The Mahā, tells of more countries to which they are despatched than the Edicts. The following countries they mention in common, viz., (1) Gandhāra [R.E. V], (2) Yavana [R.E. V and XIII], (3) Himālaya (implied in the Nābha gramtis of R. E. XIII), (4) Aparāntaka [R.E. V], (5) Mahārāstra (implied in the peoples named Andhras, Pulindas and Rāstrikas in R.E. V and XIII). The South is referred to in the legends in the countries called Mahisamandala Vanavāsi and in the Edicts in the peoples called Satyaputras, Keralaputras, Cholas, and Pāndyas [R.E. II]. R.E. II and XIII of 258 B. C. already refer to the work of Asoka's foreign missions as being in full swing. The legends make it begin later, in 253 B. C. The legends make the work of the Missions purely religious, the preaching of Buddhist doctrines selected from the Scriptures; the Edicts make the work secular and humanitarian in its character, comprising measures for the relief of suffering [R.E. II] and achievement of Dharmavijaya, moral conquest [R.E. XIII].

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252 B.C.—Mahendra on the way to Ceylon visits his mother Devī at Vedisa when already 12 years a monk [Mahā., XIII, 1.8—11].

251 B.C.—Gift of a cave in the Khalatika Hill as shelter against rain [Khalatika Hill No. 2, Cave

Inscription].

250 B.C.—Pilgrimage to Lumbini; to the *stūpa* of Buddha Konā Kamana; erection of a commemorative pillar, and a shrine at the first, and a pillar at the second, place.

243-242 B.C.—Issue of Pillar Edicts.

240 B.C.—Death of Asandhimitrā, "the dear consort of Asoka, and faithful believer in the Sainbuddha." *Mahā.*, XX, 2].

236 B.C.—Tişyarakşitā as chief Queen [Ib., 3]. The Div. [p. 407] also mentions her as Asoka's agramahisī.

235 B.C.—Kuṇāla sent out as Viceroy to Taxila then in revolt [Div. ib.]. Kuṇāla was then 18 years old.

233 B.C.—Tisyaraksitā's jealousy against the Bodhitree to which Asoka was attached too much causes her attempts to destroy the *Mahabodhi* [*Mahā.*, XX, 4—6]. The story of Tisyaraksitā's jealousy prompting secret attempts at the destruction of the Bodhi which she described as her "sapatīnī" (co-wife of the king) is also given in greater detail in the *Div.* (p. 397).

It is interesting to note that this Div. story is also represented on stone in one of the sculptures of Sanchi. The Div. refers to 1000 pitchers filled with scented water used by Asoka to revive the "Bodhi-druma" Kumbhānām sahasram gandhodakena pūrayitvā'). We also find to the left of the Sanchi sculpture (on the front face of the lower lintel of the eastern gate) figures of pitchers being carried by a crowd of musicians and

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devotees; in the centre, the Temple and Tree of Knowledge (Bodhi); and to the right, a royal retinue, a King and Queen descending from an elephant, and thus offering worship later at the Tree. This scene is also repeated on the top and second panels of the rear face of the left pillar of the south gate. The association of these sculptures with Asoka is further attested by the figure of pairs of peacocks appearing at the ends of the architrave, the peacock being the dynastic symbol of the Mauryas.

232 B.C.—Death of Asoka in the thirty-eighth year of his reign [Mahā., XX, 1—6].

A TRIP TO LAKHA MANDAL

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. E. CROCKER, C.M.G., D.S.O.

During the hot weather of 1926 I paid a visit to the village of Lakha Mandal, situated on the Upper Jumna, about 26 miles by road east of Kailana, which is a hill station 50 miles from Dehra Dun. I had heard many legends about this village. It was supposed to be haunted, and report said that the inhabitants, both human and animal, had been turned to stone by some fearful enchantment. I found that as a matter of fact there was not a word of truth in any of these legends. The village was certainly there, and inhabited by a thriving population, very far removed from being fossilized. There were, however, a good many carvings and some lifesize figures scattered about in the village, which I will describe later.

My journey was uneventful. I followed a good path almost all the way, and my carriers had no trouble. I was, at times, sadly misled as to distances.

After a couple of hours' march on the second day after leaving Kailana, I found the path ascending a gentle gradient, until I reached a pass in a gap which connects the two main hill systems on either side of the route. I paused awhile to rest and looked down into a country hitherto unknown to me.

And the view I was looking down an immense valley, enclosed by high ridges, and broken up into many minor ravines and underfeatures by long lean spurs, far flung from the parent ridge above.

The snow-clad peaks which we had seen from Kailana seemed as far off as ever. Their base was obscured by masses of intervenings purs and ridges, but I thought that, once I had turned the corner of that hill, I must have a glorious view of the distant mountains. The path had an

unvarying monotony about it... it was for ever turning corners... either round the shoulder of a spur, or the bend of a ravine, down which a mountain torrent hurled itself to the river, thousands of feet below. Eventually I obtained my first clear view of the snow mountains in all their might and majesty. It was an awe-inspiring sight, and impressed me profoundly.

Continuing my march, I was at last enabled to look down over the valley of the Jumna. The river, fed by the snows, emerged from a gorge on the left to disappear again into the vast ranges of hills on the right. At the foot of the spur on which I stood I could see a rough plateau, in the centre of which rose a conical hill. Our guide assured me that Lakha Mandal was situated on this plateau, the objective of my journey. It looked so close—but it was quite an undertaking to get there.

I left the main path cut in the side of the hills, and plunged down the khud side for a distance of some two miles, until we reached the plateau. It was now a simple matter to follow the path, and shortly afterwards, passing an ancient shrine at the junction of some tracks, I approached the village. It was built on the side of the hill, and its site sloped steeply to the Jumna, some hundreds of feet below. The village itself is built in a series of terraces, one below the other, in such a way that each tier of houses looks down on to the roofs of its neighbours. The houses are of the usual hill type with solid stone walls, and low-pitched roof, covered with heavy slates. There were no windows, and the door, at one end, was made from a thick slab of wood cut bodily from some forest giant. Several of the houses had upper stories, made of wood, with an all-round balcony, ornamented with well-carved panels, the work of the local mistri. The smoke was allowed to find its way out of a hole in the roof-chimneys there were none.

I received a hospitable reception and was lodged in a house at the southern side of the open space in front of CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratgani, Lucknow

the temple. My lodging consisted of bare boards of tremendous width, over which the usual slate roof had been erected on beautifully carved wooden posts. There were no walls, and my compartment was open alike, to the breeze of Heaven and the gaze of men.

The next morning I had a look round the village, and I took photographs. A friendly Brahman conducted me to the temple, but I was not allowed to go inside, or even into the courtyard. There was a service at 8 o'clock. Some boys appeared, and beat large drums and cymbals. and a small kettle drum, while the bells hanging up in the porch, were rung violently. A small boy blew down a large copper horn, wound round his shoulders. The din was terrific. Presently a white-robed priest came out of the temple and put a few grains of rice on each of the stones scattered round the temple precincts, and distributed what was left among the worshippers at the porch. The deity worshipped here is Siva, and at the entrance to the porch are two massive bulls, couchant, beautifully carved in black stone. The priest then re-entered the temple. to emerge again shortly afterwards with a silver brazier full of glowing embers in one hand, and a large bellsomewhat resembling a dinner bell—in the other. Again he made the circuit of the stones, waving his brazier up and down in front of each and ringing his bell the while. Emptying his brazier outside the temple, he went inside, and came out again for the third time, bearing a bowl of marigolds, which he distributed among the worshippers, and also to me. He then locked the doors and departed. The service was over.

There is also a service at sunset, but not such an elaborate affair as this one. The drums are also beaten in the early hours of the morning.

In ancient times Lakha Mandal possessed a large number of temples dedicated to Shiva and Vishnu. Only one, however, has survived. It is a vertical barrel-shaped edifice, standing in a paved courtyard levelled out of the CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratgani, Lucknow slope of the hill on which the village stands facing east. It is covered with a wooden umbrella sort of roof which rather suggests a Buddhist influence. Projecting from the east side is a square stone cella, and leading to this again is a large wooden porch. The porch contains a number of lingas of various sizes, and others are scattered in the temple courtyard close up against the temple walls. front of the porch are two bulls' couchant. Below the south bull and above the north bull are inscriptions. Curiously enough, I did not notice these inscriptions until I examined the photographs with a large magnifying glass. On the south side of the porch is a low wall on which is a small bull couchant, and a tiger clawing at the head of an elephant. These were probably brought there from other shrines.

On the lintel of the cella is a figure which I was told There are also figures of Chamunda Mahishasurmardini, Kartikeya riding a peacock, while higher up on the walls are Ganesa and Kubera. Inside the cella, I was told, are collected many carved figures brought in from other shrines, but I did not have an opportunity of examining them.

Within the temple is a stone inscription of the Princess Ishvare who married Chandra Gupta of Jalandhar. The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited this part of the country early in the seventh century A.D., mentions the ancestors of this Princess, who were Princes of Singpur, which, it is suggested, might be the Sang-ho-pu-lo mentioned by Hiuen, Tsang. Beale, in his "Buddhist Records of the Western World," suggests that a woman then ruled the country, which seems to indicate polyandry, a common practice in the hills to-day.

In the north-east angle of the courtyard is the roofless remains of what must have been an imposing temple, built of black slate stone. The quality and high finish of the masonry are remarkable. This building contains a linga and numerous carvings, which are built into the

walls. As I was not allowed to enter the courtyard, I was not able to examine these carvings.

In the north-west angle of the courtyard is a raised bank of earth revetted with stone, which may be the remains of a temple. Facing this bank are two black stone nude male figures, one completely exposed, the other half buried in the floor. They bear clubs and there is a marked protuberance on top of their heads. I was not allowed to enter the compound, and had to take the best photographs I could from outside. I was told that there was no inscription on them. I was much struck with the abnormal development of their chests and shoulders.

My Brahman friend told me that these figures represent the two Pandava brothers, Bhimsena and Arjuna, sons of King Pandu, but being nude, they are probably Jain.

A good many remains of this temple are scattered about, and include door-jambs, carved stones, and statues in black and brown stone. These carvings include a black stone slab with the Seven Mothers carved in relief with Lakulisa at one end, and Ganpati at the other. There are several carvings of Siva piercing the demon Tripura, and the dance of Siva, who has eight arms holding several symbols. There are also two female musicians.

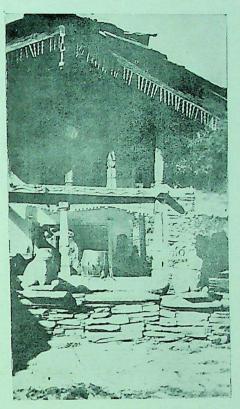
Another carved slab bears figures of a four-armed male, and a two-armed female standing side by side with halos round their heads. I was told that this is Siva with his wife Parvati.

In the vicinity of the village I saw a good many small shrines, nearly all in ruins, containing various figures carved in stone. There is such a shrine about two hundred yards east of the temple in the fields where I counted about 14 carved slabs, many of the same representations. It seems a pity to leave these curious old carvings lying about uncared for.

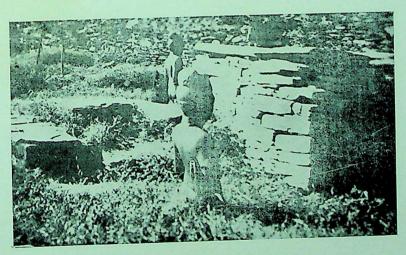
Down by the river I saw an old ruined shrine CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow



Temple at Lakha Mandal



Temple Porch. Note Bulls with inscriptions



Stone figures in temple courtyard,



containing some carvings. I was told that the "jungli log" came and worshipped here.

As I write this paper, I hear that a sum of money has been voted for the erection of a building to contain the carvings found at and near the village. The history of Lakha Mandal dates back to many hundreds of years ago. I gleaned the following account from various local sources, apparently genuine, but I am unable to vouch for the information thus obtained.

The name of the village, Lakka Mandal, should, strictly speaking, be Lakha Mandal, which means the "Wax Temple." To arrive at the origin of this somewhat curious name, we must go back some 5,000 years ago. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Delhi, or Indraprastha, as it was called in those ancient days, there were two kingdoms, the Pandus and the Kurus. My informant was rather vague, but as far as I could gather, the rulers of these two tribes had a gambling match to decide who should own the united kingdoms of both tribes. The Pandus lost, and were banished thereupon to the hills above Dehra Dun, the territory of the Raja of Bairat. The Kurus occupied Lakha Mandal, whither they enticed the Pandava brothers. The Kurus constructed a temple of wax into which they intended to lure the Pandus. They would then set fire to the building, and destroy the Pandus and the quarrel at once fell swoop. Fortunately for them, the Pandus became aware of this scheme of the Kurus, and dug a long tunnel from a point somewhere near the village, to a large cave in a conical hill in the neighbourhood. Through this tunnel they made good their escape, and collected their armies on the plains of Delhi.

While I was at Lakha Mandal my guide showed me a large cave high up in one corner of which was the opening of a passage. I was informed that this passage had been explored for some distance, but no man had discovered the end of it. My guide told me that this was

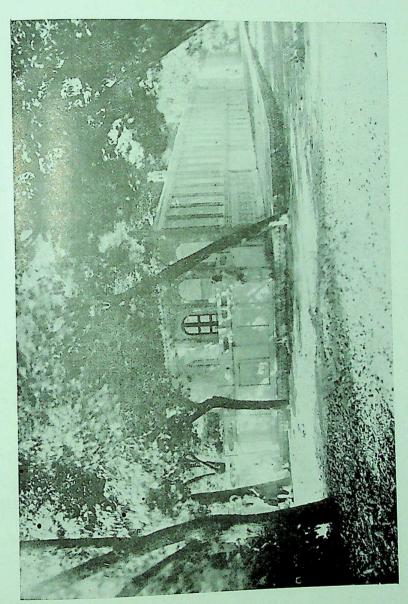
the tunnel by which the Pandus escaped. CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

ROYAL GRAVES IN THE HAIDAR BAGH, BENARES

A. L. BANERJI, ESQ., P.C.S.

PRINCE Jahandar Shah alias Jawan Bakht, son of Shah Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, incurred the displeasure of his father and took refuge in the court of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, who assigned a monthly stipend of Rs. 25,000 for the support of the Prince. The Prince subsequently left Lucknow in April, 1788, with a view to proceed to Raimahal, but, finally settled at Benares so as to live under the protection of the British Government. He and his retinue were accommodated in Raja Chet Singh's buildings in Mohalla Shivala. The Prince however did not survive long to enjoy the felicity of British protection. He died and his body was buried on 1st June, 1788, in a garden situated at a distance of about three miles north of the Royal Residence and about half a mile south-east of the place where stands at present the Benares Cantonment Station of the East Indian Railway. His body was interred in the centre of the rectangle No. 2 of which a photo is given. The garden is named Haidar Bagh but is commonly known by the name of Fatman-the real Fatman adjoining it on the south. The Bagh is bounded by walls and covers an area of about 30 acres, containing several kinds of fruit trees, a big Baradari (summer house), a grand mosque and a cluster of graves.

How the Bagh was originally acquired is unknown but its grandeur is attributed to Nawab Qutluq Sultan Begam, the first wife of Prince Jahandar Shah. For the support of the family of the late prince a monthly pension of Rs. 17,000 was fixed by the East India Company and the terms were included in the sixth article of the Treaty made with the Nawab Wazir Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh



Enclosure containing tomb of Jahandar Shah.

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in the year 1798. Three years later the payment of the allowance devolved entirely on the British Government in lieu of territories ceded to the East India Company according to Article 1 of the Treaty dated 10th November, 1801 (Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, page 124, 4th Edition). Nawab Qultuq Sultan Begum used to receive the entire pension and supported the family. From the funds at her command she erected the tomb of her husband and in front of it and in the middle of the garden constructed a big Baradari or a summer house in the year 1226 Hijri (1811 A.D.) through her Diwan Lala Girdhari Lal. The big mosque on the west of the graveyard was also founded by this lady. The Princess had set apart out of the pension a sum of Rs. 400 for the maintenance of the tombs and the garden, for holding 'Urs' and for performance of other religious rites. This sum is up to this date continued by the British Government.

Prince Jahandar Shah left the following sons, his married wives, named Nawab Qutluq Sultan Begum and Nawab Wajiha Sultan Begum and a concubine Jahanbandi Begum.

PRINCE JAHANDAR SHAH

Mirza Khurram Bakht by his married wife Nawab Qutluq Sultan Begum,

Mirza Ali Qadr by his concubine Musammat Jahanbandi Begum. Mirza Shagufta Bakht by another woman whose name and status are not known.

Mirza Khurram Bakht had four married wives and 14 concubines. The wives were: (1) Princess Zeb Jahan Begum, (2) Bi Begami, (3) Saidunnisa Begam and (4) Fahimunnisa Begam. The issues of Bi Begami are extinct now. The descendants of only four of the concubines are residing in Benares and those of the rest are either extinct or gone elsewhere to live. The descendants of Mirza Khurram Bakht alone find a resting place in the graveyard of the Haidar Bagh.

Mirza Khurram Bakht died on 25th February, 1818,

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ROYAL GRAVES IN THE HAIDAR BAGH

in the lifetime of his mother and was buried by the east side of his royal father in the rectangle No. 2. Further east of the grave of Mirza Khurram Bakht was buried his fourth wife Princess Fahimunnisa Begam. The date of her death is not known. To the west of the grave of Prince Jahandar Shah lies the tomb of Mirza Mahmud Jan, a son of Mirza Khurram Bakht by his first wife, Princess Zeb Jahan Begam and further west was interred Mirza Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of Mirza Mahmud Jan.

South of rectangle No. 2 lies rectangle No. 3 which has eight graves. In the easternmost grave was buried Nawab Qutluq Sultan Begam, the first wife of Prince Jahandar Shah. She died on 20th October, 1818, at the age of 68 years. West of her grave is that of her first daughter-in-law, Princess Zeb Jahan Begam who died on 24th January, 1843. Further west is the grave of Musainmat Fatima Sultan Begam, a daughter-in-law of Mirza Mahmud Jan, the son of Princess Zeb Jahan Begam. The last grave in the enclosure is that of Nawab Wajiha Sultan Begam, the second wife of Prince Jahandar Shah. Further west within this rectangle is another enclosure wherein lie the graves of (1) Musammat Wilaiti Begam, wife of Mirza Mahmud Jan, son of Princess Zeb Jahan Begam, (2) Mirza Bedar Bakht, a son of Mirza Khurram Bakht, (3) a grave of some unknown descendant of his and (4) Bi Begami, the second wife of Mirza Khurram Bakht.

To the north of the rectangle No. 2 and just in front of the Baradari stands a double-storied rectangular building. It has verandahs both on the east and west of the central room in the lower storey. Inside the room there are three graves; the easternmost one is that of Princess Saidunnisa Begam, the third wife of Mirza Khurram Bakht. By its side lies buried her son Mirza Mahmud Jan and west of his grave is that of his son, Mirza Faiyazuddin. In the eastern verandah was buried the dead body of Musammat Afia Sultan Begam, wife of Mirza Suleman Bakht a great-grandson of Mirza Khurram

Bakht by his fourth wife Princess Fahimunnisa Begam, whereas in the western verandah lies the tomb of Musammat Karimatunnisa Begam, a grand-daughter of Mirza Khurram Bakht by his wife Fahimunnisa Begam and wife of Mirza Faiyazuddin mentioned above.

Rectangles Nos. 2 and 3 stand on high plinths and are enclosed with walls which have fine lattice work of exquisite workmanship on all sides. Some of the graves within these rectangles have sentences from the Quran either engraved or in bas-relief. The inscriptions bear testimony to the workmanship of the sculptors of the time.

The above are the principal graves both from the point of respectability of birth and from point of workmanship of structure. There are scattered several hundreds of graves of minor importance most of which are pacca, beneath which lie buried some of the scions of the proud Tamerlane.

In the graveyard of the Haidar Bagh are to be found two tombs of people unconnected with the family of Prince Jahandar Shah. South of rectangle No. 3 stands the tomb of Nawab Ali Bahadur of Bandaas the inscription on the tombstone indicates. East of the latter grave is the tomb of Maulvi Altaf Husain, a deputy collector of Benares, who died in 1309 Hijri, corresponding to 1889 A.D. It is not known how the dead bodies of these two gentlemen came to be buried in the grounds of the Haidar Bagh. There is a third grave of a person not wholly unconnected with the ex-royal family. It lies to the east of the mosque, wherein was buried the body of Shah Abdul Qadir, the religious preceptor of Mirza Ahmad Jan, the son of Mirza Khurram Bakht by his wife Princess Fahimunnisa Begam. He was famous for his piety and an 'Urs' is held annually in his honour out of the funds of the Fatman.

The Baradari referred to above stands on a high plinth with open yards both on the north and the south. Facing the open yards lie two verandhas with a hall between.

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The verandahs have high arched doorways. On the southern verandah and on the outer side of it is fixed a marble tablet showing the name of the founder, the name of the Diwan who superintended the erection of the building and the year of erection of the building. A copy of this inscription is given below:

چوں بارشاد مطلق سلطان - ملکهٔ دین پناه دین پرور هم بغت - آسمانی جاه رشك اسكندر داد ترتیب راهي گر دهر لال - بوستان لطیف دلکش تر بسکه موسوم شد بحیدر باغ - همت سائش زنام اوا ظهر سال چاهش خرد چه خویش گفتا - که زهي عین چسمهٔ کوثر سنه ۱۳۳۵ع

As stated above Rs. 400 is paid monthly by the Government for the maintenance of the tombs and the garden for 'Urs' and feeding the poor. At first the funds were administered by the head of the family, called Raisa, who always used to be a lady of the family. The following were the Raisas:

- 1. Nawab Outlug Sultan Begam.
- 2. Nawab Wajiha Sultan Begam.
- 3. Princess Zeb Jahan Begam.
- 4. Princess Saidunnisa Begam.
- 5. Musammat Karimatunnisa Begam.

After death of Musammat Karimatunnisa Begam, the last Raisa, the Local Government placed the management of the Fatman in the hands of a committee of three members chosen by the Political Agents from amongst the descendants of Mirza Khurram Bakht and approved of by the Government. The grant of Rs. 400 is allotted under specified heads of expenditure and the committee is required to submit half-yearly accounts of expenditure to the Political

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ROYAL GRAVES IN THE HAIDAR BAGH

Agent at Benares. The 'Urs' is held annually in memory of the following personages:—

- 1. Prince Jahandar Shah.
- 2. Mirza Khurram Bakht.
- 3. Nawab Qutluq Sultan Begam.
- 4. Nawab Wajiha Sultan Begam.
- 5. Shah Abdul Qadir.

A NOTE ON LALA BHAGAT PILLAR

BY

RAI SAHIB BABU PRAYAG DAYAL, M.R.A.S.

Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Last year, through the kindness of Pandit Rameshwar Dayal, Deputy Collector, Cawnpore, I had an opportunity of visiting a village called Lālā Bhagat, in the extreme north of tahsil Derapur, district Cawnpore. It can be reached by a car from Cawnpore up to Sachendi on a metalled road and thereafter by a turn to the right on Kansua distributary right up to the village. This is the quickest route by car and measures 45 miles from Cawnpore.

The present name of the village 'Lala Bhagat' is after a Thakur, Lala, who was a staunch devotee and who was popularly called Lala Bhagat. The striking feature of the village is a fairly extensive mound covering an area of about 35 acres with varying heights, the maximum at places being about 35 feet. It is higher at its four corners and sloping on all sides. It appears to be intact and in spite of the appearance of bricks measuring $18'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ on the surface, it has escaped tapping. This state of preservation is mostly due to the fact that it is thickly covered with grass which is a profitable source of income to the owners who, therefore, have not allowed any digging and partly to the belief that any one who excavates the mound would meet sure death, as a Zamindar who excavated some bricks about fifty years ago for an indigo factory died.

Inside a domed chamber at the north-east end of the mound stands a red sandstone octagonal pillar (Plate I) on ground level. About 18 feet away from the chamber is lying a red sandstone cock (Pl. II). It is 36" high and



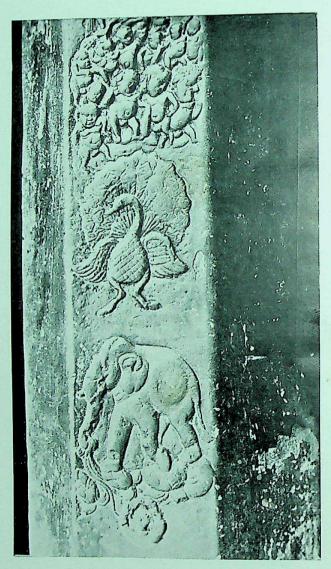
Lala Bhagat Pillar



Side-view of the Cock From village Lala Bhagat, P.O. Birpur, District Cannipore.]



Upper Portion of the Lala Bhagat Pillar



Middle Portion of the Lala Bhagat Pillar

carved in the round. The mortice between the legs shows that the cock formed an adjunct, the capital, of the pillar, as is indicated in the cock-capital figured in the pilaster (Pl. V). The cock is a useful addition to the known figures crowning the Asokan pillars such as the Lion, the Elephant, the Bull, the Wheel, and the Horse which was seen by Hiuen Tsang at Lumbini but not traced yet. The pillar is 6' 3" high with sides, alternately, 7" and 6" in width. One of the 7" sides is elaborately carved in low relief almost throughout from top to bottom. For facility of reference and study it is reproduced in three sections (Plates III, IV and V) and the particular attention of the reader is invited to these plates.

Plate III depicts, among other objects, a couple of graceful flying geese with a cylindrical object hanging from a pole. The marked resemblance of the geese with those bearing wreaths in their beaks and figured on the Kanishka relic casket discovered by the Archæological Department at Peshawar in 1908-09¹ seems to suggest that they carry some object meant as an offering for the Sun-god below. It may be noted in this connection that the first use of geese in Indian sculpture appears in some of the Asokan pillars such as those at Rampurwa and Nandangarh where the abacus of the pillars is adorned by Brahmani geese or Hamsas pecking their food believed to symbolise the flock of which the Buddha was the shepherd.

The Sun-god is driving in a chariot of four horses flanked by two female attendants and trampling over the demon of darkness. He is followed by three ladies of rank standing at ease. They represent the wives of Sūrya, Ūsha and Pratyūsha on either side and Chhāya in centre.

Plate IV starts with a grotesque group of thirteen nude dwarfs in two rows having disproportionate faces with hideous looks and protuberant short bellies. Whether

¹ J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 1056, Pl. II.

they are Bālkhilyas¹ who according to Śrimad Bhāgvata are of infinitely short stature and offer praises in honour of the Sun-god is a problem which needs elucidation

Immediately below is carved a fan-tailed peacock in the attitude of dancing and enjoying the dawn. The body, feathers and the tail show how elaborately and skilfully the sculptor has worked out the minutest details.

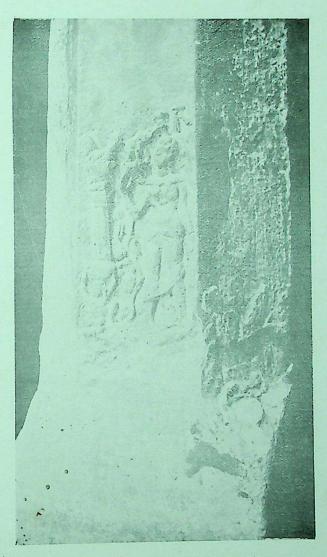
Further down an elephant is seen walking on lotuses in various states of development. What could be the significance of representing these objects below the group requires study.

The last and the lowest scene (Pl. V) on the pillar separated from the elephant by a blank space of about eleven inches depicts a pilaster surmounted by a cock which furnishes a clue to the link between our pillar and the cock lying outside. The figure opposite is Gaja-Lakshmi, as is evident by the two elephants, one on either side, pouring water by vessels held in their respective trunks. She is richly adorned with ornaments. The modelling and the muscular delineation in the umbilical region are very delicate and graceful and remind me of the famous Didarganj statue² in the Patna Museum.

The unique interest which attaches to this exhibit is the connection of the cock with Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth.

On one of the shorter sides of the octagon to the left of the carved portion is incised a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmi characters of about the first century B.C. It reads Kumāra V [i] ra. Who this Kumāra Vīra was, is not known yet. To the right on the adjoining short side runs vertically a short inscription in high flourishes. This has not been read, but in general style it resembles the one on the back of a sacrificial stone horse in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Śrimad Bhāgvata, Skandha 5, Adhyā 21, Śloka 17.
 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 100.
 J.A.S.B., Vol. XXIII, 1927. Published 1929, Plate 12.



Lower Portion of the Lala Bhagat Pillar

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A NOTE ON LALA BHAGAT PILLAR

A terra cotta figure of an early date and a copper coin of the Mathura Satrap Sodāsa of the first century B.C. were also found on the mound. The pillar, therefore, both on artistic and palæographic grounds can safely be assigned to about the first century B.C. and should afford valuable material for deep study.

NOTE ON UJHAN, AN ANCIENT SITE IN CAWNPORE DISTRICT

BY

PANDIT RAMESHWAR DAVAL, B.A.,
Deputy Collector, Cawnpore.

In my winter tour of 1929 on my way back from Lala Bhagat—a place of great historical interest—I was attracted by the mound of Ujhan. As the place has since yielded antiquities of interest, a brief account thereof will be useful to students of ancient history and will stimulate examination and preservation of the mound. Ujhan is a hamlet of Bheekdeo, an important village in Tehsil Derapur in the Cawnpore district. Ujhan is about two miles from Bheekdeo to the east. The river Rind forms a bend at the foot of the mound of Ujhan. The mound covers an area of about 35 Bighas and is 35 feet high.

The population of Ujhan, with the exception of one family, consists entirely of new converts to Islam. The houses of the inhabitants occupy one corner of the mound and their number is hardly 200 souls. The village is entirely owned by Thakur Rajendra Bahadur Singh of Khanpur, who is the biggest Zemindar of Derapur Tehsil. Ujhan can be reached from Rura, a Railway Station on the main E. I. Railway, by bullock cart. Distance from Rura to Ujhan is about nine miles.

My first visit to Ujhan was on the 11th of December, 1929. I found the mound littered over with broken bricks and at odd places a few walls of some houses were made up of pieces of very large bricks. I was shown two or three such complete bricks also—the bricks measure $30'' \times 20'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. I was told by the inhabitants that these bricks had been dug up by them from the base of the mound. I was

given a number of beads and two coins. These latter, on being cleaned, were found too much corroded and nothing could be made out with any degree of certainty.

I wrote to a few friends interested in Archæology to enquire if at any site bricks of this size had been found. I was told that no such bricks had anywhere been found and a suggestion was made that very likely they were flooring tiles. I invited Rai Sahib Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, to visit the site with me. very kindly came and in company with Mr. P. C. Barat, late Head Master, Government High School, Bulandshahr, we went to Ujhan on 22nd February, 1930. Time at our disposal was short and so it was decided to dig at one or two places only to make sure whether the bricks were really flooring tiles or meant for construction purposes. With the help of one or two old residents of the place we tapped one spot at the base of the mound. Two feet below the surface what looked like a foundation wall, made up of bricks of this unusual size, was found. Three courses only could be exposed and further deep digging had to be abandoned for want of time. The trench we dug up measured about four to five feet in length. Most of the bricks exposed to view were shattered and looked as if smashed. This showed that while the bricks were in situ the foundation had sunk on account of the continuous dampness caused by the river. But the digging completely established the point that the bricks were not flooring tiles; they were, no doubt, used for constructing walls. As the river from this spot is very close it may be assumed that the wall formed part of an embankment, which we dug up.

The inhabitants of the place had on previous occasions dug up heaps of such bricks which they used for making their houses. On this occasion we secured three coins and again a large number of beads. The coins and beads were picked up by boys loitering about the mound in our presence. Later on Thakur Gulal Chandra Singh, zemindar CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

of Bheekdeo, kindly brought me seven more coins. Twelve coins thus obtained from this site may be described as under:—

- No. 1. Rectangular cast copper coin having on its obverse a tree and on its reverse a three-peaked chaitya crowned by a crescent. This piece closely resembles coin No. 29 on pl. 1, of Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India.
- No. 2. Fragmentary cast coin very badly corroded. Nos. 3-4. Coins of Mathura Satrap Hagamasha, about first century B.C., ef., Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, pl. VIII, 6.
- No. 5. Ditto badly corroded—very thin, cf., Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, pl. VIII, 7.
- No. 6. Copper coin defaced, bearing traces of inscriptions, probably of Satrap Sodasha.
- Nos. 7-11. Five copper coins badly defaced. From general appearance they can be attributed to the issues of Mathura Satraps.
- No. 12. Billon coin of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. (A.D. 1325—1351).

Obverse— Reverse—

العادل محمد بن ا

One or two more coins of a later period were found but they were returned to the villagers. The find of these coins affords tangible evidence of the importance of the site as early as first century B.C. It can also be safely presumed that the place was included in the suzerainty of the Mathura Satraps. Besides the coins one terra cotta relief was also found in the course of digging. This piece can safely be assigned to about the first century B.C. CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

NOTE ON UJHAN

Local tradition connects the place mostly with the exploits of Allah and Udal. The noticeable point is the unique size of the bricks. Bricks of the usual Gupta type measuring $17'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ are also found at Ujhan. Pottery and terra cotta of early Gupta and mediæval periods are also forthcoming. The zemindar for years past has stopped private persons from digging out bricks. This is a step in the right direction and is a credit to him. The place on the whole promises an adequate return to the spade of the excavator and the least that should be done for the present is to get the mound protected under the Ancient Monuments Act. If time permits I propose to do some trial excavation during the coming rainy season.

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The Agent

Bank

Please pay to the account of the U.P. Historical Society in the Allahabad Bank, Lucknow, the sum of Rupees Ten (Rs. 10) annually on January 1st.

Signature

